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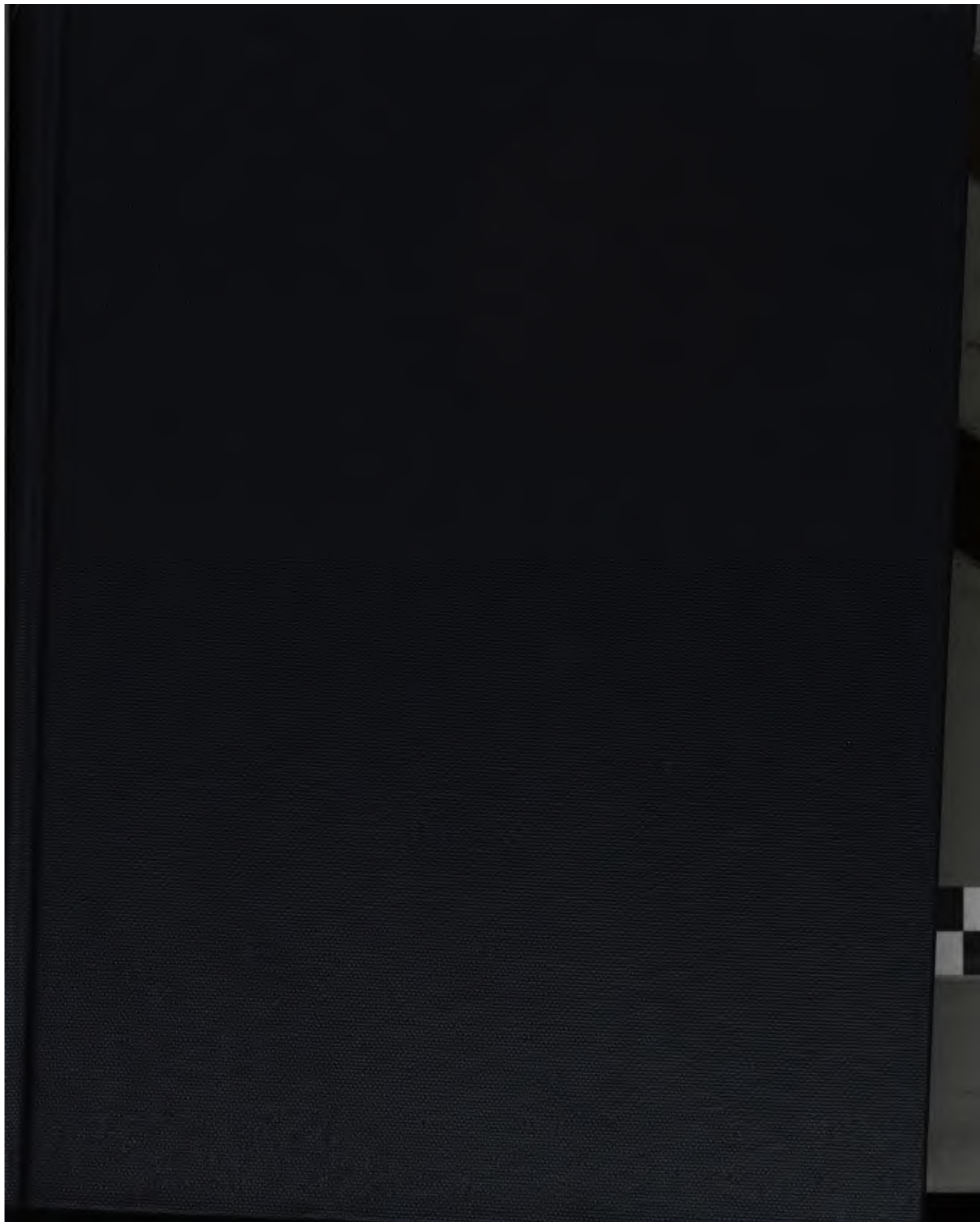
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formation, - as a
work of reference my

been somewhere to help -

My
L
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Mr

I will not trouble you
with them till I hear
from you, - but if you
would like to see them

I told Lind & them
and they can be
returned if you have
no use for them -

First Friday June

cc Elizabeth Colquhoun

HISTORY
OF
ESSEX COUNTY,
MASSACHUSETTS,
WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
OF MANY OF ITS
PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN.

COMPILED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
D. HAMILTON HURD.

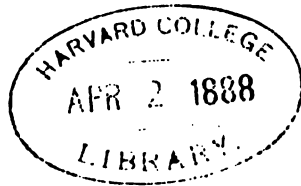
VOL. I.

ILLUSTRATED.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. W. LEWIS & CO.
1888.

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

Nearly four years ago the attention of the publishers, who have long made a specialty of this class of work, was called to the fact that a history of Essex County was needed. After mature deliberation the work was planned, and its compilation commenced. The best literary talent in this section of the commonwealth for this especial work was engaged, whose names appear at the head of their respective articles, besides many other writers on special topics. These gentlemen approached the work in a spirit of impartiality and thoroughness, and we believe it has been their honest endeavor to trace the history of the development of the territory embodied herein from that period when it was in the undisputed possession of the red man to the present, and to place before the reader an authentic narrative of its rise and progress. The work has been compiled from authenticated and original sources, and no effort spared to produce a history which should prove in every respect worthy of the County represented.

THE PUBLISHERS.

PHILADELPHIA, January 24th, 1888.

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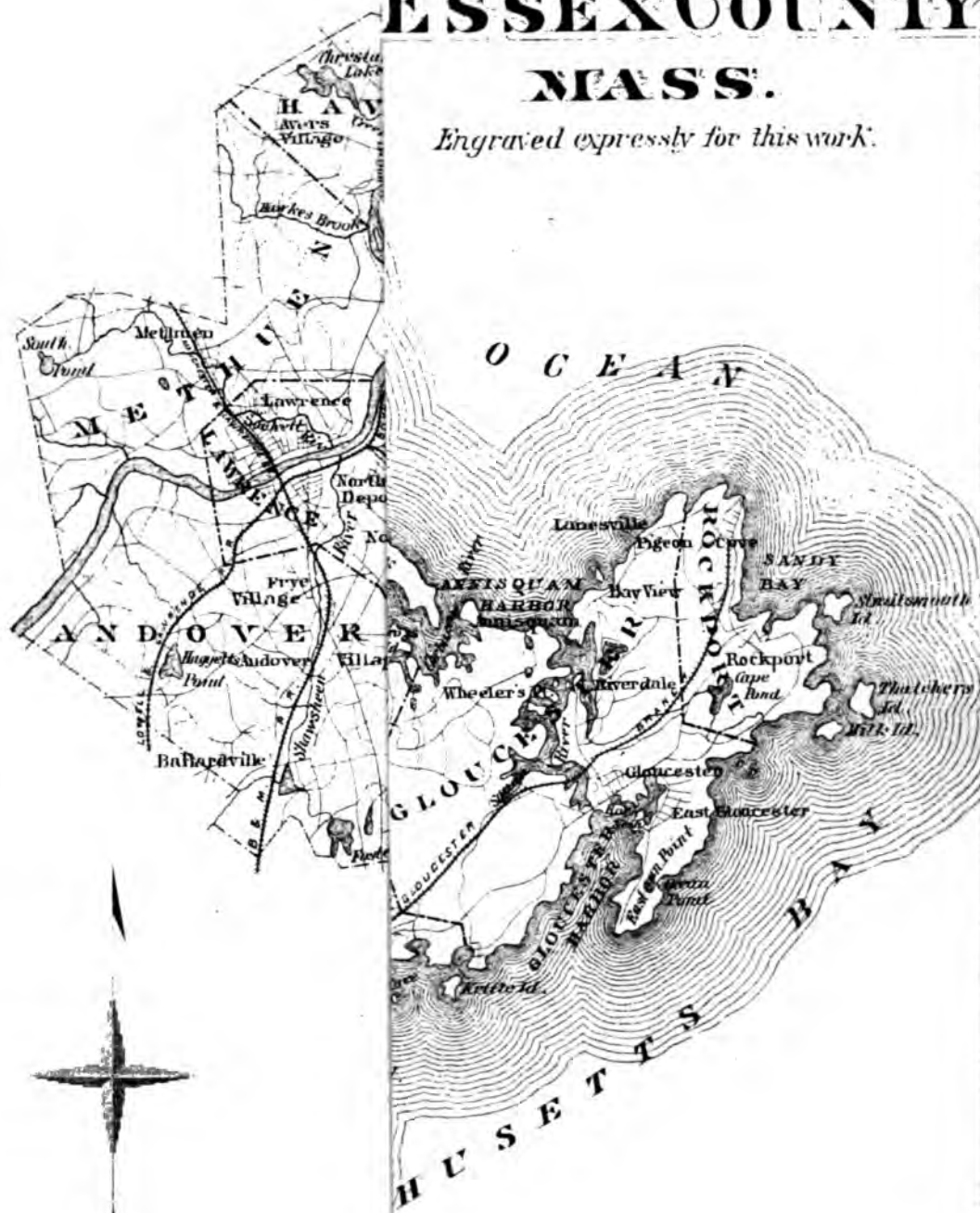
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MAP OF
ESSEX COUNTY
MASS.

Engraved expressly for this work.



THE HISTORY OF ESSEX CO., MASSACHUSETTS.

GENERAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

BY WILLIAM T. DAVIS.

The Plymouth Council—Massachusetts Colony—Colonial Courts—Essex
County Created—County Courts—Barristers—County Officers—Law-
yers.

ON the 20th of April, 1606, King James issued letters-patent dividing between two companies, popularly called the Northern and Southern Virginia companies, a strip of land one hundred miles wide along the Atlantic coast of North America, extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, a territory which then went under the name of Virginia, so called after Elizabeth, the virgin Queen. The Southern Company was composed of knights, gentlemen, merchants and adventurers of London, and received a grant of all the lands between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees, while the Northern Company was composed of persons of the same description in Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth, and received a grant of the lands between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees. That portion lying between the thirty-eighth and forty-first, which was included in both grants, was open to the company first occupying it; and it was stipulated that neither company should make a settlement within one hundred miles of any previous settlement of the other company. On the 3d of November, 1620, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his associates, the members of the Northern Virginia Company, received a new patent, which passed the seal on the 3d of the following July, under the title of "The council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling and governing of New England in America." Under this patent the company was authorized to hold territory extending from sea to sea, and in breadth from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude. This patent or charter conferred power to make laws, appoint Governors and other officers, and generally to establish all necessary forms of government.

On the 19th of March, 1627-28, the Plymouth council granted a patent to Sir John Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott and Simon Whitcomb, covering a territory extending from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles River. This patent was afterwards confirmed by letters-patent under the broad seal of England, issued on the 4th of March, in the following year. Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young and Thomas Southcoat subsequently sold their interest to John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goff and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who, with John Humphrey, John Endicott and Simon Whitcomb, the remaining original patentees, formed a new association. The pecuniary interests of the company were managed in England, and Matthew Cradock, who had been named in the charter by the King as Governor, was there chosen to that office. John Endicott was, however, sent out in the summer of 1628, and began a plantation at Salem. The charter was made in duplicate, one copy being sent to Endicott and the other brought to New England by Winthrop in 1630. By this charter a corporation was created under the name of "the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and twenty-six persons were named in it as the patentees. It provided that the officers should consist of a Governor, Deputy-Governor and eighteen assistants, to be chosen annually by the freemen at the General Court to be held on the last Wednesday in Easter term. The General Court, consisting of the Governor, assistants and freemen, was to be held four times in each year, and by it officers were to be chosen and laws and ordinances enacted.

Mr. Endicott was chosen Governor by the colony after its arrival at Salem, but in the latter part of 1629, the character and plans of the associates in England having been changed and an extensive emigration been set on foot, John Winthrop was chosen Governor in England, and John Humphrey Deputy-Governor. Winthrop sailed in April, 1630, and arrived in Mas-

sachusetts Bay on the 12th of June, at once assuming power as Governor under the charter, which he had brought with him. The first General Court was held at Boston, October 19th, and at its first session the freemen of which it was composed made an important change in the form of government contemplated in the charter, surrendering to the assistants the election of Governor and Deputy-Governor; to the Governor and deputy and assistants the enactment of laws, reserving to themselves only the election of the assistants. Soon after, however, they resumed the privilege of choosing the Governor and deputy as well as the assistants, and in 1636 the General Court also assumed the exclusive power of making the laws. In 1634, in order to obviate the inconvenience of convening the whole body of freemen, a law was passed providing for the choice of delegates with all the powers of the freemen, except those relating to the election of officers. For this election the whole body of freemen met annually in the meeting-house in Boston; but the inconvenience of this arrangement was felt also, and it was provided that Salem, Ipswich, Newbury, Saugus, Weymouth and Hingham might retain as many of their freemen at home at the annual elections as the safety of the towns required, and that the votes of these might be sent by proxy. A general law was afterwards passed to the same effect, applicable to all the freemen in all the towns.

At first the assistants and deputies met together; but in 1644,—in consequence of a dispute in which the deputies claimed that a majority vote of the whole court should rule, while the assistants claimed concurrent jurisdiction,—it was finally agreed that the two branches should sit apart, and that each should have a negative on the other. The Governor presided at the Court of Assistants, and a new office of Speaker was established for the Deputies' Court.

Until 1639 the whole judicial power was vested in the Court of Assistants. In that year, on the 9th of September, it was enacted that "for as much as the businesses of the ordinary Court of Assistants are so much increased as they cannot be despatched in such season as were fit, it is therefore ordered that such of the magistrates as shall reside in or near to Boston, or any five, four or three of them, the Governor or Deputy to be one, shall have power to assemble together upon the last fifth day of the eighth, eleventh, second and fifth months every year, and then and there to hear and determine all civil causes, whereof the debt or trespass and damages shall not exceed twenty pounds, and all criminal causes, not extending to life or member or banishment, according to the course of the Court of Assistants, and to summon juries out of the neighbor towns, and the marshal or necessary officers are to give their attendance as at other courts."

On the 3d of March, 1635-36 it had already been enacted that "there shall be four courts kept every

quarter,—one at Ipswich, to which Newbury shall belong; two at Salem, to which Saugus shall belong; two at Newtown, to which Charlton, Concord, Medford and Watertown shall belong; four at Boston, to which Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham shall belong.

"Every of these courts shall be kept by such magistrates as shall be dwelling in or near the said towns, and by such other persons of worth as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court, so as no court shall be kept without one magistrate at the least, and that none of the magistrates be excluded who can and will intend the same; yet the General Court shall appoint which of the magistrates shall specially belong to every of the said court. Such persons as shall be joined as associates to the magistrates in the said court shall be chosen by the General Court out of a greater number of such as the several towns shall nominate to them, so as there may be in every of the said courts so many as (with the magistrates) may make five in all. These courts shall try all civil causes whereof the debt or damage shall not exceed ten pounds, and all criminal causes not concerning life, member or banishment. And if any person shall find himself grieved with the sentence of any of the said courts, he may appeal to the next great Quarter Court, provided that he put in sufficient caution to present his appeal with effect, and to abide the sentence of the magistrates in the said great Quarter Court, who shall see that all such that shall bring any appeal without just cause be exemplarily punished.

"There shall be four great Quarter Courts kept yearly at Boston by the Governor and the rest of the magistrates; the first the first Tuesday in the fourth month, called June; the second the first Tuesday in September; the third the first Tuesday in December; the fourth the first Tuesday in the first month, called March."

It must be remembered that the term magistrate was synonymous with that of assistant, and that therefore, under these various enactments, the assistants retained judicial power. On the 25th of May, 1636, the following magistrates and other persons were appointed by the General Court to hold the courts referred to in the above enactment of the previous March, to wit: For Salem and Saugus, John Humphrey, John Endicott, magistrates or assistants, Captain Turner, Mr. Scrugge and Mr. Townsend Bishopp, associates, and Ralph Fogg, clerk; for Ipswich and Newbury, Thomas Dudley, Richard Dummer, Simon Bradstreet, magistrates, and Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Spencer, associates, and Robert Lord, clerk; for Newtown, Charlestown, Medford and Concord, John Haynes, Roger Harlakenden, Increase Nowell, magistrates, and Mr. Beecher and Mr. Feakes, associates; for Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham, Richard Bellingham, William Coddington, mag-

istrates, and Israel Stoughton, William Hutchinson and William Heath, associates. Under this law the first Quarter Court of Salem was held June 27, 1636, and the records of that session are well-preserved in the first volume of the Court Records in the office of the clerk of the courts in Salem. At that court one magistrate, John Endicott, and three commissioners—Nathaniel Turner, Townsend Bishopp and Thomas Scrugge—were present. The following certificate is a part of the record:

"Thes three, viz., cp. Nathaniel Turner, mr. Townshend Bishop and mr. Tho: Scrugge, did the day and yeare above written take the oath of Commissioners."

On the 6th of June, 1639, it was enacted that "for the more speedy dispatch of all causes, which shall concern strangers, who cannot stay to attend the ordinary courts of justice, it is ordered that the Governor or deputy, being assisted with any two of the magistrates (whom he may call to him to that end), shall have power to hear and determine (by a jury of twelve men or otherwise as is used in other courts) all causes which shall arise between such strangers, or wherein any such stranger shall be a party, and all records of such proceedings shall be transmitted to the Secretary (except himself be one of the said magistrates, who shall assist in hearing such causes) to be entered as trials in other courts at the charge of the parties. This order to continue till the General Court in the seventh month come twelve month and no longer."

On the 2d of June, 1641, it was enacted that "whereas it is desired by this Court to ease the country of all unnecessary travels and charges, it is ordered that there shall be four Quarter Courts kept yearly by the magistrates of Ipswich and Salem, with such others to be joined in commission with them as this Court shall appoint, not hindering any other magistrates that will help them; this order to take effect after the next Quarter Courts shall be ended at Salem and Ipswich, two of these Quarter Courts to be kept at Salem and the other two at Ipswich; the first Court to be kept the last third day of the seventh month at Ipswich (and the next at the same time the former Courts were), the next quarter at Salem, the third quarter at Ipswich, the fourth at Salem, and the magistrates of Ipswich and Salem to attend every of these Courts, but no jurymen to be warned from Ipswich to Salem, nor from Salem to Ipswich; to each of these places a grand jury shall be warned once a year, and these Courts to have the same power both in civil and criminal causes the Court of Assistants hath at Boston, except trials for life, limbs or banishment, which are wholly reserved to Boston Court; provided it shall be lawful to appeal from any of these Courts to Boston. And it shall be in the liberty of any plaintiff that hath an action of above an hundred pounds principal debt to try his cause in any of these Courts or at Boston; the fines of these Courts to defray the

charges of the same, and the overplus to be returned to the treasurer for the public. And Salisbury and Hampton are joined to the jurisdiction of Ipswich, and each of them to send a grand juryman once a year to Ipswich."

These enactments show the precise arrangement and distribution of judicial powers at the time of the division of the Massachusetts Colony into counties, in 1643. On the 10th of May in that year it was enacted that "the whole plantation within this jurisdiction is divided into four shires, to wit:

"**ESSEX SHIRE.**—Salem, Lynn, Enon, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester and Chochicawick.

"**MIDDLESEX.**—Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, Lynn Village.

"**SUFFOLK.**—Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Nantasket.

"**NORFOLK.**—Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, Strawberry Bank."

These, of course, were at that time all the incorporated towns in the Massachusetts Colony. In the shire of Essex, Salem was incorporated June 24, 1629, as a town, and March 23, 1836, as a city; Lynn, in November, 1637, as a town, and April 10, 1850, as a city; Enon (afterwards Wenham), was incorporated May 10, 1643; Ipswich, August 5, 1634; Rowley, September 4, 1639; Newbury, May 6, 1635; Gloucester, May 22, 1639, as a town, and May 26, 1871, as a city; and Chochicawick (afterwards Andover), May 6, 1646, after the incorporation of Essex County.

In Middlesex, Charlestown was incorporated June 24, 1629; Cambridge, September 8, 1633; Watertown, September 7, 1630; Sudbury, September 4, 1639; Concord, September 2, 1635; Woburn, May 18, 1642; Medford, September 28, 1630; Lynn village (afterwards incorporated as Reading), May 29, 1644.

In Suffolk, Boston was incorporated September 7, 1630, as a town, and February 23, 1822, as a city; Roxbury, September 28, 1630, as a town, and March 12, 1846, as a city, and annexed to Boston June 1, 1867; Dorchester, September 7, 1630, and annexed to Boston June 4, 1869; Dedham, September 8, 1636; Braintree, May 13, 1640; Weymouth, September 2, 1635; Hingham, September 2, 1635; and Nantasket (afterwards incorporated as Hull), May 29, 1644.

In Norfolk, Salisbury was incorporated October 7, 1640; Hampton, September 4, 1639; Haverhill in 1645, as a town, and March 10, 1869, as a city; Exeter and Dover and Strawberry Bank (now Portsmouth) became afterwards a part of New Hampshire.

In addition to the towns above mentioned as a part of Essex County, Amesbury was incorporated April 29, 1668; Boxford, August 12, 1685; Beverly, October 14, 1668; Bradford, in 1675; Danvers, 1757; Essex, 1819; Georgetown, 1838; Groveland, 1850; Hamilton, 1792; Lawrence, incorporated as a town April 17, 1847, and as a city March 21, 1853; Lynnfield, July 3, 1782; Manchester, May 14, 1645; Marblehead, May 2, 1649; Merrimac, April 11, 1876; Methuen, Decem-

ber 8, 1725; Middleton, June 20, 1728; Nahant, March 29, 1853; Newburyport, January 28, 1764, as a town, and May 24, 1852, as a city; North Andover, April 7, 1855; West Newbury, as Parsons, February 18, 1819, and under its present name June 14, 1820; Peabody, March 18, 1855, as South Danvers, and its present name given April 13, 1868; Rockport, February 27, 1840; Saugus, February 17, 1815; South Danvers, May 18, 1855; Swampscott, May 21, 1852; Topsfield, October 18, 1650; West Newbury, June 14, 1820. As the towns of Amesbury, Haverhill and Salisbury were the only towns in Norfolk County, outside of the territory of New Hampshire, which became a royal province in 1679, the following act was passed by the General Court on the 4th of February, 1679-80:

"This Court being sensible of the great inconvenience and charge that it will be to Salisbury, Haverhill and Amesbury to continue their County Court, now some of the towns of Norfolk are taken off, and considering that these towns did formerly belong to Essex County, and attended at Essex courts, do order that these towns that are left be again joined to Essex and attend public business at Essex courts, there to implead and be impleaded, as occasion shall be; their records of lands being still to be kept in some one of their own towns on the North of Merrimack, and all persons according to course of law are to attend in Essex County."

By this act Norfolk County, as incorporated in 1643, was extinguished, to be revived in another section of the State by an act of incorporation dated March 26, 1793. The act above quoted alludes to a former union of Amesbury, Haverhill and Salisbury with Essex, which never actually existed. The allusion is probably to old court connections, which existed before the incorporation of the county, in 1643. Amesbury was a part of the old town of Salisbury, Boxford of the old town of Rowley, Beverly a part of Salem and afterwards of Danvers, Bradford a part of Rowley, Danvers a part of Salem, Essex a part of Ipswich, Georgetown a part of Rowley, Groveland a part of Bradford and Boxford, Hamilton a part of Ipswich, Lawrence a part of Andover, North Andover and Methuen, Lynnfield a part of Lynn, Manchester a part of Salem, Marblehead a part of Salem, Merrimac a part of Amesbury, Methuen a part of Haverhill, Middleton a part of Salem, Topsfield, Boxford and Andover, Nahant a part of Lynn, Newburyport a part of Newbury, North Andover a part of Andover, Peabody formerly South Danvers and a part of Danvers, Rockport a part of Gloucester, Saugus a part of Lynn and Chelsea, Swampscott a part of Lynn and Salem, Topsfield was New Meadows, Wenham was Enon, mentioned in the act incorporating the county; and West Newbury was a part of Newbury, incorporated as Parsons and changed to its present name June 14, 1820.

Since the addition to the county of the towns of Amesbury, Salisbury and Haverhill, in 1679-80, the only change in the boundaries of the county is that already referred to, caused by the annexation of a part of Chelsea, in Suffolk County, to Saugus. On the

22d of February, 1841, it was enacted that "so much of the town of Chelsea, with the inhabitants therein, as is embraced within the bounds hereafter named is hereby set off from said town of Chelsea and annexed to the town of Saugus, to wit: beginning at the southerly side of the Newburyport turnpike on Malden line and running south 26 east 51 rods and 18 links on said Malden line to a stake and stones; thence north 52 east to Saugus line; thence by the line of Saugus South Reading and Malden to the bounds first mentioned; provided, however, that the inhabitants thus set off shall be holden to pay all taxes heretofore assessed in the same manner as if this act had not been passed; provided, also, that all persons who shall have gained a settlement upon said territory, and who are now chargeable to the said town of Chelsea, shall remain and continue to be supported by said town of Chelsea, saving and excepting one John Burrell, who shall hereafter be considered as belonging to and shall hereafter be supported by said town of Saugus.

"If any persons who have gained a legal settlement in said town of Chelsea by a residence on said territory, or by having been proprietors of any part thereof, or who may desire such settlement from any such residents or proprietors, shall come to want and stand in need of relief and support, they shall be relieved and supported by the said town of Saugus in the same manner as if they had gained a settlement in said town."

Essex County, of which Salem, Lawrence and Newburyport are the shires, is situated in the northeast corner of Massachusetts, and is bounded on the northeast by the Atlantic Ocean, on the southeast by Massachusetts Bay, on the southwest by Suffolk and Middlesex Counties, and on the northwest by New Hampshire. It contains about five hundred square miles of territory, traversed by the Merrimac River, which enters the county between Andover and Methuen and flows into the ocean at Newburyport; the Shawsheen, which enters the Merrimac at Lawrence; the Parker River; Bass River, navigable to Danversport; and the Ipswich River, which is navigable to Ipswich. The business of the county is chiefly that of manufactures and the fisheries, though a by no means insignificant portion of its inhabitants gains a livelihood from agriculture and general commerce. Statistics relating to these industries will be included in the town histories. The following table shows the population, valuation and number of schools in each town according to the last published returns:

	POPULATION.	VALUATION.	PUBLIC SCHOOLS.
Amesbury	4,403	\$1,608,835	20
Andover	5,711	5,653,079	22
Beverly	9,186	10,170,780	35
Boxford	840	655,285	6
Bradford	3,106	1,338,230	10
Danvers	7,018	3,761,596	20
Essex	1,722	963,121	9

	POPULATION.	VALUATION.	PUBLIC SCHOOLS.
Georgetown.....	2,299	1,018,494	10
Gloucester.....	21,713	9,897,446	80
Graveland.....	2,272	880,771	10
Hamilton.....	850	602,433	4
Haverhill.....	21,795	11,918,280	75
Ipswich.....	4,207	2,097,482	16
Lawrence.....	38,845	26,670,644	104
Lynn.....	45,861	25,956,583	116
Lynnfield.....	766	564,406	3
Manchester.....	1,638	3,827,035	7
Marblehead.....	7,518	3,064,927	15
Merrimac.....	2,378	1,109,308	14
Methuen.....	4,507	2,777,610	19
Middleton.....	899	527,771	4
Nahant.....	637	6,524,446	4
Newbury.....	1,590	1,069,405	7
Newburyport.....	13,716	8,321,954	29
North Andover.....	3,425	2,020,179	16
Peabody.....	9,530	7,188,290	33
Rockport.....	3,888	2,077,044	14
Rowley.....	1,183	545,095	7
Salem.....	28,084	27,765,824	84
Salisbury.....	4,840	2,227,043	21
Saugus.....	2,855	1,368,602	13
Swampscott.....	2,471	3,955,292	10
Tyngsfield.....	1,141	766,875	5
Wenham.....	871	540,277	5
West Newbury.....	1,899	1,159,471	11
Total.....	263,694	\$180,665,573	328

It has been already stated that at the time of the formation of the counties, in 1643, judicial power was vested in the General Court, the Court of Assistants (or Great Quarter Court) the Quarter Courts (held in specified towns) and the Strangers' Courts. After the formation of the counties the above courts continued, though the Strangers' Courts were modified, and the Quarter Courts, in their respective counties, were called County or Inferior Quarter Courts. It had also been provided by an act passed September 9, 1639, that records be kept of all wills, administrations and inventories, of every marriage, birth and death, and of all men's houses and lands. It had, before the above date, been provided by a law passed April 1, 1634, "that the constable and four or more of the chief inhabitants of every town (to be chosen by all the freemen there at some meeting there), with the advice of some one or more of the next assistants, shall make a surveying of the houses, backside, corn-fields, mowing-ground and other lands improved or inclosed on, granted by special orders of the court, of every free inhabitant there, and shall enter the same in a book (fairly written in words at length, and not in figures), with the several bounds and quantities by the nearest estimation, and shall deliver a transcript thereof into the court within six months now next ensuing; and the same so entered and recorded shall be a sufficient assurance to every such free inhabitant, his and their heirs and assigns, of such estate of inheritance or as they shall have in any such houses, lands or frank tenements. The like course shall be taken for assurance of all houses and town lots of all such as shall be hereafter enfranchised, and every

sale or grant of such houses or lots as shall be, from time to time, entered into the said book by the said constable and four inhabitants or their successors (who shall be still supplied upon death or removal), for which entry the purchasers shall pay six pence and the like sum for a copy thereof under the hands of the said surveyors or three of them."

A further provision of law had been made on the 7th of October, 1640, as follows:

"For avoiding all fraudulent conveyances and that every man may know what estate or interest other men may have in any houses, lands, or other hereditaments they are to deal in, it is therefore ordered that after the end of the month no mortgage, bargain, sale, or grant, hereafter to be made of any houses, lands, rents, or other hereditaments, shall be of force against any other person except the grantor and his heirs, unless the same be recorded as is hereafter expressed; and that no such bargain, sale, or grant, already made in way of mortgage, where the grantor remains in possession, shall be of force against any other but the grantor or his heirs, except the same shall be entered as is hereafter expressed, within one month after the end of this court, if the party be within this jurisdiction, or also within three months after he shall return. And if any such grantor, &c., be required by the grantee, &c., to make an acknowledgement of any grant, &c., by him made, shall refuse so to do, it shall be in the power of any magistrate to send for the party so refusing and commit him to prison, without bail or mayneprise, until he shall acknowledge the same.

"And the grantee is to enter his caution with the recorder, and this shall save his interest in the meantime; and if it be doubtful whether it be the deed or grant of the party, he shall be bound with sureties to the next court and the caution shall remain good as aforesaid.

"And for recording of all such bargains, &c., it is further ordered that there shall be one appointed at Ipswich, for which Mr. Samuel Symonds is chosen for that court, to enter all such bargains, sales, &c., of all lands, &c., within the jurisdiction of that court; and Mr. Emannell Downing is chosen in like sort for the jurisdiction of the court of Salem; and all the rest to be entered by Mr. Stephen Winthrop, the recorder at Boston."

The recorder was the clerk of the court. In 1641 it was provided that in every town "a clerk of the writs" should be appointed, and a part of his duties was to record all births and deaths, and yearly deliver to the recorder of the court a transcript thereof. It was also provided that every married man shall bring a certificate, under the hand of the magistrate who married him, to the clerk of the writs, to be recorded and returned by him to the recorder. Thus it will be seen how extensive the jurisdiction of the County Court was made. Aside from its ordinary judicial powers, it had charge of the records of deeds of probate matters and the laying out of highways, and included the departments now held by the judge and register of probate, the register of deeds, the clerk of the courts and county commissioners.

With regard to treasurers, their duties, up to 1654, were performed by the treasurer of the whole colony or of the country, as he was called. In that year it was provided "that henceforth there shall be treasurers annually chosen in every county, provided that no clerk or recorder of any County Court shall be chosen treasurer of the county." The officer now called sheriff was, in the days of the colony, called marshal. There was a marshal of the General Court alone up to the formation of the counties, in 1643, and after that date each court apparently appointed

its own marshal, though it is possible that even before that time every Quarter Court had its own officer bearing that name. So far as Essex County is concerned, it is proper to state that the present registry of deeds contains the entire records from 1638, and that the original probate records prior to 1671 are to be found in the office of the clerk of the courts, where they were originally kept. The registry of probate was located in Ipswich until 1851, when, under general powers conferred by law, the county commissioners removed it to Salem.

There is another court which should be mentioned to complete the colonial judicial system so far as it concerned the county. On the 6th of September, 1688, it was ordered "that for avoiding of the country's charge by bringing small causes to the Court of Assistants that any magistrate in the town where he may hear and determine by his discretion all causes wherein the debt, or trespass, or damage, etc., doth not exceed twenty shillings, and in such town where no magistrate dwells, the General Court shall, from time to time, nominate three men; two thereof shall have like power to hear and determine all such actions under twenty shillings; and if any of the parties shall find themselves grieved with any such end or sentence, they may appeal to the next Quarter Court, or Court of Assistants. And if any person shall bring any such action to the Court of Assistants before he hath endeavored to have it ended at home (as in this order is appointed), he shall lose his action and pay the defendant's costs." The jurisdiction of this petty court was afterwards extended to matters involving a sum not exceeding forty shillings. It should be added, however, concerning this petty court, that the selectmen of a town were authorized to try offences against their own by-laws where the penalty did not exceed twenty shillings, provided the by-laws did not extend to anything criminal. They were also competent to try cases where only one magistrate lived in a town and he was an interested party, and where there was no magistrate and one or more of the commissioners were concerned.

Up to 1685 the judicial system of Massachusetts Colony and its counties remained as has been traced above, as follows: 1st, the General Court with legislative powers and a limited appellate jurisdiction from the Court of Assistants; 2d, the Court of Assistants or Great Quarter Court, with exclusive jurisdiction in all criminal cases involving neither life, limb nor banishment, and concurrent jurisdiction with the County Courts in civil cases involving not more than one hundred pounds, and appellate jurisdiction from the County Courts; 3d, the County Courts or Inferior Quarter Courts, with jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, except cases of divorce and crimes involving life, limb or banishment, having power to summon grand and petit jurors, and to appoint their own clerks and other necessary officers, to

lay out highways, license taverns, to see that a proper ministry was supported, to prove wills, grant administration and have general control of matters in probate, and have appellate jurisdiction from the Commissioners' Courts; 4th, Strangers' Courts, held at first by the Governor or Deputy-Governor and two magistrates, or, in the absence of the Governor and deputy by three magistrates with the same jurisdiction as the County Courts so far as strangers are concerned, where judgments were final; 5th, Petty Commissioners' or Selectmen's Courts in the various towns.

On the 18th of June, 1684, a judgment vacating the colonial charter was issued, and a copy was received by the colonial secretary, Edward Rawson, on the 2d of July in the next year. Joseph Dudley was thereupon appointed, by the King, President of Massachusetts Bay, Maine, New Hampshire and the Narraganset country, and received the commission May 15, 1686. The Council appointed by the King were Simon Bradstreet, Robert Mason, John Fitz Winthrop, John Pynchon, Peter Bulkley, Edward Randolph, Wait Winthrop, Richard Wharton, John Usher, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Bartholomew Godney, Jonathan Tyng, Dudley Bradstreet, John Hicks and Edward Tyng, of whom Simon and Dudley Bradstreet and Nathaniel Saltonstall declined. The Governor and Council possessed no legislative power, except to establish such courts as might be necessary. They were a court of themselves for the trial of causes, and had authority to appoint judges. They established a Superior Court, with three sessions a year, at Boston, and "Courts of Pleas and Sessions of the Peace" in the several counties. The President assumed probate jurisdiction, but in some counties appointed judges of probate. William Stoughton was appointed to preside in the County Courts of Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex, and John Richards and Simon Lynde were appointed his assistants. These appointments were made July 26, 1686. Appeals could be taken from these courts to the President and Council.

But the administration of Dudley was of short duration. Governor Andros arrived in Boston on the 19th of December, 1686, and as Governor assumed jurisdiction over the whole of New England, including the Plymouth Colony, which was not included in the commission of Dudley. He appointed thirty-nine members of his Council, and the Governor and Council possessed the exclusive power of making and executing the laws, subject to royal approval. He gave to justices of the peace civil jurisdiction in cases not affecting lands and not involving a sum exceeding forty shillings. He established next the "Quarterly Sessions Court," held by the several justices in their respective counties, and next an "Inferior Court of Common Pleas," to be held in each county by a judge assisted by two or more justices of the county. Their jurisdiction was limited to cases in which not more than ten pounds were involved and no question of

freehold, except in Boston, where the limit was twenty pounds. Above these courts was the Superior Court of Judicature, in which no action could be commenced involving less than ten pounds, unless it related to a question of freehold, and which was to be held in Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Plymouth, Bristol, Newport, Salem, Ipswich, Portsmouth, Falmouth, Northampton and Springfield. Joseph Dudley was appointed chief justice of this court.

In 1691 a new charter was issued, embracing Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, Nova Scotia and the intervening territory in one government, under the name of the "Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." This charter reached Boston May 14, 1692, and under its provisions the government consisted of a Governor, Deputy-Governor and secretary appointed by the King, and assistants or Councilors chosen by the General Court, and a House of Representatives chosen annually by the people. The Governor had the power of veto, and all acts and elections by the General Court must be transmitted to England and approved or disallowed by the King. The General Court was authorized "to erect and constitute judicatories and courts of records or other courts," and the Governor and Council could appoint judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace and other officers of the courts. The regulation and management of probate matters were given to the Governor and Council, and delegated by them to judges in each county. Under this charter the General Court no longer possessed judicial power. The first court established under the charter was a special Court of Oyer and Terminer, organized by Governor William Phipps, the first Governor of the province, before any law had been passed authorizing it, for the purpose of trying, chiefly in Essex County, persons charged with witchcraft. On the 2d of June, 1692, the Governor issued his commission appointing Wm. Stoughton chief justice, and Nathaniel Saltonstall (who declined and was succeeded by Jonathan Curwin), John Richards, Bartholomew Gedney, Wait Winthrop, Samuel Sewall and Peter Sergeant associate justices; Stephen Sewall, clerk; Thomas Newton, attorney-general (succeeded July 22d by Anthony Checkley); George Corwin, sheriff. The first meeting of this court was held at Salem on the 2d of June, 1692, and its last meeting on the 17th of September following, after which the court was dissolved. During this time the expense of the court to Essex County was one hundred and thirty pounds, and nineteen persons were tried, condemned and hung, and one was pressed to death.

On the 25th of November, 1692, a law was passed establishing Courts of Justices of the Peace, four Courts or Quarter Sessions of the Peace in each county, an Inferior Court of Common Pleas for each county, a Superior Court of Judicature for the whole province, and a High Court of Chancery for the province. This act

was disallowed. On the 19th of June, 1697, another act was passed establishing County Courts, which was also disallowed. On the 26th of June, 1699, three acts were passed, establishing in each county a Court of General Sessions of the Peace and an Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and a Superior Court of Judicature for the province. The Court of General Sessions of the Peace was authorized to be held at specified times and places "by the justices of the peace of the same county, who are hereby empowered to hear and determine all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishment of offenders." The Inferior Court of Common Pleas was to be held at specified times and places "by four substantial persons, to be appointed and commissioned as justices of the same court in each county, who shall have cognizance of all civil actions arising or happening within such county, provided that no action under the value of forty shillings shall be brought into any of the said Inferior Courts, unless where freehold is concerned or upon appeal from a justice of the peace." The Superior Court of Judicature was to be held at specified times and places in the province, by "one chief justice and four other justices, to be appointed and commissioned for the same, who shall have cognizance of all pleas,—real, personal or mixt,—as well as all pleas of the Crown and all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishment of offenders," etc. This court was ordered to be held for the county of Suffolk, at Boston, on the first Tuesdays in November and May; for the county of Essex, at Salem on the second Tuesday in November, and at Ipswich on the third Tuesday in May; for the county of Middlesex, at Cambridge on the last Tuesday in July, and at Charlestown on the last Tuesday in January; for the county of Hampshire, at Springfield, on the second Thursday in August; for the county of York, at Kittery, on the Thursday before the Ipswich court; for the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable and Dukes County, at Plymouth, on the last Tuesday in March; and for the county of Bristol, at Bristol, on the second Tuesday in September.

Jurisdiction in probate matters had, during the colonial period, been exercised by the common law courts. During the administration of Andros it was exercised by the Governor, but, by the charter of the province, it was conferred on the Governor and Council. Claiming, however, the power of substitution, the Governor and Council appointed a judge of probate in each county, reserving to themselves appellate jurisdiction.

The judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Essex County were as follows:

Appointed December 7, 1692.—Bartholomew Gedney, Samuel Appleton, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin.

1696.—Wm. Browne, in place of Samuel Appleton.

1698.—Daniel Peirce, in place of Bartholomew Gedney, deceased.

1699.—Same appointed.

1702.—Nathaniel Saltonstall, in place of Jonathan Corwin; Jonathan Corwin, in place of John Hathorne.
 1704.—John Appleton, in place of Daniel Peirce.
 1707.—Thomas Noyes, in place of Nathaniel Saltonstall.
 1708.—John Higginson, in place of Jonathan Corwin, appointed to the Superior Court.
 1716.—Samuel Brown, in place of his father, Wm. Browne.
 1720.—John Burrill, in place of John Higginson.
 1721-22.—Josiah Wolcott, in place of John Burrill.
 1722.—Timothy Linnall and John Wainwright.
 1733.—Theophilus Burrill and Thomas Berry, in place of Samuel Brown and John Appleton.
 1737.—Benjamin Marston, in place of Theophilus Burrill.
 1739.—Benjamin Lynde, in place of John Wainwright, deceased.
 1745-46.—John Choat, in place of Benjamin Lynde, transferred to the Superior Court.
 1754.—Henry Gibbs, in place of Timothy Linnall, resigned; John Tasker, in place of Benjamin Marston, deceased.
 1756.—Benjamin Pickman, in place of Thomas Berry, deceased.
 1759.—Caleb Cushing, in place of Henry Gibbs, deceased.
 1761.—Stephen Higginson, in place of Benjamin Pickman; Nathaniel Ropes and Andrew Oliver, in place of Stephen Higginson, deceased, and John Tasker, deceased.
 1766.—William Bourn, in place of John Choat.
 1770.—William Browne, in place of William Bourn, deceased.
 1772.—Peter Frye, in place of Nathaniel Ropes, transferred to the Superior Court.
 1775.—John Lowell, Caleb Cushing, Benjamin Greenleaf and Azor Orne.
 1779.—Caleb Cushing, Benjamin Greenleaf, John Pickering, Jr., Samuel Holten.
 1782.—Samuel Phillips, in place of Caleb Cushing.
 1798.—Ebenezer March, in place of Benjamin Greenleaf.
 1799.—John Treadwell, in place of John Pickering.
 1808.—Samuel Holten retired, and was appointed chief justice of the General Court of Sessions.

The Inferior Court of Common Pleas continued until July 3, 1782, when the Court of Common Pleas was established, to be held within each county at specified times and places, with four judges appointed by the Governor from within the county.

Those in the above list, after 1779, were judges of this court. This court continued until June 21, 1811, when an act was passed providing that the commonwealth, except Dukes County and the county of Nantucket, should be divided into six circuits, as follows: the Middle Circuit, consisting of the counties of Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex; the Western Circuit, consisting of the counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire; the Southern Circuit, consisting of the counties of Norfolk, Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable; the Eastern Circuit, consisting of the counties of York, Cumberland and Oxford; the second Eastern Circuit, consisting of the counties of Lincoln, Kennebec and Somerset; and the third Eastern Circuit, consisting of the counties of Hancock and Washington. It further provided that there shall be held in the several counties, at the times and places now appointed for holding the Courts of Common Pleas, a Circuit Court of Common Pleas, consisting of one chief justice and two associate justices, to whom were to be added two sessions justices from each county, to sit with the court in their county. The history of this court is so mingled with that of the General Court of Sessions that both should be sketched together. The Court of

General Sessions of the Peace remained substantially the same during the provincial period, and up to June 19, 1807, when it was enacted that it should consist of one chief justice, or first justice, and a certain number of associate justices for the several counties, to be appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Council. These justices were to act as the General Court of Sessions in the place of the justices of the peace in each county. On the 19th of June, 1809, the powers and duties of the General Court of Sessions were transferred to the Court of Common Pleas, and two years later, on the 25th of June, 1811, it was enacted, "that from and after the first day of December next, an act made and passed the 19th day of June, 1809, entitled 'an act to transfer the powers and duties of the Courts of Sessions to the Courts of Common Pleas,' be and the same is hereby repealed, and that all acts, or parts of acts, relative to the Courts of Sessions which were in force at the time the act was in force which is hereby repealed, be and the same are hereby revived from and after the said first day of September next."

Again, on the 28th of February, 1814, it was enacted that the act of June 25, 1811, above quoted, "be repealed, except so far as it relates to the counties of Suffolk, Nantucket and Dukes County, and that all petitions, recognizances, warrants, orders, certificates, reports and processes made to, taken for or continued or returnable to the Court of Sessions in the several counties, except as aforesaid, shall be returnable to, and proceeded in, and determined by the respective Circuit Courts of Common Pleas," already referred to as having been established on the 21st of June, 1811, in the place of the old Court of Common Pleas. It further provided, "that from and after the first day of June next, the Circuit Courts of Common Pleas shall have, exercise, and perform all powers, authorities and duties which the respective Courts of Sessions have, before the passage of this act, exercised and performed, except in the counties of Suffolk, Nantucket and Dukes County; and it was further provided that the Governor, by and with the advice of the Council, be authorized to appoint two persons in each county, who shall be session justices of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas in their respective counties, and sit with the justices of said Circuit Court in the administration of the affairs of their county, and of all matters within said county of which the Courts of Sessions had cognizance." The management of county affairs was controlled by this court until February 20, 1819, when it was enacted, "that from and after the first day of June next, an act to transfer the powers and duties of the Courts of Sessions to the Circuit Courts of Common Pleas," passed on the 28th of February, 1814, be hereby repealed; and it was further provided, that from and after the first day of June next the Court of Sessions in the several counties shall be held by one chief jus-

tice and two associate justices, to be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, who shall have all the powers, rights and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, which are now vested in the Circuit Courts of Common Pleas relative to the erection and repairs of jails and other county buildings, the allowance and settlement of county accounts, the estimate, apportionment and issuing warrants for assessing county taxes, granting licenses, laying out, altering and discontinuing highways, and appointing committees and ordering juries for that purpose."

The Court of Sessions continued in the management of county affairs until March 4, 1826, when that part of their duties relating to highways was vested by law in a new board of county officers, termed "commissioners of highways." The act creating this board provided "that for each county in the Commonwealth, except the counties of Suffolk and Nantucket, there shall be appointed and commissioned by His Excellency, the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, to hold their offices for five years, unless removed by the Governor and Council, five commissioners of highways, except in the counties of Dukes and Barnstable, in which there shall be appointed only three, who shall be inhabitants of such county, one of whom shall be designated as chairman by his commission." The act further provided that the doings of the commissioners should be reported to the Court of Sessions for record, and that said court should draw their warrants on the county treasury for expenses incurred by the commissioners in constructing roads located by them.

On the 26th of February, 1828, an act was passed providing "that the Act entitled, 'An Act to establish Courts of Sessions,' passed on the 20th day of February, 1819; also the Act in addition thereto, passed on the 21st day February, 1820; also the Act entitled, 'An Act increasing the numbers and extending the powers of Justices of the Court of Sessions,' passed on the 6th of February, 1822; also the Act entitled, 'An Act in addition to an Act directing the method of laying out highways,' passed on the 4th day of March, 1826, be and the same are hereby repealed." It further provided that "there shall be appointed and commissioned by His Excellency, the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, four persons to be county commissioners for each of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk and Worcester, and three persons to be county commissioners for each of the other counties of this Commonwealth, except the county of Suffolk," "that the Clerks of the Courts of Common Pleas within the several counties shall be clerks of said county commissioners," and "that for each of the counties in the Commonwealth, except the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, Essex, Worcester, Norfolk and Nantucket,

there shall be appointed and commissioned two persons to act as special county commissioners."

On the 8th of April, 1835, it was provided by law that in every county except Suffolk and Nantucket the judge of probate, register of probate and clerk of the Court of Common Pleas should be a board of examiners, and that on the first Monday of May, in the year 1835, and on the first Monday of April, in every third year thereafter, the people should cast their votes for three county commissioners and two special commissioners. The law remained unaltered until March 11, 1854, when it was provided, that the county commissioners now in office in the several counties, except in Suffolk and Nantucket, shall be divided into three classes; those of first class shall hold their offices until the day of the next annual election of Governor; those of the second class until the same election day in 1855; and those of the third class until the same election day in 1856, the commissioners now in office determining by lot to which each shall belong, and that at such annual election each year thereafter, one commissioner be chosen for three years. It was also provided that at the annual election in 1856, and each third year thereafter, two special commissioners be chosen.

Since the passage of the law of 1828 establishing Boards of County Commissioners the following persons have been appointed members of the Essex County Board:

1828-33.—Asa W. Wildes, of Newburyport; Joseph Winn, of Salem; Stephens Baker, of Ipswich; Wm. B. Breed, of Lynn.

1834.—John W. Proctor, of South Danvers, in place of William B. Breed.

1835-37.—Moses Newell, of West Newbury, in place of Asa W. Wildes.

1838-40.—Asa T. Newhall, of Lynn, in place of John W. Proctor.

1841-43.—Charles Kimball, of Ipswich; Robert Patten, of Amesbury; Wm. Whipple, of Rockport.

1844-46.—Asa W. Wildes, of Newburyport, and Benj. F. Newhall, of Saugus, in place of Robert Patten and Wm. Whipple.

1847-49.—John I. Baker, of Beverly, in place of Charles Kimball.

1850-54.—Benjamin Mudge, of Lynn, in place of Benjamin F. Newhall.

In this last year—in accordance with the law passed March 11, 1854, providing for the division of the commissioners by lot into three classes, one going out each year, and another chosen by the people for a term of three years—John I. Baker drew the first class, Benjamin Mudge the second, and Asa W. Wildes the third. At the election of 1854, and at subsequent elections, the following were chosen:

1854.—Stephens Baker, of Beverly, in place of John I. Baker.

1855.—Eben B. Currier, of Lawrence, in place of Benjamin Mudge.

1856.—George Haskell, of Ipswich, in place of Asa W. Wildes.

1857.—Stephens Baker, rechosen.

1858.—Eben B. Currier, rechosen.

1859.—Abram D. Walt, of Ipswich, in place of George Haskell.

1860.—James Kimball, of Salem, in place of Stephens Baker.

1861.—Jackson B. Swett, of Haverhill, in place of Eben B. Currier.

1862.—Abram D. Walt, rechosen.

1863.—James Kimball, rechosen.

1864.—Jackson B. Swett, rechosen.

1865.—Abram D. Walt, rechosen.

1866.—James Kimball, rechosen.

1867.—Jackson B. Swett, rechosen.
 1868.—Charles P. Preston, of Danvers, in place of Abram D. Wait.
 1869.—James Kimball, rechosen.
 1870.—Jackson B. Swett, rechosen.
 1871.—Charles P. Preston, rechosen.
 1872.—James Kimball, rechosen.
 1873.—Zachariah Graves, of Lynn, in place of Jackson B. Swett.
 1874.—Joseph O. Proctor, of Gloucester, in place of Chas. P. Preston.
 1875.—James Kimball, rechosen.
 1876.—Zachariah Graves, rechosen.
 1877.—Joseph O. Proctor, rechosen.
 1878.—John W. Raymond, of Beverly, in place of James Kimball.
 1879.—Geo. J. L. Colby, of Newburyport, in place of Zachariah Graves.
 1880.—Zachariah Graves, in place of Joseph O. Proctor.
 1881.—John W. Raymond, rechosen.
 1882.—Edward B. Bishop, of Haverhill, in place of Geo. J. L. Colby.
 1883.—Geo. J. L. Colby, in place of Zachariah Graves.
 1884.—John W. Raymond, rechosen.
 1885.—Edward B. Bishop, rechosen.
 1886.—David W. Low, of Gloucester, in place of Geo. J. L. Colby.

The Circuit Court of Common Pleas, which was established in 1811, was abolished on the 14th of February, 1821, and the Court of Common Pleas established with four justices, one of whom it was provided by law should be commissioned chief justice. On the 1st of March, 1843, the number of judges was increased to five; March 18, 1845, it was increased to six; May 24, 1851, to seven. On the 5th day of April, 1859, the Court of Common Pleas was abolished, and the present Superior Court established, with ten judges, which number was increased, May 19, 1875, to eleven.

The Superior Court of Judicature, which was established June 26, 1699, received no appointments to its bench after 1775. During its existence the following judges were appointed:

1692.—Wm. Stoughton (Chief Justice), Thomas Danforth, Wait Winthrop (Chief Justice, 1706), John Richards, Samuel Sewall (Chief Justice, 1718).
 1695.—Kilha Cooke.
 1700.—John Walley.
 1701.—John Saffin.
 1702.—Isaac Addington (Chief Justice, 1703), John Hathorne, John Leverett.
 1708.—Jonathan Curwin.
 1712.—Benjamin Lynde (Chief Justice, 1726), Nathaniel Thomas.
 1715.—Addington Davenport.
 1718.—Edmund Quincy, Paul Dudley (Chief Justice, 1745).
 1728.—John Cushing.
 1733.—Jonathan Remington.
 1736.—Richard Saltonstall.
 1738.—Thomas Graves.
 1739.—Stephen Sewall (Chief Justice, 1752).
 1745.—Nathaniel Hubbard, Benjamin Lynde (Chief Justice, 1771).
 1747.—John Cushing.
 1752.—Chambers Russell.
 1756.—Peter Oliver (Chief Justice, 1772).
 1760.—Thomas Hutchinson (Chief Justice).
 1767.—Edmund Trowbridge.
 1771.—Foster Hutchinson.
 1772.—Nathaniel Ropes.
 1774.—William Brown.
 1775.—William Cushing (Chief Justice, 1777), John Adams (Chief Justice), Nathaniel P. Sargeant, William Reed, Robert Treat Paine.
 1776.—Jedediah Foster, James Sullivan.
 1777.—David Sewall.

Of these, Judges John Hathorne, Jonathan Curwin, Richard Saltonstall, Stephen Sewall, Benjamin Lynde,

Nathaniel Ropes, William Brown, David Sewall, Jedediah Foster and Nathaniel P. Sargeant were Essex County men. On the 20th of February, 1781, an act was passed establishing the Supreme Judicial Court as the successor of the Superior Court of Judicature. It was established with one chief justice and four associates, but in the year 1800 the number of associates was increased to six, and the State was divided into two circuits, the East including Essex County and Maine, and the West including all the remainder of the State, except Suffolk County. In 1805 the number of associates was again fixed at four, and so remained until 1852, when their number was increased to five. In 1873 the number of associates was increased to six, and of one chief justice and six associates the court is now constituted. Those in the above list after 1774 were judges of the Superior Court of Judicature of the State of Massachusetts, and not of the province. Of the judges of the Superior Court since its organization, in 1781, the following have been Essex County men: Theophilus Parsons, Charles Jackson, Samuel Putnam, Caleb Cushing, Wm. C. Endicott and Otis P. Lord, who will be referred to in another chapter containing sketches of the bench and bar.

The administration of probate affairs, as has been already stated, was in the hands of the County Court during the colonial period up to the accession of President Dudley, in 1685. It has also been stated that he assumed the jurisdiction to himself, but delegated it in one or more counties to a judge of probate appointed by him. Under the administration of Andros the Governor personally attended to the settlement of estates exceeding fifty pounds, and it is presumed that smaller estates came within the rules established by Dudley. After the deposition of Andros the old colonial method was resumed and continued until the charter of the province went into operation, in 1692. Under the provincial charter jurisdiction in probate affairs was conferred on the Governor and Council, who claimed and exercised the right of delegating it to judges and registers of probate in the several counties. During the provincial period there was no Probate Court established by law, but the judge and register exercised their powers under authority derived only from the Governor and Council. On the 12th of March, 1784, a Probate Court was established, of which the judge and register were appointed by the Governor until, under an amendment of the Constitution ratified by the people May 23, 1855, it was provided after some previous legislation that in 1856, and every fifth year thereafter, the register should be chosen by the people for a term of five years. In 1856 a Court of Insolvency was established for each county, with a judge and register, and in 1858 the offices of judge and register of this court were abolished, as well as those of judge and register of probate, and the offices of judge and register of probate and insolvency estab-

lished. In the same year it was provided that the register of probate and insolvency should be chosen by the people, for a term of five years, at the annual election in that year and every fifth year thereafter. In 1862 the Probate Court was made a court of record. The offices of judge and register have been held by the following persons since the provincial charter went into operation, in 1692:

App. JUDGES.	App. REGISTERS.
1692. Bartholomew Gedney.	1692. Stephen Sewall.
1698. Jonathan Curwin.	1698. John Croade.
1702. John Appleton.	1698. John Higginson.
1739. Thomas Berry.	1702. Daniel Rogers.
1768. John Choate.	1728. Daniel Appleton.
1768. Nathaniel Ropes.	1762. Samuel Rogers.
1762. Benjamin Lynde.	1773. Peter Frye.
1779. Benjamin Greenleaf.	1779. Daniel Noyes.
1798. Samuel Holten.	1816. Nathaniel Lord (3d).
1816. Daniel A. White.	1852. Edwin Lawrence.
1854. Nathaniel S. Howe.	1854. George R. Lord.
1857. Abner C. Goodell, Judge of Insolvency.	1856. James Ropes.
1858. Henry B. Fernald, Judge of Insolvency.	1857. Jonathan Perley, Jr.
1859. George F. Choate, Judge of P. and I.	1858. Abner C. Goodell, Register of Insolvency.
	1858. Charles H. Hudson, Register of P.
	1859. Abner C. Goodell, Register of P. and I.
	1878. Jeremiah T. Mahoney, Register of P. and I.

The executive officer of the court was, in colonial times up to 1685, called marshal, except in the very earliest years, when he was called beadle. As early, however, as 1634 the records show that James Penn was chosen marshal. Under President Dudley he was called provost marshal, under Andros he was called sheriff, and after Andros, until the province was established, in 1692, he was again called marshal. As nearly as can be ascertained, the marshals in Essex were as follows:

1663. Samuel Archard.	1686. Jeremiah Neale.
1670. Henry Sherry.	1691. John Rogers.
1686. Robert Lord.	1692. John Harris.

The sheriffs have been as follows:

1692. George Corwin.	1766. Richard Saltonstall.
1696. William Gedney.	1779. Michael Farley.
1702. Thomas Wainwright.	1792. Bailey Bartlett.
William Gedney.	1831. Joseph E. Sprague.
1708. Daniel Denison.	1852. Frederick Robinson.
1710. William Gedney.	1854. Thomas E. Payson.
1715. John Denison.	1856. James Cary.
1722. Benjamin Marston.	1867. Horatio G. Herrick.
1746. Robert Hale.	

Under a law passed in 1831 the Governor was authorized, with the power of removal, to appoint sheriffs for the several counties for five years. Under the nineteenth article of amendments of the Constitution, ratified in 1855, a law was passed in 1856 providing that in that year, and every third year thereafter, a sheriff should be chosen by the people of each county at the annual election.

The clerks of the courts were appointed by the courts during the colonial period. During the pro-

vincial period the clerks of the County Courts and those of the Superior Court of Judicature, and afterwards of the Supreme Judicial Court, were distinct until 1797, and the clerk of the latter two courts had his office in Boston. The appointment lay with the courts until 1811, when the Governor and Council were made the appointing power. In 1814 the appointment was given to the Supreme Judicial Court, and there remained until 1856, when it was provided by law that in that year, and every fifth year thereafter, clerks should be chosen by the people in the several counties. As nearly as can be ascertained, the following is a correct list of the clerks of the courts in Essex County:

1637. Ralph Fogg.	1783. Isaac Osgood.
1647. Henry Bartholomew.	1796. Thos. Bancroft.
Robert Lord.	1797. Samuel Holten.
1653. Elias Stillman.	1798. Thos. Bancroft.
1658. Hilliard Voren.	1804. Ichabod Tucker.
Bart. Goinoy.	1812. Jos. E. Sprague.
1683. Honj. Gerrish.	1813. Ichabod Tucker.
1692. Stephen Sewall. ¹	1828. John Prince, Jr.
1727. Mitchell Sewall.	1842. Eleazer Shillaker.
1750. Jos. Bowditch.	1852. Asahel Huntington.
1771. Wm. Jeffrey.	1872. Alfred A. Abbott.
1774. Jos. Blaney.	1886. Dean Peabody.
1779. Samuel Osgood.	

During the colonial period the clerks of the courts were registers of deeds, and so continued until 1715, when it was provided "that in each county some person having a freehold within said county to the value of at least ten pounds should be chosen by the people of the county." In 1781 a law was passed renewing and continuing this practice, and the law remained in force until 1855, when it was provided that in that year, and every third year thereafter, a register of deeds should be chosen for the term of three years. The list of clerks, therefore, above given will cover the registers up to 1715. Since that date they have been as follows:

1692. Stephen Sewall.	1870. Ephraim Brown, South.
1727. Mitchell Sewall.	1870. Gilbert E. Hood, North.
1774. John Higginson.	1876. Ephraim Brown, South.
1780. John Pickering.	1876. Abiel Morrison, North.
1807. Amos Choate.	1878. John R. Poor, North.
1832. Ralph H. French.	1879. Chas. S. Osgood, South.
1852. Ephraim Brown, Jr.	

Up to 1869 the registry of deeds for the whole county was kept at Salem. But on the 22d of June, in that year, an act was passed providing that the city of Lawrence and the towns of Andover, North Andover and Methuen should constitute a district for the registry of deeds, under the name of the Northern District of Essex, and that the other towns in the county should constitute the Southern District. It also provided that the Governor and Council should, on or before the 1st day of the following October, appoint a register for the Northern District to hold office until a regis-

¹ Was also clerk during the administration of Dudley, and probably during that of Andros.

ter should be chosen by the people of the towns in the district at the annual election in 1870. It further provided that the register of deeds then in office should continue until a register for the Southern District should be chosen by the people of the district in 1870, and that he should deliver on demand to the register of the Northern District all original deeds or other instruments recorded and remaining in his office conveying or relating to land or estates in said Northern District.

After the formation of the counties it was provided by law, in 1654, that each county should annually choose a treasurer. This provision was renewed by an act passed in 1692, after the formation of the province, and continued, it is believed, up to 1855, when it was provided that a county treasurer should be chosen in that year, and every third year thereafter, for the term of three years. Up to 1654, when provision was made for the election of county treasurers, the treasurer chosen by the General Court was the treasurer of the whole colony. These were as follows:

May 13, 1629, George Harwood. ¹	1636. Richard Dummer.
Dec. 1, 1629, Samuel Aldrey.	1637. Richard Bellingham.
1632. William Pynchon.	1640. William Tyng.
1634. William Coddington.	1644 to 1654. Richard Russell.

No further record of county treasurers is accessible before 1774. From that date they have been as follows:

1774. Michael Farley.	1852. Daniel Wood.
1792. Stephen Choate.	1853. Allen W. Dodge.
1813. Bailey Bartlett.	1878. Edward K. Jenkins.
1814. Nathaniel Wade.	

The only courts connected with the county remaining to be mentioned are the Police and District Courts. Of the Police Courts there are five—those in Gloucester, Lawrence, Lynn, Haverhill and Newburyport. That of Gloucester is for that city alone, and its officers are James Davis, justice; Ellridge G. Friend and Wm. W. French, special justices; and Sumner D. York, clerk. That of Lawrence is also for that city alone, and its officers are Nathan W. Harmon, justice; Wilbur F. Gile and Charles U. Bell, special justices; and Albert A. Tyler, clerk. That for Lynn is for that city alone, and its officers are Rollin E. Harmon, justice; Ira B. Keith and John W. Berry, special justices; and Henry C. Oliver, clerk. The Police Court of Haverhill comprises within its jurisdiction Haverhill, Bradford and Groveland, and its officers are Henry Carter, justice; Ira A. Abbott and Henry N. Merrill, special justices; and Edward B. George, clerk. That of Newburyport comprises Newburyport and Newbury, and its officers are John N. Pike, justice; David L. Withington and Horace I. Bartlett, special justices; and Edward F. Bartlett, clerk. The only district court is the First District Court of Essex, which comprises within its jurisdiction Salem, Beverly, Danvers, Hamilton, Middleton, Topsfield and Wenham, and is held at Salem. Its

officers are Joseph B. F. Osgood, justice; Daniel E. Safford and Nathaniel I. Holden, special justices; and Samuel P. Andrews, clerk. Police Courts were originally established in Salem, 1831; Newburyport, 1833; Lawrence, 1848; Lynn, 1849; Haverhill, 1854; Gloucester, 1858. That of Haverhill was re-established in 1867, taking Bradford and Groveland within its jurisdiction, and the jurisdiction of the Newburyport Court was enlarged by the addition of Newbury, in 1879. The first Essex District Court was established in 1874.

Little can be said in this chapter of the early history of the Essex bar. Of those who were early called to the bench were Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill, born in 1639, and a graduate of Harvard in 1659; Bartholomew Geduey, of Salem, born in 1640; Thomas Berry, of Ipswich, a graduate of Harvard in 1712; Andrew Oliver, of Salem, a graduate of Harvard in 1724; Samuel White, of Haverhill (Harvard), 1731; John Hathorne, of Salem, born in 1641; Jonathan Curwin, of Salem, born in 1640; Richard Saltonstall, of Haverhill, born in 1703 (Harvard), 1722; Stephen Sewall, of Salem, born in 1702 (Harvard), 1721; Benjamin Lynde, of Salem, born in 1700 (Harvard), 1718; Nathaniel Ropes, of Salem, born in 1726 (Harvard), 1745; William Brown, of Salem (Harvard), 1855,—all of whom were on the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature, but not all educated in the law. The bar was divided into two classes—barristers and attorneys, and this division continued until 1836, though after 1806 under a rule of court counselors were substituted for barristers.

The term "barrister" is derived from the Latin word *barra*, signifying bar, and was applied to those only who were permitted to plead at the bar of the courts. In England, barristers, before admission, must have resided three years in one of the Inns of Court if a graduate of either Cambridge or Oxford, and five years if not. These Inns of Court were the Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn. Before the Revolution this rule seems to have so far prevailed here as to require a practice of three years in the Inferior Courts before admission as barrister. John Adams says in his diary that he became a barrister in 1761, and was directed to provide himself with a gown and bands and a tie wig, having practiced according to the rules three years in the Inferior Courts. At a later day the period of probation seems to have been four years, and at a still later seven years.

With regard to the continuance of barristers after the Revolution, the following entry in the records of the Superior Court of Judicature may be interesting:

"Suffolk, SS. Superior Court of Judicature at Boston, third Tuesday of February, 1781, present William Cushing, Nathaniel P. Sargeant, David Sewall and James Sullivan Justices: and now at this term the following rule is made by the court and ordered to be entered, viz.: where-as, learning and literary accomplishments are necessary as well to promote the happiness as to preserve the freedom of the people, and the learning of the law when duly encouraged and rightly directed being

¹ Chosen in England.

as well peculiarly subservient to the great and good purpose aforesaid, as promotive of public and private justice: and the court being at all times ready to bestow peculiar marks of approbation upon the gentlemen of the bar, who, by a close application to the study of the science they profess, by a mode of conduct which gives a conviction of the rectitude of their mind and a fairness of practice that does honor to the profession of the law shall distinguish as men of science, honor and integrity, Do order that no gentleman shall be called to the degree of barrister until he shall merit the same by his conspicuous bearing, ability and honesty; and that the court will, of their own mere motion, call to the bar such persons as shall render themselves worthy as aforesaid; and that the manner of calling to the bar shall be as follows: The gentleman who shall be a candidate shall stand within the bar; the chief justice, or in his absence the senior justice, shall, in the name of the court, repeat to him the qualifications necessary for a barrister-at-law; shall let him know that it is a conviction in the mind of the court of his being possessed of those qualifications that induces them to confer the honor upon him; and shall solemnly charge him so to conduct himself as to be of singular service to his country by exerting his abilities for the defence of her Constitutional freedom; and so to demean himself as to do honor to the court and bar."

The act establishing the Supreme Judicial Court, July 8, 1782, provided that the court should and might from time to time make record and establish all such rules and regulations with respect to the admission of attorneys ordinarily practicing in the said court, and the creating of barristers-at-law. Under the provisions of this act the following rule was adopted and entered on the records of the Supreme Judicial Court:

"Suffolk SS. At the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston the last Tuesday of August, 1783, present William Cushing, Chief Justice, and Nathaniel P. Sargeant, David Sewall and Increase Sumner, Justices, ordered that barristers be called to the bar by special writ to be ordered by the Court, and to be in the following form:

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"To A. B., Esq., of —, Greeting: We well knowing your ability, learning and integrity, command you that you appear before our Justices of our Supreme Judicial Court next, to be holden at —, in and for our county of —, on the — Tuesday of —, then and there in our said Court to take upon you the state and degree of a Barrister-at-Law. Hereof full red. Witness —, Secy., our Chief Justice at Boston, the — day of —, in the year of our Lord — and in the — year of our Independence —. By order of the Court. —, Clerk.

"which writ shall be fairly engrossed on parchment and delivered twenty days before the session of the same Court by the Sheriff of the same county to the person to whom directed and being produced in Court by the Barrister and there read by the Clerk, and proper certificate thereon made, shall be re-delivered and kept as a voucher of his being legally called to the bar: And the Barristers shall take rank according to the date of their respective writs."

It is believed that no barristers were called after 1784, and the following rule adopted in 1806 seems to have substituted counselors in their place:

"Suffolk SS. At the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston for the counties of Suffolk and Nantucket the second Tuesday of March, 1806, present Francis Dana, Chief Justice, Theodore Seigwick, George Thatcher and Isaac Parker, Justices, ordered: First. No Attorney shall do the business of a Counsellor unless he shall have been made or admitted as such by the Court. Second. All Attorneys of this Court who have been admitted three years before the sitting of this Court shall be and hereby are made Counsellors and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of such. Third. No Attorney or Counsellor shall hereafter be admitted without a previous examination, etc."

In 1836 the distinction between counselor and attorney was abolished. The rule of court adopted in 1783 by the Supreme Judicial Court was issued under

the provisions of the law passed the year before. The rule adopted in 1781 by the Superior Court of Judicature seems to have been provided for by no previous law, and it is even doubtful whether before that time any rule had ever been made by the New England courts providing for barristers. Precisely how early they were introduced into our courts it is impossible to discover. It is known, however, as is stated by Washburne, in his history of the judiciary, that as early as 1768 there were twenty-five in Massachusetts, of whom Daniel Farnham, William Pynchon, John Chipman, Nathaniel Penselee Sargeant and John Lowell were of Essex. It is possible that before the year 1781, during the provincial period, the English rule was followed and that the rule of that year was adopted in consequence of the new order of things brought about by the Revolution.

It has been stated that the court termed "the Court of General Sessions," which consisted of the justices of the peace in each county and had existed during the provincial period, was changed to "the General Court of Sessions" in 1807. The judges appointed to this court for Essex County were Samuel Holten (chief justice), Josiah Smith, Wm. Pearson, Thomas Kitteridge, John Saunders, Henry Elkins (justices), and John Punchard (clerk). In 1809 this court was abolished, and its powers and duties transferred to the Court of Common Pleas. In 1811, however, it was re-established, and its officers consisted of Sam'l. Holten (chief justice), Thomas Kitteridge, Henry Elkins, John Prince and Joseph Fuller (justices) and Joseph E. Sprague (clerk).

The sessions of the Supreme Judicial, Superior and Probate Courts, as now provided by law, are,—

Supreme: Law term at Salem on the first Tuesday in November. Jury terms at Salem on the third Tuesday in April and the first Tuesday in November.

Superior: Civil terms at Salem on the first Mondays in June and December; Lawrence on the first Monday in March; Newburyport on the first Monday in September. Criminal terms,—Salem on the fourth Monday in January; Newburyport on the second Monday in May; Lawrence on the fourth Monday in October.

Probate: Salem on the first Monday in every month and on the third Monday in every month, except August; Lawrence on the second Monday in January, March, May, June, July, September, November; Haverhill on the second Monday in April and October; Newburyport on the fourth Monday in January, March, May, June, July, September, November; Gloucester on the fourth Monday in April and October.

The record of admissions to the bar in Essex County begins in 1795, and the following is believed to be a correct list up to 1887, inclusive:

1795. Ichabod Tucker	Wm. B. Sewell
1796. Charles Jackson	John Pike
1801. Joseph Story	Joseph Sprague (3d)
1804. Joseph Dana	Benj. R. Nichols
Ralph H. French	Wm. S. Titcomb
Daniel A. White	Eliza Macke
John Prince, Jr.	Moody Noyes
Samuel Swett	Samuel L. Knapp
1805. Ebenezer Moseley	1808. Ebenezer R. Boeckford
1806. Leverett Saltonstall	Nathaniel Sawyer
John Pickering	Joseph Hovey
1807. Henry A. S. Dearborn	1800. B. L. Oliver, Jr.

	David Cummings John Maurice O'Brien.	1833. John W. Browne Geo. Lunt	O. Osgood Morse Edward L. Sherman Geo. W. Benson Benj. Bordman E. P. G. Marsh	Andrew C. Stone Geo. W. Oate Robt. W. Pearson Jas. L. Rankin Jas. L. Young
1810.	Jacob Gerrish Larkin Thorndike Samuel Merrill Jos. B. Manning R. W. Swett John Gallison Stephen Hooper	1834. Francis Silabee 1835. Wm. Fabens Jonathan O. Perkins Otis P. Lord	1857. Jacob Haskell Wm. H. Parsons Harrison Gray Jas. Eastman H. N. Merrill P. S. Chase John James Ingalls John B. Stickney Henry Carter	1868. Henry P. Moulton Henri N. Woods Geo. Holman Horace C. Bacon Benj. E. Valentine Geo. W. Foster Chas. Webb J. Kendall Jenness
1812.	Timothy Hammond James O. Merrill Wm. Birley Jacob Willard John Glen King Frederick Howes Ebenezer Everett Theodore Ames	1837. Thos. B. Newhall 1838. Joseph Couch Wm. Taggart Nathl. F. Safford, Jr. Francis Cummins 1839. Wm. O. Moseley Edward P. Parker Richard West Francis H. Upton Jos. G. Gerrish	1858. Amos Noyes (2d) Edgar J. Sherman Ephraim A. Ingalls Wm. M. Rogers Chas. Kimball David B. Kimball	1869. Jeremiah T. Mahoney Jos. O. Goodwin Nathan N. Withington John Edwards Leonard
1813.	Geo. Newton Edward Andrews Thos. Stephens, Jr. Octavius Pickering John Scott	1840. H. F. Barstow Wm. Williams Simon F. Barstow 1842. Frederick Merrill Luther A. Hackett Horace Plumer	1859. Geo. P. Merrill Wm. P. Upham Benj. H. Smith B. T. Hutchinson John F. Devereux John S. Driver Wm. L. Peabody Chas. Sewall Arthur A. Peterson Thorndike D. Hodges	1870. Chas. E. Briggs Fred. D. Burdham John S. Gile Hiram P. Harriman Chas. G. Saunders
1814.	Henry Peirce	1843. Geo. Haskell	1860. Henry W. Chapman John K. Tarbox John C. Sanborn Wm. G. Currier Wm. Flak Gile Thos. A. Oushing Wm. Cogswell	1871. Wm. S. Huse Samuel A. Johnson James H. Giddings
1815.	Jas. H. Duncan Elisha F. Wallace W. A. Rogers	1844. Alfred A. Abbott Jos. F. Clark Wm. L. Rogers	1861. John Millikin Francis H. Berick Micajah B. Mansfield Alphonso J. Roberson Geo. A. Housley	1872. Ira Anson Abbott Chas. W. Richardson Fred. P. Byram Ira B. Keith Wm. Henry Gore Leverett S. Tuckerman Josiah F. Bly Wm. W. Wilkins
1816.	Wm. Thorndike Rufus V. Hovey	1845. Moses Foster, Jr. Wm. F. O. Stearns David Kimball Benj. Barstow Jeremiah P. Jones Wm. D. Northend	1862. Edward P. Kimball Henry G. Rollins Geo. Foster Geo. Wheatland, Jr.	1873. Arba N. Lincoln Jos. E. Buswell Chas. Upham Bell Frank P. Ireland Chas. A. Benjamin Andrew Pitt Chas. D. Moore
1818.	Andrew Dunlap Solomon S. Whipple John Foster	1846. Augustus D. Rogers Daniel Weed Isaac Ames Horace L. Conolly	1863. Nathaniel J. Holden Caleb Saunders Frank Kimball Minot Tirrill, Jr. Chas. S. Osgood	1874. Amos E. Rollins Louis W. Kelley Chas. H. Parsons A. L. Huntington Fred. A. Benton Arthur F. Morris Chas. Roberts Brickett
1819.	Ebenezer Shillabor John W. Proctor	1847. W. Augustus Marston	1864. R. B. Brown H. L. Sherman A. B. Sanborn John W. Porter Geo. H. Poor H. W. Boardman W. H. Dalrymple Chas. A. Sayward Solomon Lincoln, Jr. N. Mortimer Hawkes	1875. John P. Sweeney Willis E. Flint Frank W. Hale N. D. A. Clarke Thos. Huse, Jr.
1820.	A. W. Wildes	1848. Louis Worcester George K. Lord A. G. White Geo. F. Choate N. S. Howe	1865. David M. Kelly Kibridge T. Hurley Porter T. Roberts John P. Adams Eben A. Andrews Wm. L. Thompson	1876. Edward H. George Wilson S. Jenkins Samuel H. Hodges David L. Withington Francis H. Pearl Frank P. Allen Jerome H. Flako Henry F. Chase
1821.	Isaac R. How E. H. Derby Jos. G. Waters	1849. Wm. H. P. Wright Jairus W. Perry Nathaniel Pierce B. Frank Watson	1866. Wm. E. Blunt John W. Berry O. A. Phillips Walter Parker Thos. F. Hunt Wm. S. Knox Warren H. Maco	1877. Henry T. Crosswell David C. Bartlett Jas. E. Breed Wm. F. M. Collins Peter W. Lyall Newton P. Frye Chas. F. Caswell Moses H. Ames Eben F. P. Smith Geo. F. Means Thos. C. Simpson, Jr. Geo. Galen Abbott Chas. A. Tobin Boyd B. Jones
1822.	Robt. Cross G. C. Wilde Wm. Oakes John A. Richardson Rufus Choate Thornton Botton Robt. Rantoul, Jr.	1850. Augustus D. Rogers Daniel Weed Isaac Ames Horace L. Conolly	1867. Wm. C. Fabens	1878. John A. Page
1824.	Jos. H. Prince John Walsh	1851. Philo L. Beverly Wm. C. Prescott Stephen G. Wheatland John B. Clarke Stephen B. Ives, Jr. Ammi Brown Jacob W. Reed Daniel E. Safford		
1825.	Benj. Tucker	1852. Sidney O. Bancroft Caleb Lamson J. A. Gillis Joseph H. Robinson Abner C. Gouldell, Jr. John N. Pike		
1826.	A. Huntington Moses Parsons Parish Gilman Parker Stephen P. Webb J. O. Stickney David Roberts W. S. Allen	1853. Chas. J. Thorndike Chas. H. Stickney		
1827.	Samuel Phillips	1854. Michael B. Mulkins Hiram O. Wiley		
1828.	David Mack Nathaniel J. Lord Geo. Wheatland Ellis Gray Loring John Tenney Edward L. Le Breton Nathaniel P. Knapp N. W. Hazen	1855. Francis S. Howe O. W. Upham Wm. G. Choate G. A. Peabody Robt. S. Rantoul		
1830.	John Codman John S. Williams.	1856. Harrison G. Johnson Jos. H. Bragdon		
1831.	Alfred Kitttridge Chas. Minot Francis B. Crowninshield Henry Field Chas. A. Andrew			
1832.	N. Devereux Ephraim T. Miller Joshua H. Ward Geo. H. Devereux Wm. G. Woodward			

	Geo. J. Carr	1882.	Wm. F. Noonan
	Hiram H. Browne		Wm. H. Lucie
	Wm. H. Moody		Charles F. Sargent
	Dennis W. Quill		Wm. D. T. Trefry
	Thos. F. Gallagher		James W. Goodwin
	Wm. F. Moyes		Edward H. Browne
	John C. M. Bayley		Benjamin C. Ames
	Horace I. Bartlett		Edward H. Rowell
	Daniel N. Crowley		John C. Pierce
	Patrick I. McQuinn		Nathaniel C. Bartlett
	Geo. B. Ives.		Edwin A. Clark
1879.	Frank H. Clarke		George L. Well
	Edward P. Uehor		Tristram F. Bartlett
	Joseph V. Sweeney		Nathaniel N. Jones
	Michael J. McNeiray		Imac A. Lanson
	Joseph V. Hannan	1883.	Mardiman W. Hazen
	Forrest L. Evans		Charles A. Wears
	Charles Leighton		Thomas H. Ronayne
	Edwin F. Cloutman		Sumner D. York
	Charles D. Welch		Frank C. Richardson
	Frank V. Wight		Wm. A. Pew, Jr.
	Jacob Otis Wardwell		George E. Batchelder
	Charles G. Dyer		Melville P. Beckett
	Charles H. Symonds		Edmund B. Fuller
	Edward E. Frye	1884.	Samuel A. Fuller
	Theodore M. Osborne		Eugene T. McCarthy
	N. Sumner Myrick		Wm. T. McKono
	Daniel J. M. O'Callaghan		Joseph F. Quinn
	Charles A. Russell	1885.	John R. Poor
1880.	Charles Howard Poor		George H. Eaton
	Benj. Newhall Johnson		Warren B. Hutchinson
	Josiah F. Keene		John J. Flaherty
	Jonathan Lanson		Jeremiah E. Bartlett
	Wm. W. Butler		Byron E. Crowell
	Frank C. Skinner		Robert O'Callaghan
	Charles S. Wilson		Cornelius J. Rowley
	Frank K. Farnham		Robert T. Babson
	Henry C. Durgin		Thomas Keville, Jr.
	Alden P. White		Richard E. Hines
	Charles E. Todd		John C. Donovan
	William Perry	1886.	Harry J. Cole
	Calvin B. Tuttle		Winfield S. Peters
	G. M. Stearns		Edward P. Morton
	John R. Baldwin		Horace M. Sargent
	Samuel Merrill		Wm. O'Shea
	Benj. K. Prentiss, Jr.		Wm. C. Endicott, Jr.
	Frederick G. Preston		Wm. B. Rowell
	Edward C. Battle	1887.	George H. Williams
1881.	Charles A. De Courcy		Benjamin G. Hall
	Albert Birney Tasker		Andrew Ward
	John Milton Stearns		Rufus P. Tapley, Jr.
	Alfred L. Baker		Archibald N. Donahue

There remains little to be included within this sketch of Essex County. The details concerning the jails of Ipswich, the first of which was built in 1652; of the court-house and probate building in that town, the latter of which was built in 1817, and held the records until they were removed to Salem; of the erection of a jail and house of correction in Lawrence in 1853, and of the erection of a court-house in that city in 1859, and of the county buildings in Newburyport and Salem, consisting in the latter city partly of a granite court-house, built in 1841, and a brick court-house built in 1861, will be included in the town histories. There are various corporations, associations and societies which would properly come within the scope of these histories, but in case they may be omitted it may, perhaps, be well to refer to them at least by name. Those best known are the Essex Institute, at Salem, established in 1821 and in-

corporated in 1848; the Essex County Natural History Society at Salem, incorporated in 1836; the Peabody Academy of Science, established at Salem in 1867 with a fund of \$140,000, of which the sum of \$40,000 was expended in the purchase of the hall and museum of the East India Marine Society; the Essex Agricultural Society, founded by Colonel Timothy Pickering, in 1818; the Essex North and Essex South Medical Societies, and the Essex County Homœopathic Medical Society; the Merrimac Valley Dental Association; the Veteran Odd Fellows' Association, of Essex County; the Teachers' Association, incorporated in 1827, and Unitarian Conference and Congregational Club.

This sketch, feared by the author to be imperfect, more especially in its enumeration of the early offices and their incumbents, concerning whom the records are often confused, will close with a list of the present officers of the county:

Judge of Probate and Insolvency, George F. Choate, of Salem; Register of Probate and Insolvency, Jeremiah T. Mahoney, of Salem; Clerk of the Court, Dean Peabody, of Lynn; County Treasurer, E. Kendall Jenkins, of Andover; Sheriff, Horatio G. Herrick, of Lawrence; Register of Deeds (North District), John R. Poor, of Lawrence; (South District), Charles S. Osgood, of Salem; County Commissioners, John W. Raymond, of Beverly, until 1887; Edward B. Bishop, of Haverhill, until 1888; David W. Low, of Gloucester, until 1889; Special Commissioners, Aaron Sawyer, of Amesbury, until 1889; Ivory Emmons, of Swampscott, until 1889; Commissioners of Insolvency, Sherman Nelson, of Georgetown; William L. Thompson, of Lawrence; Horace I. Bartlett, of Newburyport; Trial Justices, J. Scott Todd, of Rowley; Nathaniel F. S. York, of Rockport; William M. Rogers, of Methuen; Orlando B. Tenny, of Georgetown; George H. Poor, of Andover; George W. Cate, of Amesbury; Amos Merrill, of Peabody; Orlando S. Bailey, of Amesbury; William Nutting, Jr., of Marblehead; Wesley K. Bell, of Ipswich; Stephen Gilman, of Lynnfield; and Joseph T. Wilson, of Nahant.

CHAPTER II.

THE BENCH AND BAR.

BY WILLIAM T. DAVIS.

THE preceding chapter contains matter which might, perhaps, properly be included in this. That chapter contains, in connection with a sketch of the courts of Essex County, a list of persons admitted to the bar, chiefly copied from the records in the clerk's office in Salem. The present chapter will be devoted principally to sketches of the bench and bar, many of them necessarily short, but, perhaps, sufficient, if not to do justice to the subjects themselves, to at least demonstrate the fruitfulness of the county from its organization, in 1643, in eminent men. It is not too much to say that no county in the State can furnish so distinguished a list of men educated to the law among its native citizens.

Among those on the bench in the colonial and early provincial periods few of the judges were lawyers. Up to the Revolution only four judges, educated in the law, had been appointed to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature,—Benjamin Lynde, Paul Dudley, Edmund Trowbridge and William Cushing. Few lawyers found their way across the ocean, and fewer still pursued a professional study here. A prejudice against them existed, and the inducements to enter the profession were small. The General Court of the Massachusetts Colony reflected this prejudice by ordering, on October 21, 1663, "that no usual and common attorney in any Inferior Court shall be admitted to sit as Deputy in this Court." In 1685, or immediately after that date, during the reign of James II., Edward Randolph wrote to England that there were only two attorneys in Boston, and asked to have sent "two or three honest attorneys, if any such in nature."

A Bar Association was formed in 1806, and at that time there were probably only twenty-three members of the bar in Essex County, while to-day, as the list at the end of this chapter shows, there are two hundred and three. These twenty-three were John Pickering, Timothy Pickering, Benjamin Pickman, John Prince, Jr., Samuel Putnam, Leverett Saltonstall, Joseph Story, William Prescott and Samuel Swett, of Salem; Joseph Dana, Michael Hodge, Edward Little, Edward St. Loe Livermore, Ebenezer Moseley and Daniel A. White, of Newburyport; Stephen Minot and John Varnum, of Haverhill; Nathan Parks, of Gloucester; Ralph H. French, of Marblehead; Asa Andrews, of Ipswich; Nathan Dane, of Beverly; and Samuel Farrar, of Andover.

This association probably dissolved about the year 1812, and in 1831 another association was formed, whose records show that at the time of its formation there were fifty-two members of the bar. Leverett Saltonstall was the first and probably its only president, as it existed only a few years. Ebenezer Shillaber was its secretary, and Ebenezer Moseley, Jacob Gerrish, John G. King, Rufus Choate and Stephen Minot composed its standing committee. The present Bar Association was formed at the court-house in Lawrence October 20, 1856, and its constitution was adopted at a meeting held at the court-house in Salem December 16, 1856. Its presidents have been Otis P. Lord, Asahel Huntington, William C. Endicott, Stephen B. Ives and the present incumbent, William D. Northend.

SAMUEL APPLETON, born in Waldingfield, England, in 1624, came to New England with his father, Samuel, in 1635 and resided in Ipswich. He was named in the charter of 1692 as one of the Council, and was one of the first judges appointed in 1692 to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex, holding his seat until his death, May 15, 1696. He married Hannah, daughter of William Paine, of Ip-

swich, and for a second wife, Mary, daughter of John Oliver, of Newbury.

DANIEL PIERCE is believed to have been a native of Newbury. In 1698 he was appointed judge of the Essex Court of Common Pleas, and held his seat until his death, January 22, 1704.

WILLIAM BROWNE was the son of William Browne, and was born perhaps in Salem in 1639. In 1689, after the accession of William and Mary, he was one of the Committee of Safety. He was appointed to the bench of the Essex Court of Common Pleas in 1696, and died while in office, February 14, 1716.

JOHN APPLETON, nephew of Samuel Appleton above-mentioned, and son of John, was probably born in Ipswich in 1652. He was town clerk of that town in 1697; deputy to the General Court in 1697; a member of the Council from 1698 to 1702, from 1706 to 1715 and from 1720 to 1722. He was appointed to the Essex Common Pleas bench in 1704 and removed by Governor Belcher in 1732. He was in the same year made judge of probate for Essex, and held that office until his death, in 1739. He married, November 23, 1681, Elizabeth, daughter of John Rogers, president of Harvard College.

THOMAS NOYES was probably born in Newbury in 1649. He was appointed to the bench of the Essex Court of Common Pleas in 1707, and held that office until 1725. He died April 12, 1730.

JOHN HIGGINSON, the son of Rev. John Higginson, and grandson of Rev. Francis Higginson, of Salem, was a merchant by profession, and appointed to the Essex Common Pleas bench in 1708, and held that office until his death, in 1720, at the age of seventy-three years.

JOHN BURRILL was born in Lynn in October, 1658. He represented that town for many years in the General Court and during ten years was Speaker of the House. He was crown counselor and appointed to the Common Pleas bench in 1720, and died December 10, 1721.

SAMUEL BROWNE, son of Judge William Browne already mentioned, was born in Salem, October 8, 1669. He succeeded his father on the Common Pleas bench in 1716, and as associate and chief justice continued on the bench until his death, June 16, 1731.

BARTHOLOMEW GEDNEY was a physician, and probably born in Salem in 1640. He was one of the justices of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, organized in 1692 by Governor Phipps, for the trial of the witches. He was appointed in 1692 judge of probate for Essex County, under the authority assumed by Governor Phipps to delegate probate power vested in him. In the same year he was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He seems to have mingled military with judicial occupations, and commanded an expedition against the Indians in 1696. He died February 28, 1698-99.

JONATHAN CORWIN was a native of Salem, born in

November, 1640. In 1692, on the resignation by Nathaniel Saltonstall of his seat on the bench of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, organized by Governor William Phipps for the trial of the witches, he was appointed in his place. After the union of the colonies he was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, and in 1715 was appointed to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature, holding the office until his death, in June, 1718.

WILLIAM HATHORNE came in the "Arbella" with Winthrop in 1630, and first settled in Dorchester. In 1636 he received a grant of lands from Salem, and took up his residence there. He was commissioned speaker of the House, counsel in court, judge and soldier.

Johnson, in his "Wonder-Working Providence," says: "Yet, through the Lord's mercy we still retain among our Democracy the Godly Captaine William Hathorne, whom the Lord has imbued with a quick comprehension, strong memory and Rhetorick, and volubility of speech, which has caused the people to make use of him often in Public Service, especially when they have had to do with any foreign government." He was the American ancestor of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

JOHN HATHORNE, son of William Hathorne above-mentioned, was born in Salem August 4, 1641. Before the union of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies he was a representative or delegate to the General Court, and one of the assistants. At the accession of William and Mary to the throne, after the deposition of Andros, he was one of the Council assuming the government of the colony. When the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County was established he was appointed one of its judges, and in 1702 was promoted to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature. While on the bench he was a member of the Council, and, under the direction of Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, commanded an unsuccessful expedition against the French and Indians on the Penobscot River. He continued on the bench of the Superior Court until his resignation, in 1712, and died on the 10th of May, 1717.

BENJAMIN LYNDE was born in Boston September 22, 1666, and graduated at Harvard in 1686. He studied law at the Temple in London, and was admitted as a barrister before his return to America. Washburn, in his "Judicial History of Massachusetts," says that he was the first regularly educated lawyer ever appointed to the bench of the Superior Court. In 1699, or thereabouts, he removed to Salem, and made that place his residence until his death, on the 28th of January, 1749. He was appointed one of the justices of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1712, and in 1728, on the resignation of Samuel Sewall, was appointed chief justice.

BENJAMIN LYNDE (2d) was the son of the above-named Benjamin Lynde, and was born in Salem

October 5, 1700. He graduated at Harvard in 1718, and, though not a lawyer, was appointed in 1734 a special justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk, and in 1739 one of the standing judges of that court for Essex. He was appointed to the bench of the Superior Court in 1745, and on the appointment of Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson to the office of Governor, in 1771, he was commissioned in his place, resigning his seat in 1772. He was then appointed judge of probate for Essex County, which office he held until his death, October 9, 1781.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL was the son of Richard Saltonstall, of Haverhill, and was born in that town June 14, 1703. He was the grandson of Major Nathaniel Saltonstall, great-grandson of Richard Saltonstall, and great-great-grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the original patentees of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. The subject of this sketch graduated at Harvard in 1722, and at the age of thirty-three was appointed a judge of the Superior Court of Judicature. It is not known that he was educated to the law, nor was it in either the days of the Massachusetts Colony or of the province the custom to confine judicial appointments to those of the legal profession. At the age of twenty-three he held a commission as colonel of the provincial troops, and in 1737, while on the bench, he was the commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He was a man of scholarly habits, of considerable learning, of refined tastes and was conspicuous for the generous hospitality which his ample means enabled him to dispense.

Judge Saltonstall held his seat on the bench until his death, which occurred at his residence in Haverhill, October 20, 1766. He married three wives, the last of whom was a daughter of Elisha Cooke, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk County, and granddaughter of Judge Elisha Cooke, one of the judges of the Superior Court of Judicature, who married a daughter of Governor John Leverett. He left three sons—Richard Saltonstall, a graduate of Harvard in 1751, who died in England in 1785; Nathaniel, a physician, living in Haverhill, a graduate of Harvard in 1766, who died in 1815; and Leverett, a captain under Cornwallis, who died in New York in 1782. He left also two daughters, one of whom, Abigail, was the first wife of Colonel George Watson, of Plymouth, and the other the wife of Rev. Moses Badger, of Providence.

CALEB CUSHING, of Salisbury, was made Common Pleas judge in 1759, and after the Revolution, when the Common Pleas Court was reorganized, he was appointed chief justice.

STEPHEN HIGGINSON was born in Salem in 1716. He was appointed judge of the Common Pleas in 1761, and died in the same year.

ANDREW OLIVER, of Salem, was one of the "Mandamus Counsellors." He graduated at Harvard in 1749, and was appointed Common Pleas judge

in 1761, and held office until the Revolution. He died in 1799.

WILLIAM BOURNE was the son of Sylvanus Bourne, of Barnstable, and graduated at Harvard in 1743. He settled in Marblehead, and was made judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1766, holding his office until his death in August, 1770.

PETER FRYE was born in Andover in 1723, and graduated at Harvard in 1744. He was register of probate and judge of the Common Pleas Court, to which office he was appointed in 1772, and which he held until the Revolution. He died in England in 1820.

WILLIAM BROWNE was born in Salem February 27, 1737, and graduated at Harvard in 1755. In 1764 he was appointed collector of Salem, and in 1770 was made a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex. He was confirmed as judge of the Superior Court of Judicature June 15, 1774, and in the same year was made a "Mandamus Counsellor." He was a Loyalist, and, retiring from the country in 1778, was made Governor of Bermuda in 1781, and died in England February 13, 1802.

SAMUEL SEWALL was born in Bishop-stoke, England, March 28, 1652, and died in Boston January 1, 1730. His grandfather, Henry Sewall, born in 1576, came to New England and lived in Newbury, where he died about 1655. His father, Henry Sewall, came to New England in 1634, and after beginning a settlement in Newbury, returned to England. In 1659 he again came to New England, and after making a permanent settlement in Newbury, was followed by his wife and children in 1661. The son, Samuel, graduated at Harvard in 1671, and after studying divinity preached for a time. On the 28th of February, 1676, he married Hannah, daughter of John Hull, a goldsmith of wealth in Boston, by whom he secured ample means of support without the drudgery of a minister's life. He was made an assistant in 1684, and continued in office until the arrival of Andros. In 1688 he went to England, resuming on his return, in 1689, the office of assistant, and from 1692 to 1725 was a member of the Council. In 1692 he was made a judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and subsequently an associate judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, which position he held until 1718, when he was made chief justice. He was also judge of probate for Suffolk, and resigned both offices in 1728 on account of old age. He had been a firm believer in witchcraft, and was one of the judges before whom the alleged witches were tried, but on the 14th of January, 1697, Rev. Samuel Willard read a "bill," as it was called, before his congregation, in which the judge expressed his abhorrence of the acts in which he had been engaged, and penitently asked the forgiveness of God and man.

STEPHEN SEWALL, son of Major Stephen Sewall, was born in Salem December 18, 1704, and graduated at Harvard in 1721. He was for a short time tutor at

Harvard, and afterwards taught school in Marblehead. He was appointed associate judge of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1739, and in 1752 was promoted to chief justice. He held his seat until his death, which occurred September 10, 1760.

SAMUEL SEWALL was born in Boston December 11, 1757, and graduated at Harvard in 1776. In 1808 he received the degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater*. He studied law with Francis Dana, of Cambridge, and practiced in Marblehead, which town he represented in the Legislature. He was a member of Congress from 1797 to 1800, and in the latter year was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. In November, 1813, he was made chief justice, and died in Wiscasset, Me., June 8, 1814. He married, December 8, 1781, Abigail, daughter of Dr. Humphrey Devereux, of Marblehead.

JOSIAH WALCOTT, a merchant in Salem, was appointed to the bench of the Essex Court of Common Pleas in 1722. He continued on the bench until his death, February 2, 1729.

TIMOTHY LINALL was born in Salem November 4, 1677, and graduated at Harvard in 1695. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1720, and in 1729 was appointed to the Common Pleas bench. He held his seat until 1754, and died October 25, 1760.

JOHN WAINWRIGHT was a merchant of Ipswich, and graduated at Harvard, in 1709, at the age of eighteen. He was appointed to the Common Pleas bench in 1729, and held his seat until his death, September 1, 1739.

THEOPHILUS BURRILL, of Lynn, was a nephew of Judge John Burrill, and was appointed to the Common Pleas bench in 1733, and died in office in 1737.

THOMAS BERRY, a physician of Ipswich, was born in Boston and graduated at Harvard in 1712. He was judge of probate of Essex County, as well as judge of the Common Pleas Court, to which office he was appointed in 1733, and which he held until his death, in 1756.

BENJAMIN MARSTON was born in Salem, but in his later years lived in Manchester. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Isaac Winslow, of Marshfield, and great-granddaughter of Governor Isaac Winslow, of the "Mayflower." He was sheriff of Essex County, and was appointed to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas in 1737, which office he held until his death, in 1754. He graduated at Harvard in 1689.

JOHN CHOATE, of Ipswich, was judge of probate for Essex County, and chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He died while in office, in 1766.

HENRY GIBBS, a native of Watertown, was born in 1709, and graduated at Harvard in 1726. He settled in Salem as a merchant, and was appointed to the Common Pleas bench in 1754, and continued on the bench until his death, in 1759.

JOHN TASKER, of Marblehead, was made Common

Pleas judge in 1755, and died in office November 9, 1761.

BENJAMIN PICKMAN, of Salem, was born in 1708, and was a merchant. He was appointed to the Common Pleas bench in 1756, holding his office until 1761. He died August 20, 1774.

WILLIAM PRESCOTT was born in Pepperell August 19, 1762, and was the son of Colonel William Prescott, who distinguished himself at the battle of Bunker Hill. He graduated at Harvard in 1783, and after teaching school for a time in Brooklyn, Conn., he entered the law-office of Nathan Dane, in Beverly, where he afterwards began to practice. He subsequently removed to Salem and married a daughter of Mr. Hickling, American consul at St. Michael's, from whom the late distinguished historian, William Hickling Prescott, the son of William Prescott, derived his middle name. While in Salem he was a member of both the House and Senate in the State Legislature. He removed to Boston in 1808, and before his removal, in 1806, and afterwards, in 1813, he was offered a seat on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, which he declined. He was a member of the Executive Council from Suffolk County, a delegate to the Hartford Convention in 1814, and in 1818 accepted the appointment of judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Suffolk. He died in Boston December 8, 1844, and at his death a meeting of the bar was held in the Supreme Court room, at which Mr. Webster offered resolutions of respect, which were responded to by Chief Justice Shaw, at that time holding the court.

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, son of Richard and grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the six patentees of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, was born in Ipswich in 1639, and graduated at Harvard in 1659, afterwards settling in Haverhill, on an estate still known as the "Saltonstall seat." He was chosen an assistant in 1679, and on the arrival of President Dudley, in 1686, was offered a place as member of his Council, which he declined. He took an active part in deposing Andros, and under the charter of 1692 was appointed one of His Majesty's Council. At the breaking out of the witchcraft delusion, Governor William Phipps, without authority of law, established a special Court of Oyer and Terminer to try the witches, and by commissions dated June 2, 1692, appointed Wm. Stoughton chief justice, and Nathaniel Saltonstall, John Richards, Bartholomew Gedney, Wait Winthrop, Samuel Sewall and Peter Sergeant associate justices.

Judge Saltonstall, like many other judges of the time, was not bred to the law, but he was a man of strong mind and sound sense, and not easily imbued with the bigotry and fanaticism prevailing at the time. He left the bench evidently disgusted with the work it was called on to perform, his place being taken by Jonathan Corwin. He married a daughter of Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, and died May 21, 1707,

leaving three sons,—Gurdon, the Governor of Connecticut; Richard, the father of Richard, whose sketch is given below; and Nathaniel, who graduated at Harvard in 1695, and died young.

JAMES CUSHING MERRILL was the son of Rev. Giles Merrill and Lucy (Cushing) Merrill, and was born in Haverhill September 27, 1784. He married Anna, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill, and died in Boston October 4, 1853. He fitted for college at Exeter and graduated at Harvard in 1807. He studied law with John Varnum, of Haverhill, and was admitted to the bar in 1812 at the September term of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, held at Salem. He not long after removed to Boston, where he continued to reside until his death. For many years he was a justice on the bench of the Police Court of Boston, resigning in 1852 on account of feeble health. Previous to his appointment to the bench he was a member of the Senate and House of the State Legislature. He was a scholar as well as a jurist, and his proficiency in Greek literature was recognized by his *alma mater* by his continuance for thirty years on its examining committee for Greek.

JOSEPH GILBERT WATERS was born in Salem July 5, 1796, and was the son of Captain Joseph and Mary (Dean) Waters. He graduated at Harvard in 1816, and after completing his law studies in the office of John Pickering, was admitted to the bar at Salem at the October term of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1821. In 1818 he went to Mississippi, where he spent several years, and returned to Salem, where for a short time he was the editor of the *Salem Observer*. In 1825 he married Eliza Greenleaf, daughter of Captain Penn Townsend. He was appointed special justice of the Police Court in Salem in 1831, and afterwards held the office of standing justice of the same court from 1842 until 1874. In 1835 he was a member of the State Senate, and died in 1878.

BENJAMIN MERRILL was born in Conway, New Hampshire, in 1784, and fitting for college at Exeter, graduated at Harvard in 1804. He studied law with Mr. Stedman, of Lancaster, and was admitted to the bar in Worcester County. Removing to Lynn in 1808 to enter into practice, he was required under the court rules to study one year within the county, and entered the office of Samuel Putnam, whose partner he afterwards became. He received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard in 1845, and died at Salem July 30, 1847, at the age of sixty-three. When he settled in Lynn he was the first lawyer who had ever opened an office in the town, and after a few months' residence there, it is said that he was told that the presence of a lawyer would be prejudicial to the interests of the community, and that he was requested to leave.

JOSEPH PERKINS was born in Essex July 8, 1772, and graduated at Harvard in 1794. In 1801 he was appointed county attorney, and died in Salem February 28, 1803.

ASAHEL HUNTINGTON was born in Topsfield July 23, 1798, and graduated at Yale in 1819. He was county and district attorney, clerk of the courts and twice representative from Salem to the General Court. In 1853 he was mayor of that city, and died September 5, 1870.

THEOPHILUS PARSONS.—Among the eminent lawyers of the last century, Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons stands pre-eminent, and to his autobiography by his son, Theophilus Parsons, we are indebted for this sketch of his life as a lawyer, statesman and judge. His judicial knowledge and legal acumen won for him the title of "giant of the law," and his intimate knowledge of the structure of the Greek language, and acquaintance with its literature, in which he delighted, and to which he turned for recreation from his legal duties, caused Mr. Luzac, the then Professor of Greek in the University of Leyden, to say of Mr. Parsons, that he should be called "The giant of Greek criticism."

Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons was born in Byfield, Massachusetts, 1750, and his father, Rev. Moses Parsons, was a settled minister in that place. His first youth was passed at Dunmer Academy, of Byfield, under the Rev. Mr. Moody, and he entered Harvard College in 1765. The minister's stipend was small, and his family large, so that when the young Theophilus was ready to enter college pecuniary difficulties stood in his way. So general, however, was the accepted idea, that his natural ability promised great things, great exertions were made to send him; one of the maid servants offered to give him a year's salary, twelve pounds, to help him. This offer was of course refused, but the assistance proffered by friends and parishioners was gladly accepted. Theophilus was an insatiable student, but after his lessons were learned would turn for recreation, to a novel or self-imposed mathematical problem with equal relish, which practice he followed in after years, adding a devotion to scientific studies. He graduated in 1769, and went to Portland, Maine, then called Falmouth, where he taught a grammar school; when not occupied with his school duties, he studied in the office of the eminent lawyer, Judge Theophilus Bradbury. Here he applied for admission to the bar. The committee for examination to whom he referred himself, construed the rule that three years of preparatory study, meant three years of consecutive study, and that his employment of school-teaching prevented that from being so considered. However, the committee yielded to his solicitations, and his examination proved so entirely satisfactory, he was admitted to practice in Falmouth. This was in 1774.

The following year Admiral Graves, commander of the British squadron in Boston Bay, despatched some ships of war to Falmouth with orders to destroy it, and it was almost totally burned. Mr. Parsons then returned to his home, greatly disappointed and cast down; but he found at his father's house, Judge

Trowbridge, and his learned help and counsel was as eagerly sought and received by Mr. Parsons as he was ready to give it. The latter remained in Byfield a considerable time, and when he found that Mr. Parsons was to be his companion and student, he ordered thither all his library, which was not only the best, but probably the only thoroughly good one, then in New England.

He found in Mr. Parsons an intelligent student, of devoted industry prepared by previous habits, as well as by previous knowledge, to profit by this golden opportunity.

Edmund Trowbridge died in Cambridge, in 1793, at the age of ninety-four, and during half of his long life, he was, by common consent, regarded as the most learned lawyer of New England. In the seventh volume of the Massachusetts Reports (page 20), Mr. Parsons speaks of his excellence as a common-law lawyer, and says: "The late Judge Trowbridge was an excellent common-law lawyer, of whose friendly assistance in my early professional studies I cherish the most grateful remembrance," and Chancellor Kent, in his commentaries calls him "the oracle of the common-law of New England."

About the time of the Declaration of Independence the formation of a Constitution became a matter of much moment to many of the colonies which had just become States. In Massachusetts the system of government went on with few alterations, although the charter had lost all force. In June, 1776, it was proposed in the general court to prepare a form of government, or constitution,—to be presented to the people. In 1778, a constitution was agreed upon by the General Court, and offered to the people, but was rejected by them by a vote of five to one. These were the reasons for its rejection:

The draft was imperfect, evidently drawn up without due care and consideration; the people preferred that it should be made by a committee chosen for that express purpose and not by the Legislature. A Bill of Rights, clearly defining to the people what were their inalienable rights, was not prefixed, and lastly, the constitution so carefully avoided a strong government, the power of the executive was a mere cipher. It was this last objection which weighed most with many people.

The conflict for the adoption or rejection of the constitution seemed to be the early manifestation that a new question was brought before the minds of men which threatened, or seemed to threaten, the disruption of civil society, and has continued to this day to divide, not politicians only, but the whole people; and will ever do so. This question is, which shall prevail of the two great parties, into one or the other of which every man is forced by nature, habit, taste, education or circumstances. These are the parties of progress and conservatism; of those who love the "largest liberty" with more regard to its quantity than its quality, and those who desire only the best



Theophrastus Parsons

Theophrastus

liberty, and dread, as the greatest of evils, its corruption into license. To all men of this last class the constitution offered to the people was wholly worthless; and to this large party Mr. Parsons belonged. His home was in Essex County, and there he was sustained by the warm sympathy of excellent men, and perhaps, young as he was, strengthened their love of order or their fear of anarchy. A meeting of these men took place in Essex County, in 1778, in Newburyport; a committee was appointed and then it adjourned to Ipswich; and there it met in the last week of April of that year, when a term of the Supreme Judicial Court was held there. At this adjourned meeting a pamphlet was presented by the committee, approved and adopted by it and by its order published.

It contained eighteen distinct articles, setting forth the leading objections to the Constitution proposed. Its title was: "The result of the Convention of Delegates holden at Ipswich, in the County of Essex, who were deputed to take into consideration the Constitution and form of government proposed by the Convention of the State of Massachusetts Bay." It was called the "Essex Result." It went very fully into the consideration of the objects and principles which should be regarded in the formation of a constitution; it not only made the rejection of the proposed constitution far more decisive, but exerted an important influence on the structure of that Constitution which was soon after framed and adopted by the people.

Mr. Parsons wrote this pamphlet, which is now very rare, but is reprinted in the Appendix to his autobiography. The proof that he wrote it lies in the assertion of Chief Justice Parker, who says in his address to the grand jury after Judge Parsons' death: "The Report was undoubtedly his, though he was probably aided by others, at least, with their advice." This elaborate Report is called "The Essex Result." No doubt, he obtained all the assistance, by advice and suggestion, which could be rendered to him in a matter of this importance by the wise men with whom he acted. But he wrote every word of it, and this, perhaps, proved that the young man was already recognized by them, who were certainly among the ablest and most venerable men of the county, as one with whose work they were satisfied, and one whom they could trust to speak for them. Among the most distinguished peculiarities of the actual institutions and government of this country is the singular blending of the progressive and conservative principles in such a way that they do not so much neutralize each other as promote each other's activity, while they compensate for each other. While our fathers were making history, there were some whose love for liberty had degenerated into a love of license, and whose idea of happiness was to run riot through the fields of life; they balanced and checked and were balanced and checked by the stern lovers of

order, who appeared, in their extremity of opinion, to think that the first use of legs is to wear fetters, while walking is but a secondary and conditional purpose. Happily, there were wise men who were able to bring these extremes into compromise, and, by means of compromise, into union. The "Essex Result" was regarded as a very early encounter with the great question then dawning upon this country and upon the world. It was an earnest endeavor to discover and declare how progress and conservatism, liberty and order, might be so adjusted in human institutions, that freedom should be secure, and peace and happiness be the children of freedom.

The Old Confederation of the United States was formed November 15, 1777, in the midst of war and danger and effort; and while these lasted their pressure kept it together. But with the relaxation of peace its debility and insufficiency became apparent. In May, therefore, 1787, a convention of delegates from the states assembled at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a Federal Constitution, and at once the new parties of the country—the Liberty party and the Government party—started into full life.

The two antagonistic principles entered into immediate, constant and energetic conflict; and the good sense and caution and love of peace, and the profound conviction that union would be impossible if not then consummated, and that without union there must be destruction—all these were in perpetual requisition, and were only able to reconcile these hostile sentiments and principles so far as to produce the Constitution, which was throughout, and in almost every paragraph and every provision, a compromise. After the Constitution was framed, the man who most loved peace and union labored strenuously to procure for it the signatures of all the delegates, that it might go to the people with the advantage of their unanimous consent. And all did sign but three—Randolph and Mason, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, afterwards governor of the State. The Constitution contained a provision that it should go into effect as soon as nine states should accept it. It was adopted by the Convention that framed it on the 17th of September, 1787; then by Delaware, December 7, 1787; by Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787; by New Jersey, December 18, 1787; by Georgia, January 2, 1788; and by Connecticut, January 9, 1788. Then came the question whether the Commonwealth of Massachusetts should accept it. It was feared that Massachusetts would be hostile, and that her example would operate with much power upon New York, Maryland and Virginia for good or for evil. January 9, 1788, the convention of delegates from the towns of Massachusetts assembled in Boston to determine whether the Constitution should be adopted or rejected by that State. The debates of this convention were republished by the Legislature of Mas-

sachusetts in 1856. The editorial care of this volume was entrusted to Messrs. Bradford K. Pierce and Charles Hale. In their preface these gentlemen say: "The proceedings of the Convention were of great importance, and were so regarded throughout the country at that time. It is quite certain that, if Massachusetts had refused her assent to the Constitution of the United States, that well-devised scheme of government, the careful work of the patriots and statesmen of the last century, under which the nation has enjoyed so large a degree of prosperity, would have failed."

John Hancock and Samuel Adams were two of the most important members of the convention. Both were doubtful, but it was generally supposed that while they were not friendly to each other, they agreed in a decided leaning against the Constitution. General Knox, after the Constitution was adopted, writes to Washington as follows: "The opposition has not arisen from a consideration of the merits or demerits of the thing itself, as a political machine, but from a deadly principle levelled at the existence of all government whatever. . . . It is a singular circumstance that, in Massachusetts, the property, the ability and the virtue of the State are almost solely in favor of the Constitution. . . ." The Massachusetts convention was of the opinion that certain amendments and alterations in the Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of the people of the commonwealth and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the Federal Government. These amendments were often called in the histories of the times, the "Conciliatory Resolutions," and they were eminently so. It was their purpose to reconcile conflicting opinions and to procure the adoption of the Constitution. Samuel Adams at once arose and declared himself satisfied with the Constitution with these amendments, and seconded them, and Hancock withdrew his opposition. They were referred to a committee and reported with little change. After some discussion, in which one or two of the opponents of the Constitution spoke of the amendments as reconciling them to it, the Constitution was adopted by a vote of one hundred and eighty-seven yeas to one hundred and sixty-eight nays. Mr. Parsons wrote these amendments, and it is always said that these "Conciliatory Resolutions" saved the country.

Mr. Parsons was now living with his wife in Newburyport in Green Street. He married Elizabeth Greenlief, daughter of Judge Greenlief, and he used to say that the suit in which he won his wife was worth all the others he ever gained. In 1800 he removed to Boston. When he left Newburyport for Boston, gentlemen in the town gave him a farewell dinner, at which Robert Treat Paine gave him an enthusiastic toast: "Theophilus Parsons, the oracle of law, the pillar of politics, the bulwark of government." To which Mr. Parsons replied: "The town of New-

buryport; may the blessing of Heaven rest upon it as long as its shores are washed by the Merrimac." I will pause here to mention a trait of character in which he did not stand alone in his profession. He made it an imperative rule, from which he never swerved during his professional career, never to make any charge against or accept any fee from a *widow* or a *minister of the gospel*.

In 1806 Chief Justice Dana resigned on account of the infirmities of age, and Mr. Parsons was invited to become the Chief-Justice, which office he accepted and held until his death, which occurred in 1813.

The last words of a distinguished man are often worthy of commemoration, for they not only frequently witness that his thoughts are occupied with the duties of his profession, but sometimes seem to bear a certain relation to the life upon which he is about to enter. Judge Parsons' were: "Gentlemen of the jury, the case is closed and in your hands. You will please retire and agree upon your verdict." Judge Parsons always maintained that the authenticity of the gospels was proven by the fact of their unanimity in all essentials and disagreement in unessential details. After death his face wore an expression of triumph. It was that which he might have worn when he exhibited to a jury indisputable evidence of some great fact which he had asserted and others had denied. The expression was as if he said in words like these: "See there the proof. I have believed; and when I could not believe I have hoped; and through all objection, uncertainty and despondency I have kept my belief and my hope; and now there is the proof that I was right."

BENJAMIN PICKMAN, the son of Benjamin and Mary (Tappan) Pickman, was born at Salem September 30, 1763, and married, October 20, 1789, Anstias, daughter of Elias Hasket and Elizabeth (Crowninshield) Derby. He studied law with Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport, and settled permanently at Salem. He was at various times Representative and Senator in the State Legislature, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, a member of the Executive Council, and from 1809 to 1811 a member of the national House of Representatives. He died at Salem August 16, 1843.

TIMOTHY PICKERING was born in Salem July 17, 1745, and was admitted to the bar in 1768. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1763, and received a degree from New Jersey College in 1798. He commanded a regiment in the Revolution, was adjutant-general of the army in 1777, and was quartermaster-general in 1780. After the war he settled in Pennsylvania, and between 1791 and 1800 was Postmaster-General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State. He returned to Salem in 1801, was chief justice of the Essex County Court of Common Pleas, United States Senator from 1803 to 1811, and a Representative in Congress from 1815 to 1817. He died in Salem January 29, 1829.



Timothy Pickens.

JOHN PICKERING was born in Salem February 17, 1777. He was a son of Colonel Timothy Pickering, and graduated at Harvard in 1796. After several years' residence in Europe, he returned to Salem in 1801, and was admitted to the Essex bar in 1806. In 1827 he removed to Boston, and in 1829 was appointed city solicitor, and held that office until his death, at Boston, May 5, 1846. He was equally distinguished as a lawyer and a scholar, achieving in the latter capacity, however, his chief fame. His Greek and English Lexicon, his studies and publications in philology, his proficiency in the languages, with more than twenty of which he was familiar, including Hebrew, Chinese and the Indian languages of America, made him an authority universally respected, and whenever appealed to, considered decisive. He received the degree of LL.D. from Bowdoin College in 1822, and from his *alma mater* in 1835.

THEOPHILUS BRADBURY, a descendant from Thomas Bradbury, of Salisbury, was born in Newbury November 13, 1739. He graduated at Harvard in 1757, and for a time taught a grammar school in Falmouth (now Portland) Me., where he afterwards opened a law-office and practiced law from May, 1761, to 1779. He then removed to Newbury, where he resided until his death, September 6, 1803. He was at various times Senator and Representative in the State Legislature, a member of Congress from 1795 to 1797, and in the latter year was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court.

NATHAN DANE was born at Ipswich, in the parish then called the "Hamlet," now the town of Hamilton, on the 29th of December, 1752. He was descended from John Dane, of Berkhamstead, England, who came to New England before 1641, and died at Roxbury in 1658. The American ancestor, by a first wife, whose name is unknown, had John, probably born in Berkhamstead about 1612; Elizabeth, who married James Howard; Francis, born about 1616, who had three wives, Elizabeth Ingalls, Mary Thomas and Hannah Abbot. The son John had a first wife, Eleanor Clark, and a second named Alice. His children were John and Philemon, who married Mary Thompson and Ruth Converse. He died in Ipswich September 29, 1684. His son, John, married Abigail Warren and had John; Daniel; Susan, born March, 1685-86; Nathaniel, born June, 1691; Abigail; Rebecca; and Elizabeth. Daniel married (1st) Lydia Day, and (2d) Mary Annable, and had Daniel, born about 1716; John, about 1719; Mary, about 1721; Lydia, about 1725; and Nathan, about 1727. His son Daniel, born in Ipswich, probably in 1716, married, in 1739, Abigail Burnham, and was the father of the subject of this sketch. He worked on his father's farm until he was of age, when he prepared himself for college, and entered Harvard with the class which graduated in 1778. He then taught school at Beverly, pursuing at the same time his law studies in the office of Judge Wetmore, of Salem. In 1782

he began the practice of law in Beverly and made that town his residence until his death, February 15, 1835. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1782 to 1785, of Congress from 1785 to 1787 and for five years, between 1790 and 1798, a member of the Massachusetts Senate. He was a member of the Electoral College in 1812, and a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1820. In 1794 he was appointed justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, but resigned his place almost immediately after its acceptance. In 1814 he was a member of the Hartford Convention.

Mr. Dane was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, and for several years its president. He was a member of the Massachusetts and Essex Historical Societies, and of the American Antiquarian Society, and received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard in 1816. In 1829 he founded, in Harvard University, the law professorship that bears his name, and at a later date was a liberal contributor for the erection of the Dane Law College. He was a diligent student and his authorship of "A General Abridgment and Digest of American Law" gave him a fame in the profession which time has not dimmed. As a statesman, the identification of his name with the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio, drafted by him, will give him a place in history as long as the institution of slavery, whose spread and power that ordinance checked, has a record in the annals of the land.

So long, too, as the famous speech of Mr. Webster in reply to Robert Young Hayne, in the United States Senate, January 26 and 27, 1830, shall be read, Mr. Dane will be kept in memory by the eulogy which Mr. Webster uttered in his splendid effort. He said:

"In the course of my observations the other day, Mr. President, I paid a passing tribute of respect to a very worthy man, Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts. It so happens that he drew the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the northwest territory. A man of so much ability and so little pretence, of so great a capacity to do good and so unmixt a disposition to do it for its own sake, a gentleman who had acted an important part forty years ago in a measure the influence of what is still deeply felt in the very matter which was the subject of debate, might, I thought, receive from me a commendatory recognition. But the honorable Senator was inclined to be facetious on the subject. He was rather disposed to make it matter of ridicule that I had introduced into the debate the name of one Nathan Dane, of whom he assures us he had never before heard. Sir, if the honorable member had never before heard of Mr. Dane, I am sorry for it. It shows him less acquainted with the public men of the country than I had supposed. Let me tell him, however, that a sneer from him at the mention of the name of Mr. Dane is in bad taste. It may well be a high mark of ambition, sir, either with the honorable gentleman or myself, to accomplish as much to make our names known to advantage and remembered with gratitude as Mr. Dane has accomplished."

Those readers of this imperfect sketch of Mr. Dane who may wish to know what he said himself concerning his connection with the ordinance of 1787, are referred to an interesting letter from him to Daniel Webster dated Beverly, March 26, 1830, which may be found in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1867 to 1869," page 475.

WILLIAM WETMORE was born in Connecticut in

1749, and graduated at Harvard in 1770. He was admitted to the bar in 1780, and began to practice in Salem. After a few years, having property in Maine, which came to him through his wife, who was a Waldo, he removed to Hancock County, where for some years he held the office of judge of probate. In 1804 he removed to Boston, where he held a seat on the bench of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, and died in 1830. The wife of Judge Joseph Story was a daughter of Judge Wetmore.

DANIEL FARNHAM was born in York, Me., in 1719, and was the son of Daniel Farnham, a native of Andover, Mass. He was fitted for college by Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, and graduated at Harvard in 1739. He studied law with Edmund Trowbridge, of Cambridge, who was considered the best lawyer of his time, and who, in 1759, became chief justice of the Superior Court of Judicature. Only a year after leaving college, in July, 1740, he married Sybil Angier, daughter of Rev. Samuel Angier, of Watertown, and granddaughter of Uriah Oakes, the fourth president of Harvard College. Soon after marriage Mr. Farnham took up his permanent residence in Newburyport, and began practice. At that time there was no lawyer east of Salem in Essex County, and the field was one in which a man of less ability would have won success. But Mr. Farnham was a man not only of learning, but of indomitable energy and activity, and soon stood in the front rank at the Essex bar. In 1768 he was one of five barristers in Essex County, the others being Wm. Pynchon, John Chipman, Nathaniel Peaselee Sargent and John Lowell. The house which he built and occupied was a fine specimen of that style of domestic architecture which Harrison, the English architect, who came to this country with Bishop Berkely, inspired, and which was freely adopted in Salem, Marblehead, Portsmouth and Newburyport. The house stood where the Kelly School-house now stands, and is remembered by many of the present generation.

Mr. Farnham, or, as he is better known, Colonel Farnham, having received a commission from Governor Bernard in 1769 as lieutenant-colonel of the Essex Regiment, continued in active and successful practice until the Revolution. His attachment to the King was strong, and after all hope of a peaceable adjustment of the controversy with Great Britain was abandoned, though he had taken an active part in opposing the Stamp Act and other measures of the home government, he remained a persistent, earnest and outspoken adherent of the crown. He was the only one in Newburyport who had the courage to avow loyal sentiments, and after his death, which occurred in 1776, it was the boast of the town that it had been purified. There is some ground for the suspicion that his death was the result of abusive treatment at the hands of the patriots. Dr. Samuel Peters, in a letter dated June 19, 1783, says: "Messerve (collector of Portsmouth) and Porter, a lawyer of Salem, agree

that there never was known to be in Newburyport more than four loyal subjects, one of whom went off to Scotland, Colonel Farnham was killed by the rebels, and Mr. Bass and Dr. Jones gave satisfaction to the rebels and remained there."

Though the patriotic citizens of Newburyport looked upon the death of Colonel Farnham as a purifying event, it is certain that during his long residence in that town, up to the Revolutionary period, he was an honored lawyer and citizen, prominent in every good work, and a means of purification to all who came within the sphere of his example and influence. In his domestic relations he was a loving husband and a tender father. After his death the copy of a prayer which was found in his pocket-book, and which he was in the daily habit of repeating, shows him to have been a devout and faithful Christian.

WILLIAM PYNCHON was born in Springfield in 1725, and graduated at Harvard in 1743. In 1745 he removed to Salem, where he studied law with Stephen Sewall, one of the judges of the Superior Court of Judicature. He died in Salem in March, 1789.

JOHN CHIPMAN was the son of Rev. John Chipman, of Marblehead, and graduated at Harvard in 1738. He died in Falmouth (now Portland) in July, 1768.

NATHANIEL PEASELEE SARGENT was born in Methuen November 2, 1731, and graduated at Harvard in 1750. He practiced law in Haverhill. He was the son of Rev. Christopher Sargent, of Methuen. In 1776 he was appointed judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, and in 1789 chief justice of that court, holding the place until his death, in October, 1791.

JOHN LOWELL, the last of the five Essex County barristers in 1768, was not long identified with his native county. He was born in Newbury in 1743, and graduated at Harvard in 1760, receiving the degree of LL.D. in 1792. He studied law in Boston in the office of Oxenbridge Thacher, and after a short term of practice in Newburyport removed to Boston, and finally to Roxbury, where he died in May, 1802. In 1781 he was chosen a member of Congress, and in 1782 was appointed one of the three judges of the Court of Appeals from the Court of Admiralty. In 1789 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court, and in 1801 was made chief justice of the First Circuit of the United States Court, and held the office until the law establishing the court was repealed, in 1802.

NATHANIEL ROPES was born in Salem May 20, 1726, and graduated at Harvard in 1745. In 1766 he was appointed judge of probate for Essex, and chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the same county. He lived in Salem until his death, which occurred March 19, 1774.

TRISTRAM DALTON, son of Michael Dalton, was born in Newburyport May 28, 1738, and graduated at



W. A. White

Harvard in 1755. He studied law in Salem and married a daughter of Robert Hooper, of Marblehead. He was a representative from Newburyport and Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and a member of the State Senate. With Caleb Strong, he represented Massachusetts in the United States Senate from 1789 to 1791 in the first Congress after the adoption of the Constitution. He invested largely in property at Washington, and removed to that city, but eventually sustained serious losses. He was appointed, in 1815, surveyor of the ports of Boston and Charlestown, and died in Boston May 30, 1817. The house in which he lived in Newburyport is still standing on State Street, a gambrel-roof house, a little above the Public Library, on the opposite side of the street.

OCTAVIUS PICKERING, son of Colonel Timothy Pickering, was born in Wyoming, Pa., September 2, 1792, during the temporary residence of his father in that place. His father returned to Salem, his native town, in 1801, and Octavius was a Salem youth of fourteen years when he entered Harvard, in 1806. He was admitted to the bar at Salem at the October term of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas in 1813, but very soon removed to Boston, where he was admitted to the Suffolk bar March 6, 1816. From that time until his death, October 29, 1868, he was no longer identified with Essex County. He published, in 1867, the life of his father, and engaged in other literary works, but his twenty-four volumes of Massachusetts decisions, known as "Pickering's Reports," are his best title to a lasting remembrance.

JOHN GALLISON was born in Marblehead in October, 1788, and graduated at Harvard in 1807. He was admitted to the bar at Salem in 1810, at the September term of Court of Common Pleas. After a short practice in Marblehead he removed to Boston, where he published, in 1807, two volumes of Circuit Court reports and engaged in literary work. He died December 25, 1820.

HON. DANIEL APPLETON WHITE, for thirty-eight years judge of probate for Essex County, was born in Methuen, on ground now at the heart of the present city of Lawrence, June 7, 1776. He was the sixth son and eleventh child of John White, a gentleman farmer of that day, and was descended in the sixth generation from William White, one of the founders of Newbury and, in 1640, one of the original grantees of Haverhill, his mother being Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Haynes. It was a happy country home of the best class in which his early years were passed, abounding in comfort, plenty, intelligence and affection, with high-minded parents and a large family of brothers and sisters united by ties of unusual strength, and amid surroundings of natural beauty, on a noble farm of nearly three hundred acres, bounded by the Merrimac and the Spicket Rivers. As in most New England families, the boy of less physical strength and of a studious bent was

selected by these qualities for an education, and he entered the academy at Atkinson, N. H., in June, 1792, and Harvard College in the freshman class of 1793, having completed his preparation in seven and a half months of actual study of from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. Although Cambridge has reared a host of loyal students, the college has rarely trained so devoted a son as he proved to be. Learning was, indeed, at a low ebb there in the last years of the eighteenth century, the apparatus of knowledge small and the opportunities were scanty, and in morals and religion the unsettling effect of the French Revolution was marked; but it was a place to train a strong character and to knit worthy friendships. In a class of exceptional talent, young White graduated the first scholar, in 1797, and, after two years spent in teaching the public grammar-school in Medford, in August, 1799, returned to Cambridge as tutor in Latin, a position then of great responsibility and influence, in which he was enabled to be of much service to the college. Perhaps the four years thus occupied were the happiest part of his life, with his marked academic tastes and aptitudes. In September, 1803, however, resigning his tutorship, he removed to Salem to complete, in the office of Mr. (afterwards Judge) Samuel Putnam, the studies for the bar, which he had been pursuing while tutor. Here, with Mr. John Pickering, eminent later as a philological scholar, he prepared an edition of Sallust, "the first edition of an ancient classic ever published in the United States which was not a professed re-impression of some former and foreign edition," the sheets of which were unfortunately destroyed by fire on the eve of publication, in 1805. Having been admitted to the bar in June, 1804, Mr. White began the practice of his profession in Newburyport with success and distinction as a lawyer and citizen, residing in that town for thirteen years. Of strong political convictions as a Federalist, he became prominent in that party in Massachusetts during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, being a member of the State Senate from 1810 to 1815, and taking a leading part in public affairs, and in November, 1814, being nominated for Congress as the Federal candidate in the Essex North District, he was elected by a nearly unanimous vote, the expression of a constituency not of his own party alone of the general respect and trust in which he was held. At this juncture, on the threshold of a conspicuous public career, the offer by Governor Strong of the office of judge of probate for the county of Essex altered the course of his life. He accepted this position, and resigned his commission as Representative in the spring of 1815, against the judgment of many friends, who felt that he did not estimate his qualifications for high public service at their full worth; but he was led to this decision by considerations such as appealed with peculiar force to a lofty and unworldly character. Devoted to the principles of his party, he yet could not

be its slave; his strong taste for literary studies and for a life of scholarly freedom from engrossing professional cares found an opportunity for satisfaction; but the controlling motive with him was due to the bereavement of his home. He had married Mrs. Mary Van Schalkwyck, daughter of Dr. Josiah Wilder, of Lancaster, May 24, 1807, whose early death, June 29, 1811, had left him with two young daughters, a care and duty which the life of a public man at Washington would have compelled him to sacrifice. In giving up the opportunity of a conspicuous public career he did not, however, turn aside from a large sphere of honorable service. The office of judge of probate, when held for the length of time during which Judge White exercised its duties, brings its holder into important relations with the whole community, and enables him to stand to the widow and the orphan for the justice of the commonwealth in their hour of need. Moreover, a special reason for the appointment of a judge of such weight of character and high reputation had been the fact that the methods of several of the probate courts, and particularly that of Essex County, needed revision and reform. To this task Judge White addressed himself with results which made the court a model of administration, which was followed in the other probate courts of the State. Still, the necessary changes which he introduced led to serious misunderstandings for a time in a public accustomed to loose and easy-going methods, and the feeling culminated in 1821 in a memorial addressed to the Legislature by sundry persons in complaint against the judge and the register of probate in Essex County. His former political opponents found this a favorable occasion of attack, and the special committee appointed by the House of Representatives held an *ex parte* investigation, without giving the officers who were thus assailed any opportunity to vindicate their action. Yet the committee were compelled to do so in their own report, unanimously adopted by the Legislature, which stated that the changes which had been introduced were "some of them expressly required by different statutes, others by the Supreme Court adjudged to be necessary, and, as far as they could find, all of them useful." Judge White took this occasion to publish, in 1822, a careful historical account of the course of probate law and procedure from the earliest times in this commonwealth, with an account of the former practice in Essex County and the changes which had been introduced. This little work, entitled "A View of the Jurisdiction and Proceedings of the Courts of Probate in Massachusetts, with Particular Reference to the County of Essex," and which concluded with a dignified and just animadversion upon the mode in which the legislative investigation had been conducted, became an authority on the subject. The reforms which he had introduced were adopted in the courts of other counties, while fixed salaries were substituted for fees. When Judge White resigned

his office, July 1, 1853, in his seventy-eighth year, but with his physical and mental powers unabated, nearly every estate in the county had passed under his care, and his fidelity and justice in the administration of his duties had been crowned with universal respect and honor. The opportunities of leisure which his judicial position afforded enabled him to meet the demands for those services which naturally devolve on a public-spirited citizen holding such a position in the community. He was one of the founders of the Essex County Lyceum, the pioneer in the system of public lectures which promised and, for a time, fulfilled the promise to be potent among the educational and moral influences of the time, being its president, and also the first president of the Salem Lyceum. Of the Essex Institute he was president from its formation, in 1848, until his death. Addresses on public occasions, as at the dedication of Harmony Grove Cemetery, and the eulogies on Dr. Bowditch, in Salem, and Hon. John Pickering, in Boston, were given by him. Harvard College he served with unwearied devotion for many years in the board of overseers and on various committees, receiving from the university in 1843 the honorary degree of LL.D., and in 1844 delivering the address before its Association of Alumni. But his delight was in his noble library, rich especially in the ancient classics, historical works and English *belles-lettres*, where his happiest hours were spent in his favorite studies. These bore fruit especially in his writings concerning theological subjects and congregational polity. His early bent had been to the profession of the Christian ministry, from which he had been deterred by the difference of his convictions from those of his honored parents, who were earnest members of the Baptist communion, while his own sympathies were with the liberal Christian movement, which took form in the Unitarian denomination, in which he became one of the most prominent laymen; and his special interest in studies more congenial to the sacred profession than to that of the law never waned. In the earnest debate between the two branches of the Congregational body he took part with his pen, publishing in 1832 an elaborate work, marked by much learning, entitled "Correspondence Between the First Church and the Tabernacle Church, in Salem, in which the Duties of Churches are Discussed, and the Rights of Conscience Vindicated," and the studies of many years were gathered up by him in his old age in his volume on "New England Congregationalism in its Origin and Purity," published in 1861, just before his death. In these studious labors, however, he was no recluse, but his fine old mansion was the seat of a large and wide hospitality to friends and kindred and strangers. This had become his home when, after his removal to Salem, he had married, August 1, 1819, Mrs. Eliza Wetmore, daughter of William Orne, Esq., a prominent merchant, whose early death, March 27, 1821, again

darkened his domestic happiness. His subsequent marriage, January 22, 1824, to Mrs. Ruth Rogers, daughter of Joseph Hurd, Esq., of Charlestown, placed once more at the head of his home a refined and charming lady, who shared and graced its hospitalities, surviving him to die November 28, 1874, at the age of more than ninety years.

In such serene and happy occupations the closing years of Judge White's life were spent after the resignation of his judicial office, which he continued able to have filled, if he had so chosen, to his death, March 30, 1861, near the close of his eighty-fifth year, with undimmed powers of body and mind, and with a spirit ever young. His brethren of the Essex bar expressed the feeling of the community in resolutions adopted at a meeting called for the purpose after the death of Chief Justice Shaw and of Judge White, which recorded their "appreciation of" his "fine intellectual and moral traits, of that elegant and varied scholarship, and that thorough and exact learning of which a brilliant university career gave promise, and which the experience of so long a life did not disappoint; of his fidelity to his professional and judicial duties; of the services which he has rendered to the probate law by his faithful administration and his published treatise; of the pure and simple course of his daily life; of the unswerving integrity, the exquisite religious sensibility, the large philanthropy and the unbounded and generous sympathy for all around him, which ennobled his life, even to its extremest close," and commemorating, "with affectionate pride," "the influence of his example." Two enduring memorials in gifts ampler than are often bestowed by men of far larger estate remain to perpetuate his memory. The first is that by which he bestowed on the Essex Institute, in Salem, the greater part of his library, amounting in all to over eight thousand books and ten thousand pamphlets. The other is the noble White Foundations in the city of Lawrence, which now covers the green fields of what was his father's farm in Methuen. In selling to the Essex Company his portion of this territory, he had reserved six acres, including a family burial lot, with the restriction that it should not be built upon without the consent of that company. With this consent, in 1852, he vested this property in three trustees, who were directed to make proper provision for the burial-place, after which the proceeds of sales of the land were to be invested and the income applied to the establishment and support of an annual course of lectures and in the purchase of books for the Public Library, any further surplus to be used "in such manner as they, in the exercise of a sound judgment and discretion, shall consider best adapted to promote the moral, intellectual and Christian advancement and instruction of the inhabitants of the town of Lawrence, earnestly requesting the said trustees constantly to bear in mind that the great object intended to be promoted and accomplished is

the education and training up of the young in habits of industry, morality and piety, and in the exercise of true Christian principles, both in thought and action." From the income of this fund annual courses of lectures since 1864-65 have been given in Lawrence, free to the industrial classes, and filling the largest hall in the city to overflowing, and since 1872 a regular appropriation of one thousand dollars annually has been applied to the purchase of carefully-selected books for the Public Library, while it is estimated that the principal of the fund will eventually amount to one hundred thousand dollars,—a worthy fulfillment of a wise and comprehensive plan for enduring public benefit. The two daughters of Judge White by his first marriage were married to Hon. William Dwight, of Springfield, and Hon. Caleb Foote, of Salem, while two sons survived him, the children of his second and third marriages,—Rev. William Orne White and Dr. Henry Orne White. All of these children have descendants.

SIMON GREENLEAF was born in Newburyport December 5, 1783, and educated at the Latin school in that town. While he was a boy his father removed to New Gloucester, Maine, where he received his early education at the common schools. Without the advantage of a college career, at the age of eighteen he entered the law-office of Ezekiel Whitman, of Portland, and after a five years' course of study was admitted to the bar of Cumberland County in 1806. He began to practice at Standish, Maine, removing, after a short time, to Gray, and from thence, in 1818, to Portland.

In 1820 he was appointed reporter of decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine, and held office twelve years, during which time he issued nine volumes of reports, which laid the foundation of his reputation and future distinguished legal career. He published at an early day a volume of "Overruled Cases," and later in life a treatise on the "Law of Evidence." This work, with his "Reports," assures him a lasting fame.

In 1817 he received from Bowdoin College the degree of Master of Arts, the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard in 1834, and from Amherst in 1845. In 1834 he was appointed Royal Professor of Law in Harvard University as the successor of Professor Ashmun, and after the death of Judge Story he was appointed to the Dane Professorship in 1846. He was induced by ill health to resign in 1848, when he was honored with the title of Emeritus Professor of Law in the University. He died at Cambridge October 6, 1853.

ASA WALDO WILDES was born (1786) in Topsfield and graduated at Dartmouth in 1809. After leaving college he taught school in Newburyport and Washington, and finally returned to Newburyport and entered as a student the law-office of Stephen W. Marston. He was admitted to the bar in 1820, and began in Newburyport the practice of law, which he continued

until 1826. In that year that part of the duties of the Court of Sessions which related to highways was transferred to a new board, "called commissioners of highways," consisting of five members appointed by the Governor. Mr. Wildes was appointed by Governor Lincoln a member of the board, with Robert Rantoul, of Beverly; Stephen Barker, of Andover; Joseph Winn, of Salem; and William B. Breed, of Lynn, as his associates.

In 1828 the Board of Highway Commissioners was abolished, and the Board of County Commissioners established. Mr. Wildes was appointed by the Governor chairman of the new board, and held office by successive appointments until 1835, when the office was made elective; and again by election until 1856, with the exception of one term of three years, from 1842 to 1845.

Mr. Wildes was peculiarly fitted for the place he so long occupied, and his prolonged incumbency was as creditable to the people of Essex County as to himself. They appreciated his legal knowledge and sound judgment, and did not hesitate to call him into their service. He died in Newburyport, December 4, 1857.

STEPHEN W. MARSTON was born in Fairlee, Vt., in 1787. He graduated at Dartmouth, and after completing his law studies with Judge White, of Salem, settled in Newburyport. He was well read in the law, and at an early day took high rank at the Essex bar. He was one of the junior counsel in the celebrated Goodridge robbery case, in which Daniel Webster was senior. Had it not been for the masterly management and skill of Mr. Webster, aided by the thorough work of his assistants, the Kenistons, Jackman and Pearson, the defendants would doubtless have been convicted of a crime which had never been committed. There had been no robbery, but Goodridge had been so ingenious in the arrangement of his plot and of the evidence to sustain it, that the proof against the parties charged seemed almost conclusive. An account of this trial, perhaps the most remarkable one in the annals of the State, was published in a pamphlet, and is worthy of examination by all who are interested in the administration of criminal law.

In 1833 Mr. Marston was appointed justice of the Police Court at Newburyport, and continued in office until 1866, when the increasing feebleness of age induced him to resign. His duties on the bench were conscientiously performed, and his decisions, which were rarely reversed, were always marked by a sound judgment as well as an exact perception of legal principles. He was a member of the Legislature in early life, and the Whig candidate for Congress in opposition to Caleb Cushing in that gentleman's first great contest for the national legislature. He died at his residence August 27, 1873.

SAMUEL L. KNAPP was a native of Newburyport. He was graduated at Dartmouth College, and studied

law at Newburyport with Theophilus Parsons, and became a practicing lawyer in his native town. He afterwards removed to Boston, where he edited the *Boston Galaxy*, and for a short time the *Commercial Gazette*. He again removed to Washington, where he was engaged as editor of the *National Journal*, and finally to New York, where he edited the *Commercial Advertiser*. He was one of the junior counsel with Daniel Webster in the famous Goodridge robbery case, and would have attained high rank at the bar had not a fondness for general literature enticed him away from his profession. He died at Hopkinton Springs in July, 1838.

HENRY ALEXANDER SCAMMELL DEARBORN, son of General Henry Dearborn, of the Revolution, was born in Exeter, N. H., March 8, 1783, and died in Portland, Me., July 29, 1851. He graduated at the College of William and Mary in 1803, and studied law with Joseph Story, in Salem, where he entered into practice, having been admitted to the bar in 1807. He was brigadier-general in command of troops in Boston harbor in the War of 1812, collector of the ports of Boston and Charlestown from 1812 to 1829, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820 and a member of Congress from 1831 to 1833. In 1834 he was made adjutant-general of Massachusetts by Governor John Davis, and removed, in 1843, by Governor Marcus Morton, for loaning the State arms to Rhode Island to suppress the rebellion. He was mayor of Roxbury from 1847 to 1851, the year of his death. He was the author of several works which added materially to an already well-established reputation.

GAYTON PICKMAN OSGOOD was born at Salem, July 4, 1797, and was the son of Isaac and Rebecca T. (Pickman) Osgood. He graduated at Harvard in 1815, and studied law with Benjamin Merrill. He began practice in Salem, and afterwards removed to Andover, at which place his parents had, while he was young, taken up their residence. He was in the Legislature, and was a member of Congress from 1833 to 1835. He married, March 24, 1859, Mary Farnham, of North Andover, and died in that town June 26, 1861.

RUFUS KING, son of Richard and Isabella (Braddon) King, was born in Scarboro', Me., March 24, 1755, and graduated at Harvard in 1777. His father had removed to Scarboro' from Watertown, Mass., in 1746. He studied law with Theophilus Parsons, of Newburyport, whose office was on the corner of Green and Harris Streets, and commenced practice in that place.

From 1784 to 1786 he was a member of Congress, and it is said that in consequence of his disappointment at the selection of Tristram Dalton for United States Senator in 1788, removed to New York. His career there is well known, and forms no part of the history of Essex County. He died at Jamaica, Long Island, April 29, 1827. William King, the first Governor of Maine, was the son of Richard King, by

his first wife, Mary, daughter of Samuel Blake, of Scarboro', and half brother of Rufus.

NATHANIEL COGSWELL, son of Thomas Cogswell, was born in Haverhill January 19, 1773, and graduated at Dartmouth in 1794. He studied law with Ebenezer Smith, of Durham, N. H., and began practice in 1805. In 1808 he established himself at Newburyport, and died at the Rapids of the Red River August, 1813.

IGHABOD TUCKER was born at Leicester April 17, 1765, and graduated at Harvard in 1791. He received a degree from Yale in 1804, and from Bowdoin in 1806. He began the practice of law in Haverhill, having been admitted to the bar in 1795, and removed to Salem, where he held the office of clerk of the courts for Essex County for many years. He was the son of Benjamin and Martha (Davis) Tucker, of Leicester, and was twice married,—first, September 16, 1798, to Maria, daughter of Dr. Joseph and Mary (Leavitt) Orne, and second, October 13, 1811, to Esther Orne, widow of Joseph Cobat and daughter of Dr. William and Lois (Orne) Paine. He died at Salem October 22, 1846.

WILLIAM CRANCH, son of Richard Cranch, who was born in England in November, 1726, was born in Weymouth, Mass., July 17, 1769, and graduated at Harvard in 1787, receiving the degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater* in 1829. After his admission to the bar he practiced first in Braintree, and afterwards in Haverhill. In October, 1794, he removed to Washington, and was appointed in 1801, by President Adams, associate judge of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, of which he was chief justice from 1805 to his death, which occurred September 1, 1855. He published nine volumes of reports of the United States Supreme Court, and six volumes of reports of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.

JOSEPH E. SPRAGUE was the son of William and Sarah (Sprague) Stearns, and took his mother's maiden-name. He was born at Salem September 9, 1782, and graduated at Harvard in 1804. He studied law, and was postmaster of Salem from 1815 to 1829. In September, 1830, he was appointed sheriff of Essex County, and continued in office until 1851. He was, at various times, Senator and Representative in the State Legislature, and died February 22, 1852.

JOSEPH STORY was born in Marblehead September 18, 1779, and was the son of Dr. Elisha Story, a native of Boston and a surgeon in the Revolution. He graduated at Harvard in 1798, and received degrees of LL.D. from Brown (1815), Harvard (1821) and Dartmouth (1824). Among his classmates were Wm. Ellery Channing, John Varnum, and Sidney Willard. His education before entering college was received in Marblehead, under the direction of Rev. Dr. William Harris, afterwards president of Columbia College. He began his law studies in the office of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, in Marblehead, but on his appoint-

ment to the bench he entered the office of Judge Samuel Putnam, and was admitted to the bar of Essex County in July, 1801. He was a Democrat in politics, and as such stood almost alone among the lawyers of the county. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1805, '06, '07, a member of Congress in 1808, again a member of the Legislature from 1809 to 1812, and was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives in January, 1811.

In 1806 he advocated in the Legislature an increase of the salaries of the Supreme Judicial Court in opposition to the prejudices of his party against high judicial salaries, and more especially against Theophilus Parsons, whom it was proposed to place on the bench, but who could not afford to relinquish a practice of ten thousand dollars for a position having attached to it the paltry salary of twelve hundred dollars. Mr. Parsons was especially obnoxious to the Democrats, but Mr. Story, with that sturdy independence which always characterized him, advocated and carried a bill to increase the salary of the chief justice to two thousand five hundred dollars, and of the associates to two thousand four hundred dollars, and Mr. Parsons was appointed and accepted the appointment. In 1809 he advocated and was largely the means of securing a further increase of the salaries of the chief justice and the associates to three thousand five hundred dollars and three thousand dollars, respectively.

On the 18th of November, 1811, he was appointed by Madison associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of William Cushing, which occurred on the 13th of September, 1810. The appointment had been previously offered to John Quincy Adams, who declined it. Mr. Story was then only thirty-two years of age, and his appointment reflects credit on the sagacity of Mr. Madison, who discovered in so young a man the signs of promise which his career afterwards fully verified. In 1820, at the time of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, he was a delegate from Salem to the Constitutional Convention. In 1828 Nathan Dane, who, in founding the Law School at Cambridge, had reserved to himself the appointments to its professorships, appointed Judge Story Dane professor of law and John Hooker Ashmun, Royal professor of law, and in the next year, 1829, he removed from Salem to Cambridge, where he continued to reside until his death, on the 10th of September, 1845.

Aside from his learning in the law and that wonderful fluency in the use of language, both spoken and written, which made his learning available, nothing distinguished him more than his industry. With the labors of the judge constantly pressing upon him and the cares of his professorship, the press was kept busy in supplying the law libraries of the land with his commentaries and treatises and miscellaneous pro-

ductions. His first publication seems to have been a poem entitled the "Power of Solitude," published in Salem in 1804. In 1805 appeared "Selection of Pleadings in Civil Actions with Annotations." In 1828 he edited the Public and General Statutes passed by Congress from 1789 to 1827, and in 1836 and 1845 supplements to these dates. In 1832 appeared "Commentaries on the Law of Bailments, with Illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Law;" in 1833, "Commentaries on the Constitution;" in 1834, "Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws, Foreign and Domestic, in Regard to Contracts, Rights and Remedies, and Especially in Regard to Marriages, Divorces, Wills, Successions and Judgments." In 1835 and 1836 appeared "Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence as Administered in England and America;" in 1838, "Commentaries on Equity Pleadings and the Incidents Thereto, according to the Practice of the Courts of Equity in England and America;" in 1839, "Commentaries on the Law of Agency as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence, with Occasional Illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Law;" in 1841, "Commentaries on the Law of Partnership as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence, with Occasional Illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Law;" in 1843, "Commentaries on the Law of Bills of Exchange, Foreign and Inland, as Administered in England and America, with Occasional Illustrations from the Commercial Law of the Nations of Continental Europe;" in 1845, "Commentaries on the Law of Promissory Notes." His decisions in the First Circuit, from 1812 to 1815, are in "Gallison's Reports;" from 1816 to 1830, in "Mason's Reports;" from 1830 to 1839, in "Sumner's Reports;" and from 1839 to 1845, in Story's "Reports." Among his numerous other publications were an "Eulogy on Washington at Salem," 1800; "An Eulogy on Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow," 1813; "Sketch of Samuel Dexter," 1816; "Charges to Grand Juries in Boston and Providence," 1819; "Charge to Grand Jury at Portland," 1820; "Address before the Suffolk Bar," 1821; "Discourse before the Phi Beta Society," 1826; "Discourse before the Essex Historical Society," 1828; "Address at his own Inauguration as Professor," 1829; "Address at the Dedication of Mount Auburn," 1831; "Address at the Funeral Services of Professor John Hooker Ashmun," 1833; "Eulogy on John Marshall," 1835; "Lectures on the Science of Law," 1838; "Address before the Harvard Alumni," 1842; and his "Charge to the Grand Jury of Rhode Island on Treason," in 1845. In addition to this long list of his works might be mentioned a large number of essays and articles in magazines and reviews, and three unprinted manuscript volumes, finished just before his death, entitled "Digest of Law Supplementary to Comyns," which are deposited in the Harvard College library.

JOHN VARNUM was born in Dracut in 1783, and

graduated at Harvard in 1798. He practiced law in Haverhill, and there married, October 9, 1806, Mary Cooke, daughter of Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill. He represented Haverhill in the State Legislature, and was also a member of the Senate. He was a member of Congress from December 5, 1825, to March 3, 1831. His law studies, before admission to the bar, were pursued in the office of Judge Smith, of Exeter. He died July 23, 1836.

JOHN GLEN KING, son of James and Judith (Norris) King, was born in Salem March 19, 1787, and graduated at Harvard in 1807. He studied law with William Prescott and Joseph Story, and was admitted to the bar in 1812, at the November term of the Supreme Judicial Court, sitting at Salem. He was Representative and Senator and the president of the first City Council of Salem after its incorporation as a city, in 1836. Aside from legal attainments, which were universally recognized as of a high order, he was proficient in historical study, and was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and one of the founders of the Essex Historical Society. He married, November 10, 1815, Susan H., daughter of Frederick Gilman, of Gloucester, and died July 26, 1857.

Mr. King's baptismal name was John King, but by an act of the Legislature passed June 21, 1811, it was changed to John Glen King. He was descended from William King, who came from England in the "Abigail" in 1635. Though he graduated in 1807, he did not receive his degree until 1818, having been one of those engaged in the famous Commons Rebellion, which occurred in his senior year. While a member of the House of Representatives he was appointed in the Prescott impeachment case to make the impeachment at the bar of the House, in the name of the House and the people, and also one of seven members to conduct the impeachment before the Senate. He was chairman of the committee and made the opening argument.

A letter from Boston, in the *Salem Gazette*, at the time of his death, paid the following tribute to his memory: "The Hon. John Glen King, whose death, at the ripe age of seventy years, has been announced, was a gentleman universally respected for his private worth and public services and example. All who have had the pleasure of an intimate acquaintance with him have been blest by his social qualities, his urbanity of manner and his kindness of heart. The odor of his virtues will long endure among his friends. Truly a good man has departed."

NATHANIEL LORD, JR., though not a member of the bar, was so long register of probate of Essex County, and came in such close contact with lawyers in the performance of their professional duties, as to deserve an honorable place in this record. He was descended from Robert Lord, who came to New England in 1636 and settled in Ipswich. Robert had five sons—Robert, Thomas, Samuel, Joseph and Nathaniel. Of



Engraved by A. H. J. J. J. J.

Nath. Lordy



Dear Mr. Thos
Your Obedient Servant
Robert Hunt

these, Robert had six sons,—Robert, 1657; John, 1659; Thomas; Joseph, 1674; Nathaniel, about 1675; and James, 1676. Of these, James had James, Joseph and Nathaniel. Of these, Nathaniel married Elizabeth Day, and had Nathaniel, 1747; Abraham, 1751; Isaac, 1753. Of these, Isaac, by wife, Susanna, had Isaac, 1777; Joseph, 1778; Nathaniel, the subject of this sketch, September 25, 1780; and Levi, 1794. Of these Nathaniel, by his wife Eunice, had Nathaniel, James, Otis Phillips, Isaac, and George Robert. Of these, George Robert, by his wife Mary, had George Robert and four daughters, Mary L., Anna M., Ella K., and Elizabeth F.

Mr. Lord graduated at Harvard in 1798, and became first connected with the probate office as clerk of Daniel Noyes, who had been register many years. In May, 1815, he was appointed register by Governor Caleb Strong, and continued in office until he was removed by Governor Boutwell, in 1851. In 1851 Edwin Lawrence succeeded him, and in the next year the registry was removed to Salem.

After leaving college and before going into the registry as clerk he taught school a few years in York, Me., and was also for a short time an assistant in the Dummer Academy. He married, in December, 1804, Eunice, daughter of Jeremiah and Lois (Choate) Kimball, of Ipswich, and sister of Colonel Charles Kimball, of that town. His three sons, Nathaniel James, Otis Phillips and George Robert, of whom only the last is living, owed many of their strong mental and physical traits to their father. Sketches of the first two may be found in another place in this record. To George Robert Lord, who, at one time, was register of probate, and is now the courteous and efficient assistant clerk of the courts at Salem, the writer of these sketches is indebted for facilities in the examination of records, which he most generously afforded.

Too much praise can scarcely be awarded to Nathaniel Lord for the fidelity, thoroughness and courtesy with which he performed the duties of register during his incumbency of thirty-six years. Very many now living have cause to remember his kindness of heart, his timely counsel and his honorable deportment, both in business and social life, and the admirable method and system of the office under its present management is largely due to the high standard which he set up, while it was occupied by him.

DAVID CUMMINS was the son of David and Mehitabel (Cave) Cummins, of Topsfield, and was born in that town August 14, 1785. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1806, and after completing his law studies in the office of Samuel Putnam, of Salem, was admitted to the Essex bar at Salem in 1809, at the September term of the Court of Common Pleas. He began practice at Salem, afterwards removing to Springfield, and finally to Dorchester, where he died March 30, 1855. He was appointed justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1828, and remained on the bench until 1844. He

was twice married,—first, August 13, 1812, to Sally, daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Peabody) Porter, of Topsfield; and second, to Catherine, daughter of Thomas Kittridge, of Andover.

SAMUEL PORTER, of Salem, was admitted to the bar of Essex County before the Revolution. He studied law with Daniel Farnham, of Newburyport, and became a Loyalist refugee and ended his days in England.

NATHAN W. HAZEN was born in Bridgeton, Maine, July 9, 1800. He there received his education in the public schools and in the Bridgeton Academy. He studied law with Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem, and was admitted to the bar in 1828. He settled in Andover, where he secured a large practice. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1834, and at a later day a member of the Senate. He died in Andover, March 19, 1887, the oldest member of the Essex bar.

BENJAMIN ROPES NICHOLS, son of Ichabod and Lydia (Ropes) Nichols, was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May 18, 1786, and graduated at Harvard in 1804. He was admitted to the bar of Essex County in 1807, and for many years practiced law in Salem. He married, April 12, 1813, Mary, daughter of Colonel Timothy and Rebecca (White) Pickering, of Salem. She was born in Philadelphia November 21, 1793, during her father's temporary residence in that city, and outliving her husband many years, died in West Roxbury March 22, 1863. Mr. Nichols removed to Boston in 1824, where he died April 30, 1848. He was a man of culture, and as an antiquary won more than common distinction. In 1820 he was appointed by the General Court on a commission, with Rev. James Freeman, of Boston, and Samuel Davis, of Plymouth, to superintend the work of copying such a portion of the New Plymouth records as they might think desirable. Under the direction of this commission, six volumes of court proceedings, one volume of deeds, one volume of judicial acts and one volume of laws were copied, and the copies were deposited in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth, where they still are. The original records were also put in proper condition for preservation, and to the intelligent performance of the duties of the commission the present state of the Old Colony records is largely due.

RUFUS CHOATE, the son of David and Miriam (Foster) Choate, was born on Hog Island, in the town of Essex, October 1, 1799. He began the study of Latin in 1809 with Dr. Thomas Sewell, and continued his studies with Rev. Thomas Holt, Wm. Cogswell and Rev. Robert Crowell. He afterwards spent seven months at Hampton Academy, then in charge of James Adams, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1819, from which college he at a later day received the degree of LL.D. Degrees were also awarded to him by Yale in 1844 and Harvard in 1845. After leaving college he studied law in the office of William Wirt, at Washington, and at the Dane Law School in Cam-

bridge, and was admitted to the Essex bar, in Salem, at the September term of the Court of Common Pleas in 1823. He began practice in Danvers, where he remained until 1834. During his residence in Danvers he was a State Representative in 1825, State Senator in 1827, and member of Congress from 1832 to 1834. In the latter year he removed to Boston. In 1841 he succeeded Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, when that gentleman resigned his seat to become Secretary of State under President Harrison. In 1853 he succeeded John H. Clifford as attorney-general of Massachusetts, and in the same year was a member of the Constitutional Convention. In 1858, in consequence of ill-health, he gave up professional labor, and in 1859 sailed for Europe. At that time the Cunard steamers from Boston touched at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and when reaching that port he was too feeble to proceed, and landing, died in that city July 13, 1859.

Mr. Choate, before he removed to Boston, had been distinguished at the bar; and after the death of Mr. Webster, in 1852, he was universally recognized as standing at the head of the bar of Massachusetts. In legislative fields he seemed out of his element. In the dominion of law, to which he gave his heart and soul and strength, he was supreme. Though an orator of the first class, his greatest forensic efforts were before a jury, and no gladiatorial show ever exceeded in interest the continuous exhibition of logic entwined with wreaths of eloquence in which he indulged before a reluctant jury, until one after another of the panel yielded to him his judgment and was ready, as he triumphantly saw, to give him his verdict. The writer has seen him address himself for an hour to a single jurymen, until he saw at last that he, with the rest, was secure. He was a man of large frame, broad shoulders and upright figure, surrounded by a head and face which it is as impossible to describe as the flash of the lightning in the cloud or the aurora in the sky.

Though contrasting strongly with Mr. Webster in every movement and feature, he was perhaps as striking in appearance, and in an uncovered crowd would have been as likely to arrest the attention of the stranger. There was a fascination about him which always won the sympathy of visitors to the court-room where he was engaged for the side in whose interest he was acting. The juror could no more easily escape this fascination than the visitor, and to this may be attributed a part of his success. The writer was in court at Mr. Webster's last appearance before a jury in Boston, and Mr. Choate was opposed to him. It was one of the many contests in which the heavy-moulded dray-horse, which would only exhibit his strength when he had tons to draw, was pitted against the racer. The racer won the case because there were no tons to draw, and because activity, alertness, swiftness and grace alone were needed.

Few lawyers in Massachusetts have been so much beloved as Mr. Choate. To the young members of the bar he was always courteous and kind; to his peers he was always considerate and liberal. His death was felt as a public loss, and not only the various societies and the bar to which he belonged put on record their tributes to his memory, but the citizens of Boston met in Faneuil Hall and passed resolutions in his honor.

CHARLES JACKSON, born in Newburyport May 31, 1775, graduated at Harvard in 1793 and received the degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater* in 1821. He was a son of Jonathan Jackson, of Newburyport, who afterwards removed to Boston and there died March 5, 1810. He studied law with Theophilus Parsons and was admitted to the Essex bar in 1796. In 1803 he removed to Boston and attained very soon a high rank. In 1813 he was appointed by Governor Strong associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, and left the bench in 1823. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and in 1833 was appointed one of the commissioners to codify the State laws. He died in Boston December 13, 1855.

STEPHEN MINOT was born in Concord, Mass., September 28, 1776, and graduated at Harvard in 1801. He studied law with Samuel Dana, of Groton, and was admitted to the bar in Middlesex County in 1804. He practiced for a short time in New Gloucester and in Minot, Maine, and finally settled in Haverhill. He was, from December, 1811, to June, 1821, judge of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, and county attorney from 1824 to 1830. He died in Haverhill April 6, 1861.

SAMUEL PUTNAM, LL.D., A.A.S.¹—“Samuel Putnam was born in Danvers, on the 13th of April, 1768. He was the son of parents of superior intelligence and worth, the line of his ancestry in that place running back into our greatest American antiquity. His father, Deacon Gideon Putnam, amid the emergencies of an early settlement, seems to have exercised a variety of those needful functions which devolved upon men of most native sense and energy. His mother, who united to keen wit most acute feelings, having, of ten children, only this one spared, would often betray the smile and tear in the same moment, and this only one left of her offspring was naturally of so very slender constitution that faintly indeed in his youth could his after career have been anticipated, and only a bold casting of the horoscope have meted out to him his coming years or attainments. Samuel went to school in Beverly, whither for a time the family removed, and afterwards, at the age of ten years, he studied in the academy at Andover. He saw the soldiers under Arnold as they were going down to attack Quebec, and they were pleased that the little boy—who appears to have had melody born

¹ This sketch is taken almost wholly from a sermon delivered in 1853, by Rev. A. C. Bartol, D.D. (Contributed.)



SAMUEL PUTNAM.

in him, even at his tender age, so rarely cultivated was his faculty—could play the fife for them as they marched by.

"Before the Revolution, too, he had seen a regiment of soldiers in command of General Gage, the British governor. He was himself distantly related to the celebrated General Israel Putnam. But his vocation was not to the turbulence of battle, but to the serener air of peaceful studies, and having entered Harvard College, with others, a class-mate of John Quincy Adams, he received his graduation in July, 1787, and continued an enthusiastic friend of his *alma mater* to the end of his days.

"His father had destined him to be a teacher, but, moved by the inspiration and other destiny of his own nature to a different sphere of greater intellectual study among men, he went to Newburyport to study law with the distinguished Judge Parsons, yet was by him—his class of pupils being full—directed to Master Bradbury, as he was called, a sound and learned lawyer. He established himself in the practice of his profession, soon very extensively at Salem; held a leading rank as an advocate, and, against eminent opponents, was prompt, acute, ready, and able, with all the ingenuity at command needful, to serve his client. No advocate of the time is understood to have been better versed than he in the principles of the common law. He had peculiar skill and fame in the branch of mercantile or commercial law, which was a rare reputation at that period, so that the great Samuel Dexter, in an important case sent his client to Essex, to Mr. Putnam, as the man to consult in that early school of the law in Massachusetts."

So late as the year 1885, Lord Esher, the present distinguished Master of the Rolls, pronouncing the judgment of the Court of Appeals of England in an important commercial case said: "The first case to be dealt with is the American case of *Brooks vs. The Oriental Insurance Co.* It came before a judge whose decisions I have often read with admiration, and from whom I have certainly received great assistance, Mr. Justice Putnam."

"The renowned Justice Story, who had been his scholar, dedicated one of his works to his former teacher, with a high tribute to his sagacity and knowledge, as well as unspotted integrity. He took a decided and ardent part in the political questions of the time, but it is believed, in all the fire of parties that during his early manhood so hotly blazed out, he had no zeal that was not matched by his fairness, or at the core and in the seed outdone by his charity. But so did he retain his earnestness, and so determined was he in his opinions, that he always, to the close, considered it a duty, even at personal inconvenience, to cast his vote.

"Upon the death of Chief Justice Sewall, in 1814, he was, by Governor Strong, for whom he had a great reverence, appointed judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth, and he continued to

exercise this high office for twenty-eight years. I state what is in the cognizance of those familiar with the subject, in saying he had the respect of all good men for the manner in which he performed its solemn and responsible duties. No man ever held the scales of justice more even. None was ever more intent on making righteous decrees; none ever more fearless and independent in his decisions; none more solicitous for the deliverance of the wrongfully accused, and none more indignant against all trickery, lying and fraud. Members of the bar join with his compeers on the bench to declare that no opinions or judgments of a high tribunal were ever more likely to be sound, sober, practical, and to the point, than his, as they are recorded in the books.

"He adhered with great conservative firmness and inflexibility to his principles; but one of his associates told me his principles were good to adhere to. It is the award of another sincere observer of his course that, engaged as he had been in politics, with his whole heart espousing one side, on his becoming judge he put the politician entirely off, and, in his place, knew no distinction of fellow or foe. It is an unequivocal sign of the goodness of his heart, that, while nobody could suspect he was at all influenced by any regard to human favor—so clearly and evidently above all personal regards and consequences was he in his duty—he yet carried into the execution of that duty the singular urbanity which stamped his whole deportment in private life.

"In 1825 he received from the University in Cambridge the title of Doctor of Laws. In 1842, while still able to accomplish well the work falling to him in his lofty sphere, he retired into private, there to prove completely that no role of office, but what was solid and genuine, gave him his real consequence in the world. I am persuaded from every quarter will be confirmed the assertion, that he bore himself with admirable fidelity and acceptance in all the relations he sustained. He was exceedingly hospitable, kept open door, cordially invited his friends to come in, delighted to serve them at his table, and forgot not—how could he with his inclination?—to send a portion to the stranger and the poor, or to some humble neighbor, after whose comfort his benevolence yearned. He was glad to go with his guests over his old paternal estate, which it was a special pleasure to him to increase and improve. He cherished and fondled his farm, but had not the ambition of some to accumulate wealth. He loved to set out trees, whose growth and full flourishing only his posterity could see. I remember he once showed me how much a limb had grown on one of his trees; he had, I think, brought the branch to town, assuring me it afforded him as much satisfaction as another man would derive from a dividend.

"He desired kindly constructions of the deeds and motives of others, and would allow no ill intent to be ascribed where any excuse was possible, while all

unfairness everywhere met his steady disapproval. Respecting harshness of remark he often quoted a saying of his own father: "That may be true, my son, but you should not say so." This love of all that is spiritually accordant was naturally connected with or issued in a great love of music, especially of sacred music, under his own roof or in the temple. He had a very sensitive ear to the precision of the note; could scarce abide any falseness of tune, was never more pleased than when some beloved old hymn rang up to heaven, and when not listening to the anthems of the sanctuary, or the voices kindred and dear to him, found, what was to him, a delicious feast in the minstrelsy of the birds. There was, in truth, an infinite sweetness in him; his face was favor, his look an invitation, and he could not keep his hand from blessing the head of a child as he went along. He was, I think, a very happy man, not exempt from trial, tasting some pain and sadness as the springs of health and life were broken up, but finding in existence a large boon for overrunning thanksgiving. He had favorite books and authors, and found in reading, and in hearing his friends read, the pleasant occupation of much time. The enjoyment which a good old age has of youth was his to an uncommon degree. The first time I saw him was with the young all around, evidently both attracted by his love for them, and overflowing him with the tokens of their own, so that in their looks and motions they seemed to make one life together; and I remember well his presence, like a blessing, once, on occasion of the usual gathering of the children of our own society on the afternoon of Fast Day. I have heard it repeatedly said, in gratitude to him or commendation of him, that he loved to encourage young men in their commencing efforts, and by a word or a line from the desk of his tribunal would cheer and stimulate them.

"During the stormy period of our public affairs, before and after 1812, he was among the stirring spirits. He repeatedly represented, in both branches of the Legislature, his section of the State, and, we may not doubt, uttered always, without compromise, the deliberate conclusions of a thoughtful mind, and the deep sentiments of a guileless heart."

Judge Putnam was married October 28, 1795, to Sarah Gool, of Salem, who survived him by eleven years. He had three sons and five daughters, who lived to grow up. All were married, and all but one survived their father. He died July 3, 1853, in his 86th year.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL was born in Haverhill June 13, 1783. It is probable that no native of Essex County who has held his residence through life within its limits has been so conspicuous and so universally respected and beloved. It may be said, too, with perfect truth, that no family in New England can boast of a more extended pedigree or more gentle blood than that whose name he bore and whose

fame he contributed so much to maintain. He was the son of Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill, and Anna, daughter of Samuel White, of Haverhill, a descendant of William White, a settler in Ipswich in 1635, and one of the first settlers of Haverhill in 1640. Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, born February 10, 1746, was the son of Richard Saltonstall, of Haverhill, and his third wife, Mary, daughter of Elisha Cooke, whose wife, Jane Middlecott, was a great-granddaughter of Governor Edward Winslow, of the Old Colony. Mary Cooke was also great-granddaughter of Governor John Leverett. Richard Saltonstall, born June 24, 1703, was the son of Richard Saltonstall, of Haverhill, and Mehitabel, daughter of Captain Simon Wainwright, of Haverhill. The last-mentioned Richard Saltonstall, born April 25, 1672, was the son of Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill, who was appointed in 1692, by Governor William Phipps, one of the judges of the Oyer and Terminer Court to try the witches, and refused to serve, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill. Nathaniel Saltonstall, born in Ipswich in 1639, was the son of Richard Saltonstall and Muriel, daughter of Brampton Gurdon and Muriel (Sedley) Gurdon, of Assington, County of Suffolk, in England. Richard Saltonstall, born at Woodsome, County of York, England, in 1610, came to New England with his father, Sir Richard Saltonstall, in 1630, returned in 1631, married in England about 1633, and coming back to New England in 1635, settled in Ipswich. He died on a visit to England, at Hulme, April 29, 1694. Sir Richard Saltonstall, of Huntwick, Knight, baptized at Halifax, England, April 4, 1586, was lord of the manor at Ledsham. He was the son of Samuel Saltonstall, and his first wife, Anne, daughter of John Ramsden, of Longley. He married three wives,—first, Grace, daughter of Robert Kaye, of Woodsome, who was the mother of the son Richard; second, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas West, Baron de la Warre; and third, Martha Wilford. He was one of the original patentees of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and after his first wife died he came to New England with Winthrop in 1630, bringing his children. He began the settlement of Watertown, returned to England in 1631, and there died about 1658, giving in his will a legacy to Harvard College. Samuel Saltonstall, the father of Sir Richard Saltonstall, the date of whose birth is unknown, died January 8, 1612-13, and was buried in Holy Trinity Church, Hull. He married three wives,—first, Anne Ramsden, above mentioned, who was the mother of Sir Richard Saltonstall; second, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ogden; and third, Elizabeth Armine, widow of Hugh Armine, mayor of Hull. Gilbert Saltonstall, the father of Samuel, had a seat at Rooke's Hall, in Hipperholme. He died in 1598 and was buried at Halifax December 29th. In his will he mentioned his wife, Isabel, and left legacies to the Halifax Church and the



Engr. by A. H. Ritchie

Samuel Sutor Stalk

Halifax Grammar School. It is unnecessary to follow the pedigree further in detail. It is sufficient to say that beyond Gilbert, above mentioned, through two Richards, another Gilbert and two other Richards, it goes back to either John or Richard, the sons of Thomas De Saltonstall, of the West Riding of Yorkshire, who flourished about the year 1300. Every generation has been distinguished for the eminent men it has produced, and in the direct line of the subject of this sketch, every ancestor back to Richard, who came with his father in 1630, has been a graduate of Harvard. To this list of graduates the names of Mr. Saltonstall himself, and of his son, Colonel Leverett Saltonstall, the present collector of the port of Boston, may be added.

Nor is the Saltonstall pedigree the only ancient one to which the family of Mr. Saltonstall may lay claim. The family of Gurdons, one of whom, Muriel, daughter of Brampton Gurdon, married Richard Saltonstall, who came to New England with his father in 1630, has a recorded pedigree in the hands of Sir William Brampton Gurdon reaching back to Sir Adam Gurdon, who lived in the thirteenth century. The mother of Muriel Gurdon was Muriel Sedley, and the Sedley family, too, has a pedigree which is only lost in the reign of Edward the First. And still another family mingles its blood with that of the Saltonstalls. Sir Richard Saltonstall, who came to New England with his son in 1630 and returned to England in 1631, married for his first wife, from whom the Essex branch of the family sprang, Grace, daughter of Robert Kaye, of Woodsome, and the pedigree of the Kaye family, as taken from the Yorkshire visitation, published by the Harleian Society, reaches through a plain channel back to the time of William the Conqueror. Thus it will be seen that Mr. Saltonstall, besides the blood of his own immediate family, carried in his veins not only that of the Winslows and Leveretts of New England, but that of some of the most ancient families in Great Britain.

Mr. Saltonstall pursued his preparatory studies at Phillips Academy, and graduated at Harvard in 1802. In 1838 he received from his *alma mater* the degree of LL.D., the degree of A.B., from Yale, in 1802, and of A.M. from Bowdoin in 1806.

He studied law with Ichabod Tucker, of Haverhill, and afterwards with William Prescott, and after a short term of practice in his native town, removed to Salem in 1806. At that time the Essex bar contained on its rolls the names of Nathan Dane, William Prescott, Samuel Putnam, Joseph Story, John Pickering and Daniel A. White. By the side of these eminent men, with whom he came constantly in competition, he grew step by step, until he became their professional peer. Samuel Putnam was called to the bench of the Supreme Court in 1814, Joseph Story was appointed to the bench of the United States Supreme Court in 1811, Nathan Dane gradually relinquished practice, Daniel A. White was made judge of probate

and John Pickering finally removed to Boston. As these early rivals, one after another, left the field, Mr. Saltonstall attained the position, which he held for many years and until his death, of leader of the Essex bar. He possessed every qualification for a successful lawyer, especially in a county like Essex, made up of small towns with honest, plain, matter-of-fact people, among whom the character and life of a professional man were criticised and prized as much as his acumen and learning. The character and life of Mr. Saltonstall were singularly pure. Every man in Essex County knew it, and, when involved in difficulties, felt sure that his counsel would be wise and his services discreet and honest. For many years the Essex bar has had a reputation for fair and honorable dealings not possessed by that of every county in the State, and that reputation Mr. Saltonstall did much to establish and maintain. The confidence of his fellow-citizens of both the city of Salem and of the county was many times and in various ways manifested. By Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, who knew him well, it was said, that "at an early age he took his seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and in that body at different periods, even to the very close of his public life, he rendered perhaps his most valuable services, and was distinguished and honored beyond almost any of his cotemporaries. He was an effective debater and in the committee-room none could surpass him in the faithful, patient and intelligent performance of all his duties. He was a member of the Massachusetts Senate in two most important political junctures, and as a leader of the majority he assumed a full share of responsibility for its acts. As president of the Senate, too, he performed his duties with admirable dignity and to universal acceptance. In the political service of Massachusetts he felt himself at home, and the State never had a citizen who maintained her character with a nobler pride or labored for her welfare with a purer zeal." On the incorporation of Salem as a city, March 23, 1836, her citizens did him and themselves the honor of making him their first mayor, and in that capacity he served until 1838. In the latter year he was chosen Representative to Congress, and remained in office until 1843. In the discharge of his duties as Representative he was singularly faithful, useful and earnest.

During the latter half of his Congressional life he was chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, and on his shoulders fell the burden of the investigation and inquiry, and of the preparation of the report and bill, which finally resulted in the passage of the tariff of 1842. He was an active and honorable member of the old Whig party, conscientiously devoted to its interests at a time when party policies were continuously distinct; and sincerely believing that the success of the policy of that party would best promote the welfare of the country. He was not a partisan in the sense in which so many are partisans to-day, and would have indignantly refused to follow his party

into the support of new measures devised purely for party purposes, without reference to the public good. When he advocated a measure, therefore, he spoke with a conviction behind his words, with a heart pouring out its fullness from the tongue, and hence the impressive and convincing eloquence of which he was a master.

Mr. Saltonstall was conspicuous in other than legislative and legal fields. He was president of the Bible Society, president of the Essex Agricultural Society and of the Essex Bar Association, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the board of overseers of Harvard University.

The relations of Mr. Saltonstall with his family were to the last degree confiding and tender. To say that he was beloved is only to repeat what may be said of nearly every husband and father. To say that he was worthy to be beloved is a better and a juster tribute. The affection which is merely incident to relationship fades with time. The tears of his children, though forty years have elapsed since his death, still start when they recall the virtues of their father, and exemplar, and friend.

Mr. Saltonstall married, March 7, 1811, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Sanders, of Salem, and died in Salem May 8, 1845. On the 8th of May a meeting of the Essex bar was held at Ipswich, at which Benjamin Merrill was chosen president, and Ebenezer Shillaber secretary; and resolutions offered by Joseph E. Sprague, and seconded by Nathaniel J. Lord, were passed as a tribute to his memory. On the same day, in the Supreme Court, Mr. Merrill presented the resolutions of the bar, and addressed the court. Judge Wilde replied, expressing "his sympathy with the feelings of the bar, and his regret at the loss of so useful and excellent a citizen as Mr. Saltonstall, whose worth and excellence he had known and highly esteemed for forty years."

On the 10th of May, at a special meeting of the City Council of Salem, Mr. Roberts submitted resolves concerning the loss sustained by the city in the death of Mr. Saltonstall, which were unanimously passed.

The Massachusetts Historical Society took appropriate notice of his death by eulogies spoken by various members, and at a later day by a memoir in its published proceedings. On Sunday, the 18th of May, Rev. Dr. John Brazier delivered, in the North Church in Salem, a discourse on his life and character; and a commemorative sermon was also preached in the East Church by Rev. Dr. Flint.

ISAAC RIDINGTON HOW, son of David How, was born in Haverhill March 13, 1791, and graduated at Harvard in 1810. He studied law with William Prescott and continued through life in the practice of law in his native town, where he died January 15, 1860.

SAMUEL MERRILL was born in Plaistow, New

Hampshire, in 1776. His preparatory studies were pursued at Phillips Academy under the instruction of Joseph S. Buckminster, and with his brother, James Cushing Merrill, he graduated at Harvard in 1807. He studied law with John Varnum in Haverhill and began practice of the law in Andover in partnership with Samuel Farrar. He was at various times a member of both branches of the Legislature, and, aside from his law studies, was through life a diligent scholar, and especially proficient in Greek and Latin literature. He died in Andover December 24, 1869.

MICHAEL HODGE was born in Newburyport in 1780 and graduated at Harvard in 1799. He studied law in his native town and there followed his profession. Samuel L. Knapp describes him in his personal sketches as a man "who was never perfectly satisfied with his profession, for in his character was exhibited that moral enigma which has so often perplexed the metaphysicians,—great personal intrepidity united to a painful and shrinking modesty; a fearlessness of all the forms of danger to a diffidence in the discharge of professional duties." He married, in 1814, Betsey Hayward, daughter of Dr. James Thacher, of Plymouth, Mass., and widow of Daniel Robert Elliott, of Savannah, Georgia, and had James Thatcher, a graduate of Harvard in 1836, who was lost on Lake Michigan with a career in the paths of science already brilliant, but yet full of hope and promise. Mr. Hodge died in Plymouth on the 6th of July, 1816.

JEDEDIAH FOSTER was born in Andover October 10, 1726, and graduated at Harvard in 1744. He finally established himself in Brookfield and married a daughter of Brigadier-General Joseph Dwight. He was appointed judge of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1776 and died October 17, 1779.

CHARLES AMBURGER ANDREW was born in Salem in 1805 and graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1832. He also studied in the office of Leverett Saltonstall and was admitted to the bar in 1831. He died at Salem June 17, 1843.

BENJAMIN LYNDE OLIVER was born in Salem in 1789 and studied law with Joseph Story and Samuel Putnam. He was admitted to the Essex bar in June, 1809. He died in Malden June 18, 1843.

EBENEZER MOSELY, son of Ebenezer and Martha (Strong) Mosely, was born in Windham, Conn., Nov. 21, 1781, and graduated at Yale College in 1802. He studied law with Judge Chauncey, of New Haven, Judge Clark, of Windham, and Judge Hinckley, of Northampton. In 1805 he settled in Newburyport, and at various times had as students in his office John Pierpont, afterwards a clergyman; Governor Dunlap, of Maine; Robert Cross, Asa W. Wildes and Caleb Cushing. In 1813-14 he was the colonel of the Sixth Regiment, and, as chairman of the Board of Selectmen, welcomed Lafayette on the occasion of his visit to Newburyport. From 1816 to 1820 and from 1834 to 1836 he was a member of the House of Representa-



By J. M. W. Turner

C. Cushing

tives, and in 1821 and 1822 a member of the Senate. In 1832 he was a Presidential elector and threw his vote for Henry Clay. On the 17th of June, 1811, he married Mary Ann, daughter of Edward Oxnard, and died at Newburyport August 28, 1854.

LONSON NASH came to the bar in 1807 and settled in Gloucester, his native town. He was a Representative in 1809 and Senator in 1812. He retired in 1860 and died at Great Barrington February 1, 1863.

WILLIAM FABENS, son of William and Sarah (Brown) Fabens, was born in Salem April 14, 1810, and graduated at Harvard in 1832. He early settled in Marblehead and was engaged in law practice until his death, March 11, 1883. He was trial justice from 1860 to 1878, a State Senator in 1859, a trustee of the Nautical School during the entire period of its existence, and for many years an active member of the School Board of Marblehead.

CALEB CUSHING.—Newburyport, from the first settlement of the country, has been greatly distinguished for the eminence attained by her sons, daughters and citizens, in letters and active life. She can point to a long list of statesmen, orators, poets, jurists, divines, inventors and merchants, who do her honor. One of the least of our cities in territory and population, she has made herself famous at home and abroad, in the States of the Union and the nations of the globe. Among the names of her jurists she counts Bradbury, Parsons, Jackson, Lowell, Greenleaf, Wilde and a host of others famous for their knowledge of common law and international law, as well as for their legal opinions and decisions uttered in our courts; but no one of them in his varied acquirements and duties has done more credit to himself and the place of his birth or residence than Caleb Cushing. There have been in this century, or in this country, few to compare with him. It has been said that no man is great in everything or great at all times; but as we look back on his career, from youth to old age, we discover no dimness, no weakness. As a polygon presents in its many sides and angles, in its roofs and towers, its lights and shadows, the evidence of its own strength and beauty and the skill and genius of its designer and builder, so he, in deeds and words, through a long life and under varied circumstances, in success and in defeat, stands as an illustrious example of what a man may be and may do, when he puts a human will and indomitable persistency in what he undertakes to accomplish. He was a scholar lofty in his attainments; an author and an orator equally expert with pen or voice; a lawyer attractive at the bar, profound on the bench and celebrated as minister of justice—attorney-general for the country, uttering opinions which nations were bound to respect. He was a statesman the compeer of Webster, John Quincy Adams and Charles Sumner, who were his friends and admirers, and no man has shown greater knowledge of the science of government—of the principles on which are based our own and for-

eign institutions. He was a diplomatist of high rank, negotiating treaties in South America, Spain, China, in pressing our claims before the extraordinary tribunal at Geneva, where sat the distinguished commissioners from Germany, Italy, Spain, England and America, who listened to no other man more gladly.

It did not matter where he was placed, what duties he was to perform or with whom he was to act, he never failed in courage, capacity or power and perseverance. He was equal to the occasion. The late Isaac O. Barnes, many years United States marshal for the district of Massachusetts, who knew Mr. Cushing intimately, and was himself a scholar and a wit, being one day in the Public Library of Boston, was approached by a young man, who inquired where he could find an encyclopædia. Mr. Cushing passing at the moment, Colonel Barnes, pointing to him, replied: "There is a living, self-moving cyclopædia, from whom you can obtain information upon every question that has interested any people in any age of the world." This seems almost a literal truth. He had made himself personally acquainted by his travels with all the continents of our globe, he had crossed the oceans and great seas, climbed the Rocky Mountains, the Alps and the Andes and sat on the foot-hills of the Himalayas; had conversed with the Russian at St. Petersburg, the German at Berlin, the Italian on the Bay of Naples, the Frenchman at Paris, the Spaniard at Madrid, the Tartar in Eastern Asia, each in his own tongue, and at the reception of foreign ministers by President Pierce, surprised them all in his facility of language. He studied religions with the preachers of Geneva, the priests of Rome and the Brahmins of India, and he had discussed politics and international law with the highest minister of state in China. The schools had found him a most enthusiastic student, the forum an eloquent advocate, and to his reading of books there was no end. He was literally the devourer of books and the digester of their contents. He was the only man we ever knew who could read a dictionary and delight in the study of every word; and that did Caleb Cushing on the first appearance of Webster's Unabridged, containing one hundred and fourteen thousand words, and, more than that, unsolicited and without remuneration, like a proof-reader, he marked every error or mistake; so he could study a volume of abstract principles because he could surround each statement with the children born from it, and thus evolve from naked truths passages of beauty. This single fact of his reading we may cite: "When called to the Supreme Bench he had long been out of the practice of law, and to prepare himself for duty, read fifty-seven volumes of the Massachusetts Reports—all up to that date—in nineteen days, or three full volumes per day, and so thoroughly did he the work that he was familiar with every decision they contained. This he could do because he was untiring in labor and needed little sleep. He often read eighteen hours a day

through many successive days, and what he received into the mind he retained there. It was not a mere reading by the eye, but it was absorbed in the mind,—transcribed upon the tablet of memory, and ever ready of use. He had a most remarkable power of abstracting himself from the material world in which he lived and concentrating all his force in the world of thought. This gave him seasons when he was uncommunicative, followed by others when he was the most affable of men.

Coming to the consideration of such a person, the details of his life will be not uninteresting. He was born in Salisbury, a town at the mouth of the River Merrimac, January 17th, 1800, and removed with his family to Newburyport two years later. He was the eldest son of Captain John N. Cushing by his first wife, Lydia Dow, of Salisbury. It is not always clear how much one inherits from his ancestors, and how much he is of himself; therefore, we add that he was from an old colonial family, not previously unknown to fame, whose tendencies in professional life were to the pulpit and the bar. Among those bearing the same family-name was William Cushing, who succeeded his father, John, as a justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts before the Revolution of 1776, whom President Washington raised to the Federal Supreme Court on the organization of the government in 1789. He was of Scituate, which may be termed the "home-nest" of the family, and thence came to Salisbury, Rev. Caleb Cushing accepting the pastorate of the first parish of that town, in whose line the subject of this sketch appears. His father, though at his death the largest ship-owner of the State and the most wealthy merchant of Newburyport, at the birth of his son was a seaman, poor in estate and much absent on long voyages at sea. Caleb Cushing, therefore, in boyhood owed nothing to his surroundings save what he inherited from his father,—a love of labor and a desire to be self-supporting and independent. He was exceedingly fortunate, however, in being a pupil at school of a distinguished teacher and mathematician, Michael Walsh, who took pride in him and, admiring the robustness of the lad, who then had within him the man to be developed, Master Walsh shaped his course, inspired his ambition and prepared him for college. He graduated at Harvard at the early age of seventeen, third in a class of sixty-two, which included many others of future fame, and so did he excel in his rhetoric and oratory that he, one of the youngest, was selected to make the address to President Monroe, when he visited the university in 1817. After that, for two years, in the same institution, he was tutor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Leaving college he studied law, first at the Harvard Law-school, and later at the office of the Hon. Ebenezer Moseley, at Newburyport. Admitted to the bar in 1822 he rose rapidly and soon acquired a

lucrative practice. At that time the Essex bar rivalled that of Boston, in the learning and skill of its members, and Caleb Cushing and Rufus Choate stood at its head, their friends often disputing which should be first. It was a generous rivalry, in which each held the other in the highest esteem; Cushing thinking Choate unsurpassed in his magnetic eloquence, and Choate declaring that in law he feared no opposing counsel so much as Cushing.

In 1823, Mr. Cushing married Miss Caroline, daughter of Judge Wilde of the Supreme Court: a lady of rare intellectual endowments and much literary culture. She accompanied him on his two years tour of Europe, and after her return published a very popular volume of letters on France and Spain. Her death, which occurred in 1832, was an irreparable loss, and he remained a widower and childless for nearly a half-century to his own decease. It was during his European travels—a tour of inspection and study of the institutions, laws, manners and monuments of the old world, that he formed a strong attachment to Spain—a love for its literature and people, that went with him through life. On his return he wrote his best book, "Reminiscences of Spain," in two volumes. He was so interested that he became as familiar with its language as with his own, so that later, when introduced to the Court of Madrid, as American minister, he surprised the King by the purity of the Spanish tongue in which he addressed him. The same thing was noticeable in the trial of cases in the courts at Washington. At the commencement of President Pierce's administration, as Attorney General, he had to deal with Mexican claims where the documents were in Spanish, and the court-room would be crowded by ladies and gentlemen who understood not a word of the language, but gladly listened to the music of his clear, rich voice, as he pronounced the sonorous words; the same may be said, however, of his exact and thorough training in all the languages used by him. He would never allow himself to mispronounce. After he was seventy years old, he spent months in Paris to improve his pronunciation of French, preparatory to addressing the convention of Geneva, in which that was the common tongue. Indeed, if he could have given time to it, he would have appeared as one of the greatest philologists of the age.

In 1825, Caleb Cushing entered political life, being elected representative to the State legislature from Newburyport. He was then in the pride of his early manhood, fully equipped for the battle of life. He was well-formed, about the ordinary height, of commanding presence, with black hair, bright eyes, and in cold weather wore a loose cloak, falling from the shoulders, after the fashion of the ancient toga, showing him the Roman he was. His appearance was impressive, and no one failed to perceive that he was no ordinary person. He was the most brilliant man in the house, and the next year passed to the Senate. He was again a member of the legislature in 1833 and

1834. Twelve years after, when war was pending with Mexico, and his services were needed, he was a fifth time elected, and subsequently in 1850 and in 1859. Indeed as often as other duties would permit, the people of Newburyport, who were proud of him, and never failed him in any emergency, sent him to represent them in the General Court. They always rejoiced in his success, and always welcomed him home with open arms. There was never an hour when he had not so the confidence and affection of neighbors and townsmen, that they would not have elected him to any office within their gift. It was said that Napoleon appeared greatest at a distance; Mr. Cushing had it to his credit that he appeared greatest to those who knew him longest and best.

In 1834 he was elected to congress, from the district then called Essex North. For colleagues, he had the venerable ex-president, John Quincy Adams, who became much attached to him, and whom in some respects, especially in independent politics, he much resembled; Robert C. Winthrop, who alone of the ten survives, Levi Lincoln, Leverett Saltonstall and others, making in the whole, the most distinguished delegation that Massachusetts or any other state ever sent to Washington. They were all opposed to General Jackson, then president, though Mr. Cushing surprised some of his constituents who declared Jackson an ill-bred and vulgar frontiersman, by saying that he was one of the most polite and gentlemanly persons he had ever met at home or abroad.

In Congress Mr. Cushing immediately took high rank. He was appointed on the Committee of Foreign Affairs with John Quincy Adams, and they alternately were the head of that committee, and probably no two men in Congress were so well versed in international law or in the history of our foreign relations. Daniel Webster said "that Mr. Cushing had not been six weeks in Congress, before he was acknowledged to be the highest authority on what had been the legislation of congress on any given subject." He held his seat for eight years, and entered heartily and fearlessly into the discussions of that day. It was, in the era of duelling, the frequent habit of opposing parties to badger new members, in hopes to break them down, but when it was attempted on Mr. Cushing, and he turned face to face with his opponent, rough old Ben Hardee, of Kentucky, who was the terror of weak and diffident minds, Mr. Cushing spoke in the severest tones the rules of the House would permit, and closed by giving notice that he held himself responsible for his words there or any where else. The House rang with applause and the galleries so vociferated—the ladies waving their handkerchiefs and the men clapping their hands and shouting, that a motion was made to clear the galleries, but that was not necessary, for the people filled with admiration that this young member—it was his second speech—had dared to beard the old lion in his den, that they retired of themselves, and it was the talk of Washing-

ton and the time. There was no duel but the many added their belief that Mr. Cushing meant all his words implied.

Mr. Cushing at that early day, in 1836, if ever, had no sympathy with the Abolitionists, but he protested against the idea of suppressing or restricting Liberty that slavery might widen and deepen; and when Henry A. Wise, then representative from Virginia, discussing the admission of Arkansas, threatened to plant slavery in the heart of the Northern States, Mr. Cushing broke loose upon him in a burning torrent of words: "Introduce slavery into the heart of the North!"—here he hesitated and gazed scornfully into the face of Wise—"Vain idea! invasion, pestilence, civil war may conspire to exterminate a people. This, in the long lapse of ages incalculable, is possible to happen. You may raze to the earth the thronged cities, the industrious villages, the peaceful hamlets of the North. You may plant its soil with salt and consign it to everlasting desolation. You may transform its beautiful fields into a desert as bare as the blank face of Sahara. You may reach the realization of the infernal boast with which Attila, the Hun, marched his barbarous hosts into Italy. . . . All this you may do, it is within the bounds of physical possibility, but, I solemnly assure every gentleman within the sound of my voice, I proclaim it to the country and the world, that you can not, and *you shall not*, introduce slavery into the North." Here he stood immovable from first to last. He believed in self-government and in local State government, as the basis of American freedom and constitutional liberty, and he would preserve the rights of the States and the liberties of the republic at the same time.

Mr. Cushing was in favor of extending the area of freedom, of enlarging the republic west to our natural boundary, the Pacific Ocean, and north and south as circumstances should require. Hence his plea for Arkansas, his defense of our rights in Oregon, and his readiness to annex Texas. And what he advocated he was ready to defend in the field if the occasion demanded. Therefore, in the face of the severest opposition to the Mexican War, in Massachusetts, he not only urged the measure in debate, but himself volunteered, assisted to raise the regiment called for, and when the Legislature refused an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars to assist them to reach their destination, he advanced the funds from his own resources. He led the regiment as colonel and was appointed a brigadier-general soon after landing in Mexico.

In the great struggle of John Quincy Adams for the right of petition—the heroic and the last contest of the venerable sage of Quincy—Mr. Cushing was his faithful friend and active coadjutor, and uniformly in congress was on the liberal and progressive side. Robert C. Winthrop, on a recent occasion, referring to Mr. Cushing's congressional career, spoke of "his varied ability, vast acquirements, unwearying applica-

tion and his fame and skill as a writer and debater." "Nor will I forget," added he, "his very amiable traits of character, which prevented difference of opinion or of party, sundering the ties of social intercourse. He knew how to abandon a policy or quit a party without quarrelling with those he left behind." Thus we see him, a Democrat, in the most friendly relations with Charles Sumner, at Washington, spending an evening of every week in discussing public affairs and inquiring what might be done for their common country. Like relations held he with Secretary Seward, and with all the Republican presidents from Lincoln to Grant inclusive.

He retired from politics, after the Rebellion broke out, and spent most of his time at Washington, where every administration during his life had the benefit of his well-formed opinions; nor was there a single branch of the government that did not avail itself of his service. When not connected officially with them he was held in reserve for any emergency that might occur. Nothing personal or political prevented his serving his country. He was intensely loyal and patriotic; never man more so; ready to sacrifice anything for the unity and perpetuity of the government. We recall his words in dismissing the national Democratic convention, over which he was called to preside at Charleston, S. C., when we stood on the brink of the Rebellion: "I pray you, gentlemen, in returning to your constituents and the bosoms of your families, to take with you, as your guiding thought, the sentiment, the Constitution and the Union." Those were the waymarks and the guides of his life.

After leaving Congress he at once entered upon the duties of minister to China, to which he had been appointed by President Tyler to negotiate a treaty. This he did, going east to China and returning in the same direction, *via* Mexico, with the best treaty to that date ever made with that ancient people; perfecting his work and circumnavigating the globe in fourteen months. The treaty was submitted to the Senate that had, on political grounds, three times rejected him as secretary of the treasury, and was so satisfactory as to be ratified without a dissenting voice.

His next important service was as attorney-general under President Pierce, to which he was called from the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts, which occasioned one of his associate judges to pay him this compliment, "when he came to the bench we didn't know what we could do with him; and when he left, we didn't know how we could do without him." As Attorney-General, he perhaps appeared to the country at large, better than in any position he had before held; and when he retired, carried with him a higher reputation for profound knowledge, than any of his predecessors. He was then at his maturity, in the fulness of physical and mental strength, and his labors were the most arduous and varied. It was not uncommon, for weeks in succession, for him to be in his office from four o'clock in the morning till midnight,

and every conceivable question on our relations to matters at home and abroad, was submitted to him. His opinions fill three volumes, of the fifteen in the whole, to the date of his retirement; and no less authority than William Beach Lawrence, in his edition of Wheaton, declares "they constitute in themselves a valuable body of international law." They show also his fidelity to the principles of the fathers of the republic.

In the short space allowed this sketch, we may not go into particulars. That he had the confidence of the country may be seen in this: President Lincoln appointed him a commissioner to adjust claims pending between this country and Mexico, Spain and other peoples; President Johnson made him a special envoy to the United States of Colombia; President Grant appointed him minister to Spain, counsel for the United States to Geneva and would have made him chief justice of the Supreme Court, had not Mr. Cushing asked him to withdraw the nomination, not made at his solicitation, upon the dissent of a single Senator; and at every point his action was endorsed by the country, the public press applauding.

He now retired to his home. Though still strong, but pressing hard upon four-score years, he could see that the end was near, and he heard the message: "What thou hast to do, do quickly." He obeyed, turned his attention to his private affairs and sought rest with personal friends, in the town and by the river he had loved so well, and where he had been loved. His mission was finished; he had all the honors desired; his fortune was ample; he had really nothing more to do, than to be himself, as he was to the end, and utter his last prayer for his country. He died January 2, 1879, and was gathered to his fathers. He sleeps on the western slope of the hill, where the rays of the setting sun longest linger on the marble that bears his name, and the name of her who was dearest of human kind to him. He had built the tomb for his wife, and in it prepared his own resting place—a place for one; he determined at her decease, forty-five years before, there should be no more.

DANIEL P. KING, though never admitted to the bar, passed through a course of study in law and deserves a place in this record. He was born in Danvers January 8, 1801, and was the son of Daniel and Phebe (Upton) King, of that town. He fitted for college at Phillips Academy and graduated at Harvard in 1823. In 1824 he married Sarah P., daughter of Hezekiah and Sally (Putnam) Flint, and finally settled down at Danvers as a farmer, following the occupation of his father before him. He was a Representative to the Legislature from his native town in 1835, Speaker of the House in 1840 and 1841, president of the Senate in 1843, and was chosen in the last year Representative to Congress, continuing in office until 1849. His natural gifts, cultivated by his collegiate and legal studies, specially fitted him for legislative duties, and more particularly for that class of them

R. Pantoul Jr

which attaches to the responsible position of presiding officer. He died in Danvers July 25, 1850.

ELIAS HASKET DERBY was born in Salem September 24, 1803, and graduated at Harvard in 1824. He studied law in the office of Daniel Webster, and appears on the official list of lawyers admitted to the bar to have been admitted at Salem in the year of his graduation from college. He settled in Boston, and by an increasing practice in railroad cases soon became identified with railroad interests, in the promotion of which he was far-seeing and bold. He was a prolific writer for newspapers and magazines, having in all his productions an eye to the advancement and prosperity of Boston. He was at one time president of the Old Colony Railroad, and died in Boston, March 31, 1880.

GEORGE LUNT, son of Abel and Phœbe Lunt, was born in Newburyport December 31, 1803, and graduated in Harvard in 1824. He was admitted to the Essex bar in 1833, and until 1848 practiced law in Newburyport. In that year he removed to Boston, and in 1849, under the new Whig national administration, was appointed district attorney for Massachusetts, succeeding Robert Rantoul. During the four or five years which preceded the war he was one of the editors of the *Boston Courier*, and was earnest in his opposition to all the measures on the part of the North which tended to dissatisfy and estrange the South. His convictions were doubtless as sincere and pure as those who denounced him, but his love for an unbroken union mingled with a timidity which shrunk from a test of its strength, made him appear at times what he was not, an advocate of slavery and its attendant evils.

Outside of the columns of newspapers, Mr. Lunt's publications were chiefly poetical, while the newspapers themselves contained many a poetical gem from his pen, which eventually found its way into a public collection. A volume of his poems was published in 1829, another in 1843, another in 1851 and still others in 1854 and 1855. The last few years of his life Mr. Lunt spent in comparative retirement in Scituate, and died in Boston May 16, 1885.

STEPHEN PALFREY WEBB, son of Captain Stephen and Sarah (Putnam) Webb was born in Salem March 20, 1804, and graduated at Harvard in 1824. He studied law with John Glen King, of Salem, and was admitted to the bar in 1826. He settled in practice in Salem, and was, before 1853, Senator, Representative and mayor. In that year he went to San Francisco, where he was also chosen mayor in 1854, and returned to Salem, again to be chosen mayor in 1860, '61 and '62. He was city clerk of Salem from 1863 to 1870, and finally removed to Brookline, where he died in 1879. He married, May 26, 1834, Hannah Hunt Beckford Robinson, daughter of Nathan and Eunice (Beckford) Robinson.

ROBERT RANTOUL, JR.,¹ the son of Robert and

Joanna (Lovett) Rantoul, was born in Beverly, August 13, 1805. In his childhood he gave no doubtful promise of the traits of mind and character that were prominent in his maturer years. Happy in home influences, and in those of his earliest school-life, he not only learned with wonderful facility, but manifested a power of thought and reasoning so unusual for his age, that there was never any purpose other than of securing for him the best means of education attainable. He was fitted for college at Phillips Academy in Andover, and entered Harvard in 1822, graduating in 1826. His college life was one of untiring industry. Fourteen hours out of the twenty-four were, oftener than not, spent in study. He paid little attention to the college curriculum, easily reading Latin and Greek at sight, and in mental, moral and political science reciting from his own "inner consciousness," in words of which the professor could find no trace or analogue in the text-book. He devoted a great deal of time to the higher literature of continental Europe. The French language he learned by reading it, and it early became as familiar to him as the English. In German, under the tuition of Dr. Follen, he belonged to the first class in Cambridge that ever studied that tongue. His chief aim was to become conversant with the political history and institutions of the European nations, and with the history and science of government and legislation. He was as intimately acquainted with Grotius and Puffendorf, Machiavelli and Beccaria, Montesquieu and Jeremy Bentham, as the foremost of his classmates were with their required class-work. But, notwithstanding his incessant labor, he was not indifferent to college society, though he took part in it mainly in behalf of the interests which he held in the highest regard, and with the view of raising the standard of general culture. "The Institute of 1770" was formed by the union of three pre-existing societies, one of which, while surrendering the distinctive portion of its name, insisted on retaining the index of its birth-year. This new society was organized, virtually by him, for the sole purpose of literary and scientific work, and in its earlier years was among the most efficient educational forces in the university. Mr. Rantoul's high place in the esteem of his classmates was manifested in his election as class-poet, and, although in after years he wrote but little verse, he had already shown, and certainly showed by that very poem, a talent which, with adequate cultivation, might have given him no inconspicuous place among American poets. Mr. Rantoul, on leaving college, entered the law-office of John Pickering, and at a later period that of Leverett Saltonstall.

He was admitted to the bar in 1829, and established himself for a time in Salem, where his principal business was as junior counsel for the Knapps in the celebrated White murder trial, in which he collected and prepared the evidence for the defense. In 1831 he removed to South Reading, and in 1833 to Glou-

¹ By Dr. A. P. Peabody.

cester, which town he represented in four successive Legislatures. In 1835 he was appointed on a committee for revising the statutes of Massachusetts, and in the three following years he served and performed very efficient service on the Judiciary Committee. He first distinguished himself in the Legislature by his opposition to the charter of a "ten million bank," at a time when paper money, often of difficult and doubtful currency, flooded the country, and shortly before the suspension of specie payment by the New England banks. His action was with the Democratic party; but it was universally admitted that it was his able argument (which might stand now as an independent treatise on the philosophy of finance), that won over a sufficient number of the Whig majority in the House, though it was regarded as a party measure, to defeat the scheme. There was hardly an important subject before the House on which he remained silent; and his speeches were not harangues, but thorough arguments, based on facts, statistics and principles, and requiring, in order to answer them, if not an ability equal to his own, at least an amount of diligent study and careful elaboration which few legislators were, or ever are, willing to bestow.

The subject of capital punishment, commended to him by his father's lifelong interest in it, was among those which he early and often urged on the attention of the Legislature. As chairman of committees he made three reports in as many successive years in favor of the abolition of the death-penalty, besides as many carefully prepared speeches, and not a few shorter ones in the progress of debate. He afterward wrote "Letters on the Death-Penalty," addressed to the Governor and Legislature of Massachusetts, which were reprinted by order of the Legislature of New York. He also embraced every available opportunity for delivering lectures and addresses on this subject. His writings upon it probably contain all that has been or can be said in opposition to capital punishment, and they have been largely quoted wherever the question has been discussed on either side of the Atlantic.

In 1839 Mr. Rantoul opened an office in Boston, having his home in Beverly. In 1843 he was appointed Collector of the port of Boston and Charlestown, and in the following year United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts, which latter office he resigned in 1849.

During the period of his legal practice in Boston he had the management of a singularly large number of cases of prime importance, both for clients of his own and in behalf of the government, and in several instances he not only gained his cause against the strongest possible array of opposing counsel, but won their hearty applause; and when he lost a case he seldom failed to have the verdict of an intelligent public for what he had made to appear the better side. One of his most remarkable cases was that of Sims, the fugitive slave, whose defence he was called

to undertake without an hour's previous notice, yet in whose behalf he made an argument to which, as we read the report of it to-day, it seems as if nothing could have been added, whether on the score of constitutional law or of natural right. A large proportion of the cases in which he appeared as an advocate were, like this last-named, such as he espoused with his whole heart, equally from feeling and from principle, so that he identified himself fully and entirely with the person or cause under trial.

Mr. Rantoul, at the outset of his public life, attached himself to the Democratic party from sincere conviction, and with full knowledge that this was not the way to obtain place or office, or even the recognition of ability or merit, in Massachusetts. But he never bore any part, nor felt any sympathy, with the pro-slavery sentiment, in which, for many years, the two great political parties had vied with each other in that sordid sycophancy to the South which culminated in the Fugitive-Slave Law. The passage of this law roused intense indignation in Massachusetts, and led to the building up of the Free-Soil party, with which the leaders of the Democracy were free to form a coalition, while loyalty to Mr. Webster restrained the opposing party from giving unanimity of expression to the feeling which, beyond a question, was universal throughout the State. Mr. Rantoul had several times before been nominated for Congress and had received a very large minority of votes. In 1851 he was elected by the Massachusetts Legislature, in which the Free-Soil party held the balance of power, to fill out Mr. Webster's unexpired term in the United States Senate, on his becoming Secretary of State, and in the same year he was chosen as a member of the House of Representatives for the Essex South District.

During the brief period of his Senatorship there was no occasion which called upon him for more than a few short speeches, on matters of no permanent importance. But in the House he at once took a prominent part in debate, not wholly in connection with the slavery issue, but on other subjects of national interest. On the occasions on which he addressed the House he showed himself armed at all points, whether for defence or for assault, and was probably the man above all others, whom the abettors of such wrongs as had assumed to their view the aspect of right most dreaded to encounter.

His vast learning, his tenacious memory and his prompt command of its resources, made him a most formidable opponent, while the same qualities fitted him for the efficient advocacy of measures conducive to the national progress and well-being.

But his career was cut short at the moment when he was winning the highest distinction, and when especially the friends of freedom were depending on his already well-proved strength as their champion. He was preparing a speech on the fisheries, a subject which he doubtless understood better than any other



Eng. by A. H. Ritchie

Nathaniel

man in Congress, when he was arrested by an attack of erysipelas, which, after a very brief illness, terminated fatally on the 7th of August, 1852.

In our summary narrative of Mr. Rantoul's professional and official life, we have described but a small portion of his work in and for the community of which he was a citizen. He was pre-eminently a public servant, unselfish and philanthropic, deeming it his highest privilege to advance the true interest and well-being of his country and his race. This was his ruling ambition, and it was an ambition that gave him no rest. He cared not for station or office, except as a post of usefulness. He would not have accepted the highest position in the world had it impaired the liberty of speech and pen; while he was content to remain a private citizen so long as he could make himself heard and felt by multitudes.

Mr. Rantoul bore no small part in the creation of facilities for travel and transportation. When the extension of the Boston and Worcester Railroad to Albany was first agitated, and the crossing of the mountain-spine in Western Massachusetts seemed an almost hopeless enterprise, he undertook the advocacy of this measure, and had large influence in procuring subsidy for it from the State and in winning for it the favor of private capitalists.

Illinois was indebted to him for like service, attended with no small personal loss and sacrifice, in the construction of her Central Railroad, and his name, so beneficially connected with her history, is kept in enduring memory, and has been given to a town that has sprung into being since his death.

In the cause of education Mr. Rantoul held a foremost place. He was among the founders of the system of Lyceum lectures, and lectured himself whenever he could find opportunity, in those early times when the lecturer sought only to instruct, not to amuse, his hearers, and had no compensation other than their gratitude. He started the publication of a series of Lyceum lectures and other popular tracts, in successive numbers, under the title of "The Working Men's Library."

He was one of the earliest movers in the establishment of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and was intimately associated with Horace Mann, as his defender and coadjutor in the reform of the common schools of the State. He procured the publication of two series of many volumes, which he virtually edited, under the name of "The Common-School Library,"—one series for the older, the other for less advanced pupils,—both consisting chiefly of standard works in various departments of knowledge, which in their ordinary editions were beyond the reach of common readers. He was an earnest advocate of the temperance cause, and, while conforming himself to the purest moral standard, he spared no effort when, by public address or by private influence, he could hope to bring his fellow-citizens up to the same elevated views. Indeed, his high tone of character, his

friendly interest in whatever was of real moment to those around him, his perpetual propagandism of the primal truths and great causes that were dearer to him than success, prosperity or fame, gave him a commanding and beneficent influence over men of all classes and conditions with whom he was brought into relations, more or less intimate.

In 1831 Mr. Rantoul married Jane Elizabeth Woodbury, of Beverly. He had two sons, both living,—Robert Samuel, of Salem, a lawyer, who has been a member of both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature; and Charles William, now a resident of Florida.

NATHANIEL JAMES LORD was born in Ipswich October 28, 1805, and graduated at Harvard in 1825. He studied law in the law school at Northampton, under Judge Howe and Professor Ashmun and in the office of Leverett Saltonstall, at Salem, and was admitted to the bar in September, 1828. He was associated with Mr. Saltonstall in business until 1835, and afterwards, until the autumn of 1853, was actively engaged alone in the practice of the law. After the death of Mr. Saltonstall, in 1845, he was the acknowledged leader of the Essex bar. In his earliest professional life, as the junior partner of Mr. Saltonstall, he had little opportunity as junior counsel to show his extraordinary ability, but as soon as he launched his own boat and assumed command, he only waited for the death of his old venerable partner and the removal of Mr. Choate to Boston to become identified with his native county as its greatest lawyer. Besides these two eminent men, he had to cope with John Glen King, Joshua Holyoke Ward, Caleb Cushing, Robert Rantoul and Ebenezer Mosely, but his repeated trials of strength with these skillful antagonists, vindicated his claim to the first honors of his profession. He died at Salem June 18, 1869. On the 21st a special meeting of the Essex Bar Association was held, to take notice of the death of their late associate, at which William C. Endicott, the president of the association, delivered an address, analyzing and eulogizing the character of the deceased. He was followed by Asahel Huntington, Jonathan C. Perkins, Thomas B. Newhall and William D. Northend. At an adjourned meeting, held June 28th, Alfred A. Abbott, in behalf of a committee appointed at the previous meeting, presented a memorial on the life and character of Mr. Lord, which was accepted and ordered to be entered on the records of the association.

On the 2d of July, 1869, Mr. Abbott, in behalf of the Association, read the memorial in the Supreme Court, in session at Salem, and moved that it be placed on the records of the court. The motion was seconded by William C. Endicott, who was followed by Mr. Huntington in a motion that a copy be sent to the family of Mr. Lord. Chief Justice Brigham then addressed the bar, and in respect to the memory of Mr. Lord, the court adjourned.

JEREMIAH CHAPLIN STICKNEY, son of John and Martha (Chaplin) Stickney, was born in Rowley January 6, 1805. He pursued his education at the Bradford Academy and at the Salem Latin School, and graduated at Harvard in 1824. He studied law with David Cummins, and was admitted to the bar in 1826. He was postmaster of Lynn under President Jackson, Representative to the State Legislature in 1839 and 1840, reappointed postmaster of Lynn by President Pierce in 1853, and continued in office until 1858. He married, December 25, 1829, Mary, daughter of John Frazier, of Philadelphia, and died August 3, 1863.

JONATHAN COGSWELL PERKINS was born in Essex November 21, 1809, and graduated at Amherst in 1832, of which institution he was chosen a trustee in 1850. He studied law at the Dane Law School and in the office of Rufus Choate, and was admitted to the Essex bar, at Newburyport, in 1835. In 1845 and 1846 he was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in 1847 and 1848 a member of the State Senate, in 1848 president of the Salem Common Council, in 1853 a member of the Constitutional Convention, and in 1848 was appointed by Governor Briggs an associate judge of the Common Pleas Court, holding his seat until the abolition of that court and the establishment of the Superior Court in 1859. He received from his *alma mater* the degree of LL.D. in 1867. He edited and annotated "Daniels' Chancery Practice, with American Forms," "Sugden on Vendors," "Arnold on Insurance," "Benjamin on Sales," "Williams on Executors and Administrators," "Pickering's Reports," "Vesey's Reports," "Abbott on Shipping," "Angell on Water-courses," "Jarmin on Wills," and the several works of Chitty on Contracts, Bills, Criminal Law and Pleading. He died December 12, 1877, in Salem, where he had always lived after his admission to the bar in 1835. After he left the bench he was city solicitor of Salem.

JOSHUA HOLYOKE WARD was a native of Salem, where he died June 5, 1848, at the age of thirty-nine. He graduated at Harvard in 1829, and pursued his law studies in the office of Leverett Saltonstall at Salem, and at the Dane Law School at Cambridge, receiving the degree of LL.B. in 1832. In 1844 he was appointed one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, and remained on the bench until his death. He was a man of exceptional ability, with a promise universally recognized of a brilliant judicial career.

OTIS PHILLIPS LORD, brother of Nathaniel James Lord, was born in Ipswich July 11, 1812, and having fitted for college at Dummer Academy, entered Amherst with the class which graduated in 1832. He was the son of Nathaniel and Eunice (Kimball) Lord, and descended from Robert Lord, who came from Ipswich, England. He studied law with Judge Oliver B. Morris, judge of probate in Hampden

County and in the Dane Law School at Cambridge, from which he graduated in 1836. He was admitted to the bar in Salem in December, 1835, and began practice in his profession in his native town. In 1844 he removed to Salem, where he resided until his death, March 13, 1884. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1847, '48, '52, '53, '54, in which last year he was Speaker. In 1849 he was a member of the Senate, and in 1853 a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. Upon the organization of the Superior Court, in 1859, he was appointed by Governor Banks an associate justice, and held this position until he was appointed by Governor Gaston, December 21, 1875, an associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. The latter position he resigned December 8, 1882, and he died in Salem on the 13th of March, 1884.

On the 22d of March, only a few days after his death, a meeting of the members of the bar of the commonwealth was held in Boston, at which sentiments were expressed containing a just and deserved tribute to his character and services as a jurist and a man. Attorney-General Edgar J. Sherman, in presenting resolutions on that occasion, said that "for nearly a quarter of a century Judge Lord served the commonwealth as a judge of the highest tribunals with distinguished ability, and it was only when infirmities became inexorable that he reluctantly abandoned the position which was dear to him both as the post of duty and of honor. . . . He had a natural instinct for the law. His learning was not extensive, and his temperament was always too impatient for much research; but he could recognize a distinction or detect a fallacy at a glance. In his power to grasp and enunciate principles, to analyze and marshal evidence, to seize upon and with remorseless clearness and logic to present the controlling elements of a case, he was seldom, if ever, surpassed. . . . His personal character was one of marked individuality, but it is no flattery of him to say that its most prominent features were the warmth and sincerity of his friendship, his rugged honesty, and a courage which never paltered with his convictions."

Chief Justice Morton, in the course of his response, said, "Judge Lord was a rapid thinker, and quickly formed impressions upon any questions of law presented to him. Whether his views were right or wrong, he saw them clearly and strongly; and such was his power of forcible expression, that there was at times danger that he might make the worse the better reason. But he had such control over his mind that he could grasp and appreciate any fair argument which tended to refute his views, and had the candor to abandon at once his position when convinced that he was in error. . . . In every relation of life he was a man of marked individuality and force. In every aspect of his character he was a strong man. He was strong in his intellect, strong in his emotions, strong in his friendships, strong in his dislikes and



Wm. P. Lord

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prejudices, strong in thought and strong in language, and, above all, strong in his integrity."

Nothing need be added to show what manner of judge and lawyer and man Otis Phillips Lord was believed by his contemporaries to be.

GEORGE MINOT, son of Judge Stephen Minot, of Haverhill, was born in that town January 5, 1817. He graduated at Harvard in 1836, and studied law with Rufus Choate, preparatory to his admission to the Suffolk bar in 1839. He is best known for the "Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts," which he published in 1844, and to which he added a supplement in 1852. He died at Reading, Mass., April 16, 1858.

ROBERT WORMSTED TREVETT was born in 1789, and graduated at Harvard in 1808. He studied law and settled in Lynn in 1813, where he died January 13, 1842.

STEPHEN BRADSHAW IVES was born in Salem March 9, 1827, and was the son of Stephen B. Ives, of that city. He received his early education in the public schools and graduated at Harvard in 1848. After leaving college he taught school one season in Newbury, and afterwards had charge as principal of one of the Salem grammar schools. He studied law in the office of Northend & Choate, in Salem, and was admitted to the bar at Salem at the March term of the Court of Common Pleas in 1851. For a year or two he was clerk of the Salem Police Court, and in 1853 began active practice. By his eminent qualifications for his chosen profession, guided and spurred by an unusual enthusiasm in its pursuit, he early secured a large business and won an enviable reputation. He died at Salem February 8, 1884, and on the next day a meeting of the Bar Association of Essex County was held in the court-house, in Salem, and a committee consisting of William D. Northend, George F. Choate, A. A. Abbott, Daniel Saunders and Charles P. Thompson was appointed to prepare resolutions of respect to be presented to the court.

In the Supreme Judicial Court, sitting at Salem on the 24th of the following April, a worthy memorial was read by Alfred A. Abbott, who was followed in appropriate remarks by Mr. Northend, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Saunders, Charles A. Benjamin and Leverett S. Tuckerman.

Chief Justice Morton, presiding, accepted the memorial in behalf of the court and added his testimony to the high character, indomitable energy and professional skill of Mr. Ives. The whole bar acknowledged the truth of Mr. Abbott's statement that for "thirty years he pursued a career which has had few parallels in the history of the Essex Bar."

ALFRED A. ABBOTT, son of Amos Abbott, was born in Andover May 30, 1820. He was educated at Phillips Andover Academy and entered Yale College in 1837. At the end of his junior year he left Yale and entered Union College, from which he graduated in 1841. In 1843 he graduated also from the Dane Law

School at Cambridge. His law studies were finished in the office of Joshua Holyoke Ward, and he was admitted to the bar in 1844. He commenced practice in that part of Danvers which is now Peabody, and made that his residence until his death, October 27, 1884. He represented the town of Danvers in the Legislature in 1850-52, and the county of Essex in the Senate in 1853. In the latter year he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and was appointed district attorney for the Eastern District. He held office as attorney until 1869. In 1870 he was appointed, upon the death of Mr. Huntington, clerk of the courts, and in the same year he was chosen for Mr. Huntington's unexpired term. He continued in office until his death, having been twice re-elected.

In a memorial read by William D. Northend, president of the Essex Bar Association in the Superior Court at Salem, December 8, 1884, Mr. Northend said: "Mr. Abbott was something more than a lawyer or clerk of the courts; he was a man of broad culture and large knowledge and experience outside his profession. He read the best books and was a thorough student of English literature. His occasional public addresses were models of excellence. His style was elegant and graceful and his language most felicitous. . . . He had a very sympathetic nature, his delivery was forcible and impressive and as an orator he had no equal in the county since the days of Rufus Choate. If he had sought distinction in the general practice of his profession, there was no place at the bar or on the bench to which he could not have justly aspired; or if he had cherished political ambition, he had the qualities which would have insured him a high position and reputation as a statesman."

JOHN K. TARBOX was born in that part of Methuen which is now Lawrence May 6, 1838. His parents, of Huguenot extraction, were poor, and at the age of eight years he was left an orphan under the guardianship of Rev. Bailey Loring, of North Andover. He was educated in the public schools of Methuen and Lawrence and the Franklin Academy of North Andover, and while still a youth, entered as clerk the drug-store of Henry M. Whitney, of Lawrence. In 1857, at the age of nineteen, he became a student in the law-office of Colonel Benjamin F. Watson, of Lawrence, whose attention had been attracted by his exhibition of mental activity and who advised him to prepare himself for the profession of law. In 1860 he was admitted to the bar and also to a partnership with Colonel Watson, and at a later day was a partner of Edgar J. Sherman, the present attorney-general of the commonwealth. During a part of the war he was a paymaster's clerk, and on the 28th of August, 1863, was mustered out of the service as lieutenant of Company B, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.

After leaving the service he became the political editor of the *Lawrence American*, and in 1864 was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. In

1868, '70, '71, he was a Representative from Lawrence, in 1873 Senator and in 1873-74 mayor of that city. In 1870, '72, '76, '78, he was an unsuccessful candidate of the Democratic party for Congress, but in 1874 was chosen and sat in the Forty-fourth Congress. In 1879 he presided at the Democratic State Convention, and, in 1883, while city solicitor of Lawrence, was appointed by Governor Butler insurance commissioner. He was reappointed by Governor Robinson in 1886, and won a deserved reputation, not only for the faithful and thorough performance of the duties of that office, but also for his exhaustive labors in the revision and codification of the insurance laws of the State, in obedience to a resolve of the General Court. He died in Boston, May 28th, 1887.

NATHAN W. HARMON was born in New Ashford, January 16, 1813. His early life was spent on a farm with the educational advantages of the common schools. He fitted for college at Lenox and graduated at Williams in 1836. In 1839 he was admitted to the bar in Berkshire County, and his name is on the list of admissions to the Essex bar in 1842. After practising law a few years in Berkshire County, a part of the time as partner of George N. Briggs, afterward Governor of the Commonwealth, he removed to Lawrence and made that place ever afterward his residence. In 1857 he was a member of the House of Representatives, and at a later time a member of the State Senate. In 1876 he was appointed Judge of the Police Court of Lawrence and held office until January of the present year (1887), when, on account of enfeebled health, he resigned. He died September 16th, 1887, leaving two daughters, Harriet and Cornelia, and one son, Rollin E. Harmon, Judge of the Police Court of Lynn.

HON. JAMES HENRY DUNCAN was born in Haverhill, Mass., December 5, 1793. On the paternal side he was of Scotch-Irish descent. His great-grandfather, George Duncan, was one of the colony that came from Londonderry, Ireland, and settled in Londonderry, N. H., 1719. His grandfather, James, came to Haverhill about 1740, where he established himself as a merchant. He died in 1818, aged ninety-two years. He had ten children, the sixth of whom was James, who married Rebecca White, and died January 5, 1822, aged sixty-two years. He left two children—Samuel White, who died October 21, 1824, and James Henry, of this sketch.

On the maternal side the family of Mr. Duncan covers the entire history of Haverhill, a period of more than two centuries, and on the paternal side the three generations cover more than half of this period.

Mr. Duncan early evinced a fondness for books, and at the age of eleven years he was sent to Phillips' Academy at Exeter, N. H., then the leading classical school in the country. Here he was brought into the companionship of Edward Everett, Jared A. Sparks, Buckminster, John G. Palfrey and John A. Dix. The stimulating influence of such companions, aided by his own quick faculties, rapidly developed him;

and at the age of fourteen he entered Harvard College. He was graduated in due course, in the class of 1812, with Dr. John Homans, Judge Sprague, Bishop Wainwright, Henry Ware, Franklin Dexter, Charles G. Loring and others. In college Mr. Duncan held a high rank, especially in the classics, the careful study of which was strongly apparent in the smooth, rounded, Latinized style that marked his conversation and public speech.

The career, thus happily begun, was followed by the study of the law,—first in the office of Hon. John Varnum at Haverhill, and afterwards with his cousin, Leverett Saltonstall, at Salem. In 1815 he was admitted to the Essex bar, and entered upon practice at Haverhill. For several years Mr. Duncan gave his entire time to his profession; but the death of his father, January 5, 1822, left him in the charge of a considerable estate, which gradually withdrew him from its duties, though he did not wholly relinquish practice until 1849, when he took his seat in Congress. It has been thought by many a misfortune for his own reputation, that the cares of property interfered with the ardent practice of his profession. His ready and sympathetic eloquence, his thorough honesty and comprehensive judgment gave promise of a brilliant future. But probably his life was more widely useful than if he had remained an advocate. As a lawyer he was devoid of trickery, and he instinctively repudiated those indirect methods often employed in the profession. Though richly gifted as an advocate, he had a constitutional aversion to litigation, and thus was oftener engaged in settling cases than in disputing them. We copy here from the resolutions of the Essex bar, passed after his death:

"Resolved, That we desire to express and put on record our respect for the memory and character of the Honorable James H. Duncan, whose recent death was so sincerely and deeply lamented in the particular community where he was born and lived, as well as by the public at large. Mr. Duncan entered on the practice of the law in the courts of this county, more than fifty years ago, after a thorough preparation, according to the usages of the day, partly in the office of the late Leverett Saltonstall, so distinguished here in his generation, and his kinsman and friend. He pursued his profession here for many years, with marked fidelity and success, always trusted and respected by his brethren, until, having served his State honorably and usefully in both branches of the Legislature, he was called by the general voice of his fellow-citizens into the public councils of the country, now more than twenty years ago, since which time he has withdrawn himself wholly from the practice of the profession, and attendance on the courts. Of late years he has been known as a lawyer, to much the largest portion now in practice at this bar, only by the 'tradition of the elders,' among whom, as well as in the courts, he had obtained and always held a 'good report.'"

Mr. Duncan lived what might be called a *public life*; yet it was through a certain evident fitness that led him to be called to its duties, rather than from his own seeking. A short time previous to his admission to the bar, he was elected major in the Haverhill Light Infantry; and, passing through the various grades of militia service, he rose to the rank of colonel, by which title he was afterwards commonly addressed. He was early a trustee of the Essex County



Engraved by A. W. H. H. H.

James H. Duncan

Agricultural Society, and from 1836 to 1838 its president.

On the formation of the National Republican party, popularly known as the Whig party, in 1827, he was elected to the State Legislature, and in the three succeeding years to the Senate, when he declined re-election. In 1837-38, he was again found in the House; and in the two following years, he was a member of the Council. In 1857 he was again elected to the Legislature. On the passage of the State Insolvent Law, in 1838, he was appointed one of the Commissioners in Insolvency; and on the passage of the United States Bankrupt Law, in 1841, he was made Commissioner in Bankruptcy, holding the office until the law was repealed. In 1839 he was elected a delegate to the convention at Harrisburg that nominated General Harrison for the Presidency. In 1848 he was chosen to represent his district, then the largest manufacturing district in the United States, in the national Congress; and was re-elected in 1850.

Of his Congressional career Hon. Amos Tuck, of Exeter, at the time United States Senator from New Hampshire, thus speaks:

"He entered Congress at the first session of General Taylor's administration, when the problems in politics and government, which grew out of the Mexican War and the acquisition of California and New Mexico, infused such intensity of feeling into the public mind. The old Whig party, with which Mr. Duncan had long been honorably connected, was becoming more anti-slavery; while the Democratic party was gradually giving way to the entire leadership of Southern men, and becoming hopelessly involved in the sin, shame and want of statesmanship, involved in the advocacy and support of slavery extension. Mr. Duncan had relations of friendship with the old leaders of the Whig party, and was welcomed into their fellowship at Washington on his arrival at that city. But his moral perceptions had been cultivated beyond what was common among the devotees of either of the old parties, and he knew and felt the force of the moral questions which were discussed throughout the country upon the relation of the government to slavery. Attached to his party, and attached to his honored friends, he yet could not be blind or deaf or insensible to the claims for justice of the humble who could not even speak for themselves. He remembered those in bonds, as bound with them, and, at the expense of personal comfort, voted, I believe, from first to last, during his Congressional term of four years, under all the circumstances of an excited period of our history, on the slavery question in all its phases, only as his best friends could now wish he had voted, after all the light since shed upon the subject. That he so signally and uniformly acted on the side of wisdom and right, while so many of his associates were misled by excitement, or failed for other reasons to see and maintain what it is now apparent they ought to have supported, I attribute in a great degree to his elevated moral character, to his cultivated sense of right, to his determination never to violate the dictates of an enlightened conscience. He was not a frequent debater in the House of Representatives; but when he did speak, he commanded more than common attention. He was one whom to know was to love, who made many friends and no enemies, and who left Congress possessing universal esteem."

The tribute of affection and respect which the poet Whittier paid to him after his decease makes honorable mention of him as a man in public life and in his social relations. "His Congressional career was a highly honorable one, marked by his characteristic soundness of judgment and conscientious faithfulness to a high ideal of duty. In private life as in public, he was habitually courteous and gentlemanly. For many years the leading man in his section, he

held his place without ostentation, and achieved greatness by not making himself great."

Not the least of Mr. Duncan's public services were his labors in behalf of the Union during the Civil War. He was active with voice and pen in strengthening the hands of the government. He cheerfully acted as the medium of communication between the soldiers in the field and their families at home. They sent to him their well-earned money, which he personally distributed, gladdening often many a humble home by his presence as the harbinger of good tidings and comfort.

These statements indicate how constantly Mr. Duncan was in public life. Meanwhile, he was serving in other large public interests not of a political nature; while in town matters his services were constantly demanded. For fifty years, scarcely an important item of municipal business was transacted except under his advice or leadership. If a matter needed to be brought before the General Court he was delegated to do it. He took the leading part in the erection of two town halls, making, at the dedication of both, historical addresses. In this connection Hon. Alfred Kittredge says,—“He took great interest in the affairs of the town, and frequently addressed his fellow-citizens upon subjects of importance. He was listened to with great interest, and usually carried a majority with him. In all discussions he was in a marked degree gentlemanly, both in his manner of presenting subjects and in his treatment of those who differed from him, stating his own views forcibly, and giving others due credit for their own. He had a remarkably clear utterance, and a rich ringing voice that gave him great power over an audience. When in the Legislature, Samuel Allen, I think, gave him the cognomen of the ‘silver-tongued member’ from Haverhill.

This sketch would be incomplete if it overlooked Mr. Duncan's relation to the great religious and benevolent movements of his time. He took the most lively interest in the cause of education, and in the great missionary organizations of his own and other Christian denominations. He was a member of the Board of Fellows of Brown University from 1835 till his death. In 1861 the Board conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. It is not too much to say that his name and influence were a tower of strength in the councils of the corporation. It is thus that Barnas Sears, then president of the University, speaks of him as he appeared at its annual meetings, or in the larger gatherings of the representatives of the Missionary Union,—“Long will men remember the impressions made on these and similar occasions by this Christian gentleman and scholar, with his finely-cut features and symmetrical form, his graceful and animated delivery, his chaste, beautiful, and musical language, his pertinent, clear and convincing arguments, his unflinching fidelity, and spotless integrity. So blended in him were these various attributes of body and

mind that we can think of them only in their union, and it would seem that a mind of delicate mould had formed for itself a bodily organ suited to its own purposes. In him we see how much Christianity can do for true culture, and how beautiful an ornament culture is to Christianity."

Mr. Duncan during his whole life worshipped with the First Baptist Church in Haverhill, though he did not become a member of the church until the age of forty. His ancestors on both sides were among its founders. Thus a Baptist by birth and education he afterwards added to the principles thus inculcated the full conviction of his mature years. However attached to his own communion he was not in the narrow sense of the term a denominationalist. By nature he was catholic and took the broad and liberal side on all church questions. Every good cause had in him a friend. He wrought zealously with all true lovers of God and man. The cause of home and foreign missions, of popular education and the dissemination of a sound literature enlisted his earnest advocacy. Indeed, he was quick in his response to all good objects by which humanity could be elevated and God honored.

Mr. Duncan remained single till the age of thirty-three, when, June 28, 1826, he married Miss Mary Willis, daughter of Benjamin Willis, Esq., of Boston. Thirteen children were born to them. Three died in early childhood, and three passed away after they had attained to adult years, leaving seven,—two sons and five daughters. His home, of which Mr. Duncan was pre-eminently the head, was the centre of a liberal culture and of a refined and generous hospitality. This hospitality was not the mere reciprocation of society. His ample mansion was open alike to friends and strangers. If the town, or any religious or secular interest could be served by his hospitality, it was proffered without stint. His house was regarded as the temporary home of public speakers, lecturers, clergymen and all others to whom hospitality seemed due. The grace and tact and dignity which Mr. Duncan uniformly exhibited thus in his own home is remembered by multitudes.

Mr. Duncan's last illness was brief, and its fatal termination was a surprise to all. Although he was seventy-five years old he bore no marks of age. A cold which caused no apprehensions at first, suddenly developed into pneumonia, which after only a few days of sickness terminated fatally, February 8, 1869. The announcement of his death passed rapidly through the town, and was received almost with incredulity. When the surprise passed, a general sorrow and sense of bereavement took possession of all hearts. Many had lost in him a loved and faithful friend, and all felt that the town had been bereaved of its most useful and honored citizen, and that his place would not soon be filled. By the general urgent desire of the community the funeral services were held in the church, instead of the house,

as was first intended, and were attended by a large concourse of people. Though holding no office at the time, such was the appreciation of his services in the past, and such the sense of the loss sustained by his removal, that the town adopted most appropriate resolutions upon the event.

There are other deceased members of the bar of whom sketches would be interesting, if reliable materials could be readily obtained. Some of these will be remembered by present members of the bar, and are as deserving of a place in this record as many who have been especially mentioned. Edward Pulling (H. C.), 1775, John W. Proctor, Jacob Gerrish, Ellis G. Loring, Francis B. Crowninshield, George H. Devereaux, George Andrews, Hobart Clark, Asa Andrews, Eben Shillaber, John B. Peabody, Wm. Howland, George Foster Flint, Frederick D. Burnham and Jaius Ware Perry are some of those whose sketches have been necessarily omitted.

HON. STEPHEN HENRY PHILLIPS¹ was the eldest son of the Hon. Stephen Clarendon Phillips and Jane Appleton (Peele) Phillips, of Salem. His paternal great-grandfather, Deacon Stephen Phillips, a descendant of the Rev. George Phillips who reached Salem with Winthrop in 1630, and settled at Watertown, had removed from his ancestral home in that town to Marblehead, where he became a leading citizen, taking the Chair as Moderator of the tumultuous town-meeting called to protest against the Boston Port Bill of 1773, and was thenceforth an active patriot and a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety. His grandfather, Stephen Phillips, was a well-known citizen and merchant of Marblehead. His father's public services as a sturdy supporter of the interests of Salem, as an untiring friend of Freedom in Congress and elsewhere and of the Public School System of Massachusetts, will be recounted by others and are freshly remembered. Other descendants of the same Puritan ancestry have won distinction. The same stock produced the founders of academies bearing the name at Exeter and at Andover. It produced the famous Boston patriot of the Revolution, William Phillips; his son, the first mayor of Boston, John Phillips; in the third generation, Wendell Phillips, a son of the latter, our matchless master of English speech; as well as that much admired divine, the Rev. Phillips Brooks.

The subject of this sketch was born at the family mansion in Charter Street, Salem, now occupied as a City Hospital, August 16, 1823. His school experience was unique. Before 1830 he had been a pupil at the dame's school of Miss Mehetable Higginson, and from that date on he enjoyed the successive teachings of Henry K. Oliver, with whom Jones Very, David Mack, and Surgeon John L. Fox of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition were assistants, in Salem; of Frederick P. Leverett, at the Old South Chapel in Bos-

¹ Robert S. Banford.



Engr. by A. H. Ritchie

Stephen H. Phillips,

ton; of the Rev. Joseph Allen at his boarding-school in Northampton; and of William J. Adams at a private school in Murray Street, New York City. The year 1836 found him at the Select Classical School in Washington, D. C., founded by Salmon P. Chase when a law student in the office of Attorney-General Wirt, and there Charles Levi Woodbury, Alfred Pleasanton, since known as a famous cavalry general, and Mansfield Lovell, the rebel commandant who evacuated New Orleans in face of Farragut, were among his school-mates. The next year he passed in Salem at the school of Rufus T. King, in Chestnut Street, and another year under Master Oliver Carlton, of the Latin Grammar School, brought him a certificate with which, at the exceptional age of fifteen, he entered Harvard in 1838, taking his degree in course, a winter spent in the West Indies in the senior year for the recovery of his health depriving him of the very high rank he had previously held. Here he had for classmates the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem, the eminent Orientalist, and a well-known essayist and magazine writer, Frederick Sheldon, of Newport, R. I. On graduating in 1842, he became a member of Harvard Chapter, Alpha, of the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa, and was at a later date a founder, and for its first six years President, of the Harvard Club of San Francisco.

The three years following his graduation,—the last three years of the life of its great patron, Judge Story,—Mr. Phillips spent at the Dane Law School, where Charles Sumner was an occasional lecturer and Simon Greenleaf was Royal Professor. Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes; Chief Justice Peters, of Maine; Chief Justice Morton, of Massachusetts; Chief Justice Lee, of the Sandwich Islands; Ex-Chief Justice Foster, of New Hampshire, and Ex-Chief Justice Bradley, of Rhode Island, were among his fellow students. After a further period of study in the office of the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis, at Boston, he was admitted to practice at the Suffolk bar in April, 1846, and for the years 1847, '48, '49, '50 edited the *Boston Law Reporter*.

Having removed his office to Salem, Mr. Phillips was appointed by Governor Boutwell, in 1851, District Attorney for the County of Essex, a position which he filled with acceptance and which he resigned in 1854. Advancing rapidly in professional and general estimation, and having formed a business connection with James A. Gillis, since for many years City Solicitor of Salem,—an office which Mr. Phillips himself filled for the years 1856, '57,—he had already achieved a leading position at the Essex bar, when he was elected in the last named year, at the unusual age of thirty-four, Attorney-general of the Commonwealth. This responsible and dignified position he retained by popular election through the three years' administration of Governor Banks, the first Republican administration in Massachusetts, and at its close, in 1861, was by him appointed Judge-advocate-general of the militia of the State.

Continuing the practice of his profession in Boston and in Salem, with such interruptions as no patriotic citizen could honorably avoid during the five troubled years which followed, and acting, from November, 1863, as chairman first of the City Water Committee, charged with procuring an act for the introduction of a water-supply for Salem, and then of the Water Commission, upon which devolved the duty of construction, Mr. Phillips in 1866 accepted overtures from Kamehameha V. for a position as one of the four responsible ministers of his privy council, and temporarily left the United States for Honolulu. Under the Hawaiian constitution, modeled largely on our own, he acted, throughout his residence in Honolulu, as Attorney-general, and for a considerable portion of the time as Minister of Foreign Affairs also. At times he added to these trusts that of Minister of Finance, and very generally he was the recognized head of the Royal Government in the House of Nobles, King's Cabinet and Privy Council. He was at liberty to practice in the courts of law in causes in which the interests of the State were not involved.

A position as the responsible head of a government like this is not without peculiar difficulties. For reasons of their own, England, France and the United States had seen fit to recognize the Sandwich Islands as an independent sovereignty. But with a standing army of seventy men, it was no mean task to keep the peace amongst as many thousands of these tawny, mercurial, Malayo-Polynesian subjects; to suppress the occasional armed outbreaks of religious fanaticism or of jealousy of foreign influence; to maintain at all times the dignity and self-respect of a reigning house under a form of government, nominally constitutional, in which the elements of strength were wanting, and, while yielding all that could safely be granted to foreign commercial and diplomatic agents and foreign missionaries, to see to it that none of them secured concessions injurious to rival denominations, nationalities or interests, or to the State. And this was the task which confronted Mr. Phillips during his seven years' residence at Honolulu. He was largely instrumental in the reciprocity negotiations of 1867-69, in which President Grant took so active an interest as to invite him to a private interview, and while securing to the people of the islands a measure of domestic tranquillity and peace which made life and property as safe there as in any portion of the civilized world, he was able to apply to their foreign affairs the good, old American doctrine of Washington's farewell address,—“Friendly relations with all nations; entangling alliances with none.”

Upon the change of dynasty consequent upon the death of Kamehameha V., Mr. Phillips returned in 1873 to the United States and established himself at San Francisco as Resident-Director and Solicitor of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States. During eight years spent here in the practice of the law he was at times retained as the official coun-

sel of the State Board of Railroad Commissioners, and the California State Reports show that he appeared in important causes, of which *Estate of Hinckley*, 58 Cal., 457, dealing in a radical way with the State law of charities, is perhaps the most noteworthy. In 1881 he resumed the practice of his profession in the State of Massachusetts, residing in Danvers. He had previously married, at Haverhill, Oct. 8, 1871, while on a temporary absence from Honolulu, Miss Margaret D., daughter of the Hon. James H. Duncan, of Haverhill, a lady whose acquaintance he had made in the Hawaiian Islands.

It will be seen that, throughout a somewhat varied career, Mr. Phillips has only in a single instance been a candidate for office before the people, and in that instance the office was a professional one. Never slow to respond to the calls of good citizenship and good neighborhood; never hesitating to show his colors in any exigency where the public has a right to his opinions, he remains first, last and always a lawyer. Coming to the Essex bar, one of the ablest in the country, at a time when the rough habits of bluster and brow-beating were passing out of vogue, he made it his rule to appeal directly and with emphasis to the intelligence and convictions of jurors, and to the sound, legal discrimination of the Court, and in all cases to treat persons whom chance placed in his power on the witness-stand with the consideration due to that most trying and unprotected of positions. The thorough preparation which was insured to every cause entrusted to his hands left nothing to be decided by chance which could be foreseen and provided for, and the sagacity, energy, discretion and nerve which he displayed in his chosen calling were not slow in meeting their reward. It came to be a rare occurrence during his practice at the Essex bar to find a case of exceptional magnitude on trial from any part of the county in which Mr. Phillips did not appear on one side or the other. Among the most interesting of his cases may be noticed *Boston and Lowell Railroad Corporation vs. Salem and Lowell Railroad Company*, 2 Gray, 1; the famous Rockport liquor case, *Brown vs. Perkins, et ux.*, 12 Gray, 89; and a case against the Sergeant-at-arms, upon writ of *habeas corpus*, *Burnham vs. Morrissey*, 14 Gray, 226, which settled the constitutional prerogative of the House of Representatives, in matters of contempt.

While Attorney-general of Massachusetts Mr. Phillips was called on to prepare papers for the removal, by process of address to the Governor, of the Hon. Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk, a proceeding which excited the most intense political feeling at the time, for which the files of the office afforded no precedent, and which did more than any other single event to make of a comparatively unknown lawyer, John Albion Andrew, the great War Governor of Massachusetts. He was also called to Lynn by a threatening demonstration of unemployed workmen during the

feverish period which succeeded the financial disasters of 1857, and by his firm bearing and calm, persuasive address did much to avert the grave disorders which seemed to be impending. He was present, as a member of the Governor's staff, at the great Concord muster of the State Militia in October, 1860, and seconded in every way the efforts then making to put the Massachusetts contingent on a war footing. Not many months later he found an opportunity to present the sword there worn to a citizen of Marblehead, marching, in command of a company of his patriotic townsmen, the first company in the State to respond to the call of Governor Andrew, to the relief of the capital beleaguered with rampant treason, and it received no stain in the hands of Captain Knott V. Martin.

Mr. Phillips was associated with ex-Governor Clifford as Commissioner of Massachusetts for the adjustment of a boundary question between this State and Rhode Island, which called for the intervention of the Attorney-General of the United States, and was in Washington on that errand in the closing days of January, 1861. Brought, in this way, in daily contact with Mr. Stanton, at a time when Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet was in the last stages of disintegration, the Massachusetts Commissioners were not slow to divine the nature of the suspicions which distracted him, and reported confidentially to Governor Andrew, in the following letter:

WASHINGTON, Wednesday night, January 30, 1861.

DEAR SIR:—In an interview we had to-night with the Attorney-general of the United States, we have been authorized to express to you, confidentially, his individual opinion that there is imminent, if not inevitable peril of an attack upon the city of Washington between the 4th and the 15th of February—with a view to secure the symbols of government and the power and prestige of possession by the traitors who are plotting the dissolution of the Union.

We have but a moment before the closing of the mail to say to you, in this informal way, that no vigilance should be relaxed for Massachusetts to be ready at any moment, and upon a sudden emergency, to come to the succor of the Federal Government.

This may be an unnecessary precaution, but we feel that it is a simple discharge of a plain duty on our part to give you this intimation after what we have heard from a source of such high authority.

In great haste, we are very truly and respectfully yours,

JOHN H. CLIFFORD.
STEPHEN H. PHILLIPS.

GOV. ANDREW.

Governor Claflin, in his address in Doric Hall, February 14, 1871, accepting in behalf of the Commonwealth the Statue of Governor Andrew, says it was upon this letter that action was taken, February 5, 1861, to furnish two regiments with overcoats, not a company in the State being then ready for marching orders, and he attributes to this cause the advanced state of preparation which enabled our troops, though remote, to reach Washington with the foremost.

Bred among the Conscience Whigs, so called, Mr. Phillips became a Free Soiler from the start and acted with that party in the national campaigns of 1848 and 1852. In 1856 he represented his native

district in the first national Republican Convention which sat at Philadelphia and nominated Fremont. Subsequently he served as president of the local campaign club, which met weekly at Lynde Hall, Salem, in support of that nomination, and in 1864 he sat again in the Republican Convention which named Lincoln for a second term. In 1884 he presided at a county demonstration in Salem in support of Blaine and Logan. His religious affiliations have been with the Unitarian body, with such advanced leaders of thought as Channing, Emerson and Parker. Mr. Phillips holds personal independence above sectarian and party allegiance.

NATHANIEL WARD was born in Haverhill, County of Suffolk, England, in 1570. He was the son of Rev. John Ward, one of a long line in direct descent belonging to the clerical profession. He graduated at Cambridge in 1603, studied law in the Temple and after extended travels on the continent, began his professional practice. He soon, however, abandoned the law, and studied divinity, finally settling as a clergyman in Standon, in Hertfordshire. As early as the year 1629 he seems to have become disaffected towards the English Church. The following is an extract from the records of a meeting of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," held in London, November 25, 1629:

"Lastly, upon the motion of Mr. Whyte, to the end that this business might be proceeded in with the first intention, which was chiefly the glory of God & to that purpose that their meetings might be sanctified by the prayers of some faithful ministers resident here in London, whose advice would be likewise requisite upon many occasions, the Court thought fitt to admitt into the freedom of this company Mr. Jo: Archer & Mr. Phillip Nye, Ministers here in London, who, being here present, kindly accepted thereof: also Mr. Whyte did recommend unto them Mr. Nathaniel Ward, of Standon."

On the 12th of December, 1631, he was ordered to appear before Bishop Laud and answer the charge of non-conformity. In 1633 he was forbidden to preach, and in April, 1634, sailed for New England, arriving in June. He was settled at once, as the first minister of Agawam (now Ipswich), with Rev. Thomas Parker, as the teacher or assistant. In 1636 he resigned, on account of ill health, and seems after that time, as long as he remained in New England, to have been engaged, more or less, in public affairs, for the details of which his early education in the law had specially fitted him. *Winthrop's Journal*, first printed in 1790, says that "on the 6th of the 3d month, May, 1635, the Deputies having conceived great danger to our State in regard that our magistrates, for want of positive laws in many cases, might proceed according to their discretion, it was agreed that some men shall be appointed to frame the body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a *Magna Charta*, which, being allowed by some of the ministers and the General Court, should be received for fundamental laws."

The above extract does not appear in the records of the court, but the following entry is found in the record of the proceedings of the above date:

"The Governor (John Haynes), Deputy-governor (Richard Bellingham), John Winthrop & Tho: Dudley, Esq., are deputed by the Court to make a draught of such lawes as they shall judge needfull for the well ordering of this plantation, & to present the same to the Court."

On the 25th of May, 1636, nothing having been yet accomplished in the matter of the laws, the records state that "The Governor (Henry Vane), Deputy-governor (John Winthrop), Tho: Dudley, John Haynes, Rich: Bellingham, Esq., Mr. Cotton, Mr. Peters & Mr. Shepheard, are intreated to make a draught of lawes agreeable to the word of God, which may be the fundamentals of this commonwealth, & to present the same to the next Generall Court."

In September, 1636, Mr. Cotton reported a code of laws, but no action was taken on their adoption. Under the date of March 12, 1637-38, the following entry appears in the records of the General Court:

"For the well ordering of these plantations, now in the beginning thereof it having been found by the little time of experience we have here had that the want of written laws have put the court into many doubts and much trouble in many particular cases, this Court hath therefore ordered that the freemen of every town (or some part thereof chosen by the rest) within this jurisdiction shall assemble together in their several towns & collect the heads of such necessary and fundamental laws as may be suitable to the times and places where God by his providence hath cast us, & the heads of such laws to deliver in writing to the Governor for the time being before the 5th day of the 4th month, called June, next to the intent that the same Governor together with the rest of the standing counsell & Richard Bellingham, Esq., Mr. Bulkley, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Peters & Mr. Shepheard, elders of several churches, Mr. Nathaniel Ward, Mr. William Spencer & Mr. William Hawthorne, or the major part of them, may upon the survey of such heads of law make a compendious abridgement of the same by the General Court in autumn next, adding yet to the same or detracting therefrom what in their wisdom shall seem meet."

Winthrop's *Journal* states that in December, 1641, "The General Court continued three weeks and established one hundred laws, which were called the Body of Liberties, composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward sometime past at Ipswich, who had been a minister in England, and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the Common Law." This was the first code of laws established in New England, and was so mingled in the subsequent codification of the laws with later statutes, that for a long period its precise provisions were unknown. In or about 1823, however, Mr. Francis C. Gray, of Boston, found in the Boston Athenæum a manuscript of sixty pages which,

probably, belonged to Elisha Hutchinson, who died in 1717, at the age of seventy-seven years. This manuscript contained a copy of the colonial charter and a "Coppie of the Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England." This "Coppie" contained one hundred distinct articles separated by black lines, the introductory and concluding paragraphs not being numbered. Unlike the code, which Rev. Mr. Cotton prepared, and which was not accepted, it did not follow closely the laws of Moses, nor did it cite Scripture except relating to punishments. Cotton went so far in this respect as to add to the provision "that the Governor, and in his absence the Deputy Governor, shall have power to send out warrants for calling the General Court together," the Scripture authority contained in the first verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Joshua, "And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem and called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers, and they presented themselves before God."

The Body of Liberties followed the Scriptures so far as to make no crimes capital, not made so by the Mosaic law, and some of these were omitted, such as heresy, profaning the Lord's Day, reviling magistrates, etc. As the author of this code, Nathaniel Ward, a resident in Essex County, as long as he remained in New England, is entitled to a place in this narrative.

On the 13th of May, 1640, the General Court granted him six hundred acres of land at Pentucket (now Haverhill), which he sold November 26, 1646, to John Eaton. In 1641 he preached the election sermon. During the winter of 1646-47 he returned to England, and was settled at Shenfield, in the county of Essex, where he died in 1653. His son John, born in Haverhill, England, November 6, 1606, graduated at Cambridge in 1630, and was settled in Haverhill, Mass., in 1645, where he died December 27, 1693.

Mr. Ward was an author of some notoriety, if not repute in other fields than that of law. In 1648 he published a humorous satirical address to the London tradesmen, turned preachers, entitled "Mercurius Anti-Mechanicus on the Simple Coblers Boy," which was reprinted in Washington in 1844. On the 30th of June, 1647, he preached a sermon before the House of Commons, which was published, and in the same year published "A Religious Retreat sounded to a Religious Army." In 1648 he published "The humble petitions, serious suggestions and dutiful expositions of some freeholders of the Easterne Association to the high and low Parliament of England," and in 1650 "Discolliminium a Reply to Bounds and Bonds." But the work by which, next to the Body of Liberties, he is best known, is a quaint political tract satirizing the affairs and manners of the Massachusetts Colony and the fashionable ladies of the day,

the following is a copy of the title-page:

"The simple Cöbler of Aggawam in America Willing To help mend his native country lamentably tattered both in the upper Leather and Sole with all the honest stitches he can take

And as willing never to be paid for his work by old English wonted pay.

It is his trade to patch all the year long gratis.

Therefore I pray gentlemen keep your purses.

By Thöoulore de la Guard

In rebus arduis ac tenui spe, fortissima quæque consilia tutissima
sunt. Cic.

In English.

When boots and shoes are torne up to the lefts

Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to fear Apollis gramm:

Ne auctor quidem ultra crepidam.

London.

Printed by J. D. & R. T. for Stephen Bowtell at the signe of the Bible in
Popes Head Alley
1647."

This work, though printed in England after the return of Mr. Ward, was written in New England in 1645. A careful reprint was edited by David Pulsifer, of Boston, in 1847.

THOMAS BANCROFT NEWHALL.—Mr. Newhall was born in that part of Lynn which is now the town of Lynnfield October 2, 1811. He is a lineal descendant from Thomas Newhall, the first white child born in Lynn, and a son of Asa T. Newhall, a prominent and successful farmer and magistrate.

Mr. Newhall was fitted for college at Andover and Lynn Academies, and graduated from Brown University in 1832. He studied law in offices in Danvers and Boston and at the Harvard Law School, and was admitted to the bar at the March term of the Court of Common Pleas, 1837, and early in the following month established himself in business in Lynn. He soon acquired a very satisfactory practice, in which he has continued during the intervening fifty years, and with the discharge of the duties of various offices of a public and private character with which he has been honored, his life has been active, useful and honorable. In 1852 he married Miss Susan S. Putnam, of Salem, and he has two children surviving—James S. Newhall, of Lynn, and Mrs. Caroline P. Heath, of Boston.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT is descended from John Endicott, who came to Salem in 1628 as Governor of the Colony, sent out by the Massachusetts Company. The family in his line has, during the two hundred and sixty years which have elapsed since that date, always lived in Salem and its vicinity, and most of the time on the farm which included the homestead of the Governor. John Endicott was born in Dorchester, Dorsetshire, England, in 1588, and married Anna Gouer, who came with him to New England. She died in 1629, leaving no children, and Governor Endicott married, August 17th, 1630, Elizabeth Gibson, of Cambridge, England. He died March 15th, 1665, and his children were John, born about 1632, and Zerubbabel, born in 1665. Zerubbabel married a wife, Mary, who died in 1677, and he afterwards married Elizabeth, widow of Rev. Antipas



Eng. by A. H. Dyer

J. B. Newhall



Am. Eudisto



Wm. H. Niles

Newman, and daughter of Governor John Winthrop. He was a physician, and lived in Salem. His children, all by the first wife, were John, born 1657; Samuel, 1659; Zerubabel, 1664; Benjamin, 1665; Mary, 1667; Joseph, 1672; and Sarah, 1673. Of these children Samuel married Hannah Felton about 1694, and had John, born October 18, 1695; Samuel, August 30th, 1697; Ruth, 1699; and Hannah 1701. Of these Samuel, who was christened at South Danvers, September 30th, 1716, after he had reached manhood, married his cousin, Anna Endicott, December 20th, 1711, and widow Margaret (Pratt) Foster, February 11, 1724. He died in 1766, and was buried in the family burial-ground at Danvers. His children by his first wife were John, born April 29th, 1713; Sarah, September 19th, 1715; Samuel, March 12, 1717; Sarah, 1719; and Robert, 1721. By his second wife he had Hannah and Ann, twins, born November, 1727; Elias, December, 1729; Joseph, February, 1731; Lydia, 1734; and Ruth, 1734. Of the children of Samuel, John was christened at South Danvers, June 9th, 1717, and owned and occupied the old Governor Endicott farm. He married Elizabeth Jacobs May 18th, 1738, and died in 1783. His children were John, born in 1739; Elizabeth, 1741; William, 1742; and Robert, 1756. Of these, John was christened in the South Church, at Danvers, June 7th, 1741, and lived on the old Endicott estate. He married Martha, daughter of Samuel Putnam, and had the following children: Samuel, born in June, 1763; John, January 13th, 1765; Moses, March 19th, 1767; Ann, January, 1769; Elizabeth, August, 1771; Jacob, 1773; Martha and Nathan, twins, September, 1775; Sarah, September, 1778; Rebecca, May 20th, 1780; William, 1782; and Timothy, July 27, 1785. Of these, Samuel was christened in the South Church, at Danvers, November 1st, 1767, and was in early life a ship-master. He retired from the sea in 1805, and, making Salem his place of residence, entered actively into mercantile pursuits. The records of the town of Salem show that he was prominent in town affairs, serving both as selectman and Representative in the General Court. He married, in 1794, Elizabeth, daughter of William Putnam, of Sterling, Mass., and with his brothers, John and Moses, owned the old family estate. He died May 1st, 1828, and his children were Samuel, born March, 1795; Eliza, who married Augustus W. Perry; Martha, who married Francis Peabody; William Putnam, March 5th, 1803; and Clara, who married George Peabody. Of these, William Putnam, who was christened in the North Church, at Salem, March 13, 1803, graduated at Harvard in 1822, and married, in February, 1826, Mary, daughter of Hon. Jacob Crowninshield. He married again in December, 1844, widow Harriet (French) Peabody. His children, all by the first wife, were William Crowninshield, born in Salem, November 19th, 1826; Mary Crowninshield, February 4th, 1830, who died February 16, 1833; George Frederick, Sep-

tember 11th, 1832, who died January 11th, 1833; and Sarah Rogers, March 3d, 1838, who married George Dexter, of Boston.

Of these children of William Putnam Endicott, the eldest, William Crowninshield Endicott, is the subject of this sketch. He was reared and educated in Salem, surrounded by families of wealth and culture, and carrying in his veins a share of the best New England blood. Indeed, few places can boast of the careful training of youth for which Salem has always been distinguished, and which has educated and developed that school of cultivated gentlemen of which Mr. Endicott is a marked example. He was fitted for College at the Salem Latin School, and graduated at Harvard in 1847. No man ever had better opportunities for the study of his chosen profession, the law, than were afforded to him in the office of Nathaniel J. Lord, of Salem, who during many years stood in the front rank of the Essex Bar. In 1850 he was admitted to practice at Salem, and in 1853 associated himself with J. W. Perry, who had been admitted to the bar in 1849. It was not long before his abilities as a lawyer were recognized, and these combined with a grace of deportment and dignity of character attracted and held a large and constantly increasing business.

So marked was his prominence, both as a lawyer and a man, that when a vacancy occurred on the Bench of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1873, Governor William B. Washburne unhesitatingly selected him from the political party opposed to his own for an appointment to the vacant seat. He continued on the bench until his resignation in 1882, leaving it after a service of nine years, to the regret of members of the bar and his associates, and carrying with him the affection and esteem of both.

In 1884 he was the candidate of the Democratic party of Massachusetts for Governor, and in 1885, after the inauguration of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States, was appointed by him Secretary of War, a position which he still holds with honor to himself, his native State and to the nation.

Mr. Endicott married Ellen, daughter of George Peabody, of Salem, and has two children, a daughter Mary, and a son, William C. Endicott, Jr.

WILLIAM H. NILES was born in Orford, New Hampshire, December 22, 1839, and is the son of Samuel W. Niles and Eunice (Newell) Niles, of that town. At the age of five years he removed to South Reading (now Wakefield), and afterwards to North Bridgewater and East Bridgewater, in which last place he grew into manhood. He pursued the usual courses of study in the common schools and for two years was a private pupil under the care of Rev. R. W. Smith, of East Bridgewater, in whose family he lived. He then pursued a classical course in the Providence Conference Seminary, at East Greenwich, Rhode Island, and left that institution in 1861 to take the situation of principal of an academy in Georgia.

He remained in the South until the latter part of 1865, when he came to Boston and there engaged in mercantile business. He not long after began the study of law under the direction of Caleb Blodget, now a judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, and at the March term of that court, at Lowell, in 1870, he was, on examination, admitted to the bar.

He at once opened an office in Lynn, where he has since pursued a successful career. In March, 1878, George J. Carr, who had for several years been a student in his office, was admitted to the bar and became his partner. The business of the firm, which has rapidly increased in volume and importance, is a general one, embracing all branches of the law. Mr. Niles has neither held nor sought nor desired public office, but has confined himself assiduously to the labors of his profession. He has rendered willing service on the School Board of Lynn, believing it to be one which every good citizen should render, if called upon, and one rather within the field of citizenship than that of public life. He married, on the 19th of September, 1865, Harriet A., daughter of L. D. Day, of Bristol, New Hampshire, and has three daughters, all under nineteen years of age.

CHARLES PERKINS THOMPSON is descended from John Thompson, who came to Plymouth in the "Ann," or the "Little James," in 1623. He was born in Braintree, Mass., July 30, 1827, and was educated in the common schools of that town and in the Hollis Institute, which was established in Braintree in 1845 by John R. Hollis, and discontinued in 1865. He studied law with Benjamin F. Hallett, of Boston, and was admitted to the Suffolk bar in the spring of 1854. Mr. Hallett was United States District Attorney from 1853 to 1857, and Mr. Thompson, after his admission to the bar, was employed by him as his second assistant, his son, Henry L. Hallett, now United States Commissioner, acting as first assistant. In the spring of 1857 he removed to Gloucester, and has since continued to make that place his residence. In 1871 and 1872 he was a member of the State House of Representatives, and in 1874 was chosen a member of the Forty-fourth Congress. In 1885, on the appointment of William Sewall Gardner, then a justice of the Superior Court, to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, he was appointed by Governor George D. Robinson to fill the vacancy.

Judge Thompson has been for many years active in the interests of the Democratic party, and in 1881 was the candidate of that party for Governor. His warm friends are far from being confined, however, to that political organization, and the number is not small of those who were only restrained by the shackles of party from giving him their support, and would have been glad to welcome him as the chief executive of the State.

JOHN JAMES MARSH,¹ of Haverhill, is descended

from an old family of that place, whose members are numerous and widely scattered.

The ancestor, George Marsh, came from England in 1635 to Charlestown, and settled in Hingham, Mass. His son, Onesiphorus, settled in Haverhill in 1672. He located at what was long known as "Marsh's Hill," a mile west of the village, in modern times Wingate's Hill.

In 1721, John Marsh, son of Onesiphorus, was chosen deacon of the first parish church.

David, son of John, was chosen deacon in 1737, continuing in that office till his death, Nov. 2, 1777. About 1728 he removed from Marsh's Hill to the village, to the site adjoining on the north, the Centre Church, still occupied by descendants. David Marsh had twelve children, who lived to a great age. The average of the twelve was eighty-three years, and the united age of all was one thousand. They were all noted for industry, temperance and frugality. Two of them, Lydia and Abigail Marsh, born in 1745 and 1747 respectively and unmarried, gave, in 1825, a lot of land on the north side of what is now Winter Street, for the Haverhill Academy.

Nathaniel Marsh, born 1739, was active in town and military affairs, commanded a relief company which marched from Haverhill to Stillwater in the Barge campaign, was chosen in 1787 to the State convention to deliberate on the Federal Constitution and voted yea upon the question of its adoption. He was also a representative in the Legislature in 1786, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1797 and 1798.

Moses, son of David, had twelve children, like his father. Two of his sons, David and John Marsh, were partners in business for nearly fifty years in a store in Merrimack Street, on the river side.

There they manufactured hand cards for carding wool, before machines for that purpose, driven by water, were introduced here. After their introduction, and during the second war with England, they began to make the machines also and the cards with them. It is supposed that under the direction of Abraham Marland, an Englishman, who commenced woolen manufacturing in Andover as early as 1807, the brothers Marsh made the first carding machine used in this part of the country. Subsequently they sent many into New Hampshire and Maine. During their long career it has been said that the example of David and John Marsh was proverbial, not only for the fairness of their dealings and their promptness to meet all obligations, but also for the brotherly kindness which marked their intercourse with each other.

Samuel Marsh, the youngest of this long-lived and estimable family, was born in 1786 and died in 1872, in the city of New York, where he had resided many years and was largely engaged in important transactions. He was heavily interested in the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, and was president of the New York and Erie Railroad Company, being succeeded in the latter position by his nephew,

¹ By Hon. J. B. D. Cogswell.



Samuel May, Jr. 1850

Samuel May, Jr.



Chas. J. Royce

Nathaniel Marsh, also a native of Haverhill. Marshfield, now a thriving town in Wood County, Wisconsin, preserves the name and marks the foresight of Samuel Marsh.

John James Marsh, son of John Marsh, the partner of David, was born at Haverhill May 2, 1820. His early education was received in its schools and at the Haverhill Academy. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1841. Of his seventy-six classmates, the largest number have deceased. Gardner Greene Hubbard, well-known to many through his early connection with the development of the telephone, Henry Elijah Parker, for many years professor of the Latin language and literature at Dartmouth, Edward Reed, son of "Honest" John Reed, many years in Congress from Massachusetts, and Edward Webster, son of the great statesman, Daniel Webster, may be mentioned, the first three still surviving. Mr. Marsh's law studies were pursued in the offices of Alfred Kittredge, of Haverhill, and Slossons & Schell, of New York City, and at the Dane Law School, Harvard University. In 1846, he commenced the practice of the law in Haverhill, continuing in it till about 1872, when the pressure of private business caused him to relinquish the profession. Upon the change from a town to a city government in 1870, Mr. Marsh consented to act as city solicitor in that and the succeeding year. Otherwise he has never held public office. During the period of Mr. Marsh's active practice, he had many students, of whom may be mentioned John James Ingalls, United States Senator from Kansas, and Addison Brown, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York. He was always regarded as a sound, energetic lawyer and successful practitioner.

The Children's Aid Society of Haverhill, a most deserving charity, established some years since a home upon Kenosha Avenue, which was ill-adapted to its beneficent purposes. In 1883, Mr. Marsh and his sister, Mrs. Ames, erected upon the lot on Main Street, which had been previously donated to the society by them and their cousin, Mrs. Kelly, a substantial and commodious brick building, which, upon its completion, was, with simple ceremonies, transferred to the society. Being in memory of their deceased sister it is known as the "Elizabeth Home."

"John Marsh," as he is known in Haverhill, is active in his habits and social in his temperament. Apparently in vigorous health, he bids fair to rival the remarkable longevity in the past, of the family whose most conspicuous representative he at present is. His residence is on Summer Street, and he is frequently to be seen driving out to his farm in the West Parish, on the shore of Crystal Lake, where he takes great satisfaction in the improvement of his acres, and the breeding and management of stock.

CHARLES JOHNSON NOYES is a lineal descendant of Rev. James Noyes (one of the colony which settled at Newbury in 1635), preacher and scholar, who

erected what is now known as the "old Noyes house," standing a short distance to the right of the upper green, not far from the Old Town Church in old Newbury. His paternal grandfather was Parker Noyes, who was born September 25, 1777, at Haverhill, Mass., and died in 1848. Parker Noyes married Mary Fifield, who was born at Hopkinton, N. H., in 1780, and died in 1810. They lived for a time at Canaan, N. H., where Johnson Noyes, the father of the subject of this sketch was born, January 23, 1808. Johnson Noyes, while a young man, moved to Haverhill, Mass., having learned the shoemaker's trade, and was married to Sally Brickett, daughter of John and Abigail Brickett, on the 10th of October, 1833. They settled at what was known as the North Parish, in Haverhill, where he carried on a country store and manufactured shoes to a limited extent. Here one of four children, Speaker Noyes, was born, August 7, 1841, and lived until about nine years of age, when his parents moved into the main village, then a thriving town, now a city of twenty-four thousand people. John Brickett was born at Newbury, Mass., in 1762, and his wife at Haverhill, in 1763. The former died December 27, 1845, and the latter in the March previous, each at the ripe age of eighty-five years.

The other children of Johnson Noyes were Ann Augusta, who died when a mere infant; Sarah B., who was born December 10, 1834, and died May 29, 1862; and Elizabeth C., who was born December 23, 1845, and died May 5, 1870. After moving to the village Speaker Noyes attended the schools and passed through all the various grades, graduating at the Haverhill Academy in 1860, the valedictorian and president of his class. And when, afterward, an alumni association was formed, he became its first president and held the office five years, finally declining a re-election. He was twice the class orator and chairman of its senior catalogue committee. He was admitted to the bar at Cambridge, Mass., and began practice simultaneously in Boston and Haverhill in 1864. The extent of his Essex practice soon necessitated the discontinuance of his Boston office. In the second Lincoln campaign, that of 1864, Mr. Noyes was made president of the Lincoln Club of Haverhill, an organization composed of leading business men and citizens, and on the assassination of President Lincoln he was selected to deliver the memorial oration before the city authorities. In the fall election of 1865 Mr. Noyes was elected a member of the House of Representatives of 1866, in which he served on the committee on the judiciary. Declining a re-election to the House, he accepted a nomination from the citizens of Haverhill as candidate for the Senate, and was elected in a triangular contest, in which George S. Merrill, of Lawrence, and Moses F. Stevens were competitors.

In the Senate Mr. Noyes served on the committee on education, library (being chairman), and on the joint special committee on amendments to the Con-

stitution. At the close of the session he declined further political honors and devoted himself to his profession. He again opened an office in Boston and carried on a successful practice in the two counties until the business in Boston required his whole time. In 1872 he located his family in South Boston, where he has since continued to reside.

In 1876 he again entered the field of politics by accepting a nomination for Representative, and was elected, thus re-entering the House in 1877. He served that year as chairman of the committee on mercantile affairs and on the committee on Hoosac Tunnel and Troy and Greenfield Railroad. Re-elected in 1878, he served as chairman of the committee on harbors and Hoosac Tunnel. In the House of 1879 Mr. Noyes was a prominent candidate for Speaker, but was defeated by Mr. Levi O. Wade, who received the caucus nomination and consequently an election. Mr. Noyes was made chairman of the committee on amendments to the Constitution, and as such took charge of and secured the adoption in the House of a number of important amendments. Returning to the House of 1880, Mr. Noyes was elected Speaker over a number of competitors on the fourth ballot, receiving one hundred and twenty-one votes. Chosen to the House again the following autumn, he was elected Speaker by a practically unanimous vote. He was also again elected, and was Speaker in the House of 1882.

In the following summer, when it became known that Governor Long would decline a renomination, Mr. Noyes' name was at once taken up by the press as one in every way suitable for the head of the ticket, and friends from all parts of the State urged him to contest the nomination. After considering the matter some time he declined, however, to allow the use of his name in this connection. Had he gone into the convention as a candidate, the outcome would have been very different, with the probabilities largely in favor of the nomination coming to him. As it was, he received next to the largest vote for the Lieutenant-Governorship. In the campaign of 1883 he received the unanimous nomination for the Governor's Council from the Republican Convention of the Fourth Council or District, and, although the district was Democratic, received a very large vote.

He now sought retirement from active politics, determining to devote himself to the labor of his profession and the care of his growing private interests. He was soon after appointed as special justice of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston for the South Boston District, which position he has continued to hold. In 1886, however, he was again induced to become a candidate for the House, and though the district was more than doubtful, won the election. He at once began an active campaign for the Speakership, and, to the surprise of the other candidates and the consternation of their friends, won upon the first ballot.

Mr. Noyes is a member of the Order of Odd Fellows, and has long been active therein, having passed the chairs respectively of the subordinate lodge and the encampment. He is also an active member of the Masonic fraternity. He is a member of Adelphi Lodge, and one of its Past Masters; a member of St. Matthew's Royal Arch Chapter; a member of St. Omer Commandery, Knights Templar, and one of its Past Commanders; a member of Lafayette Lodge of Perfection; a member of the Giles F. Yates Council, Princes of Jerusalem; a member of Mount Olivet Chapter Rose Croix, and a member of Massachusetts Consistory. He has also taken the council degrees in Boston Council, but has never taken membership. He was also for a time a member of the National Lancers and of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Mr. Noyes is connected with the directory of a number of business corporations, in two of which he is president. In his religious affiliations Mr. Noyes is Unitarian, and has at times been quite active in church and Sunday-school work. In politics he has taken an active part on the stump during the last fifteen years in different parts of the country, and in the Garfield campaign of 1880 he spent six weeks speaking for the Republican cause throughout the States of North Carolina and Florida.

As a speaker, Mr. Noyes is fluent in utterance, easy and graceful in manner and remarkably apt in his choice of words. His memorial address at Worcester on Sunday evening, May 28, 1882, was a finished production, and was listened to by an audience that packed Mechanics' Hall to its utmost capacity. It was published in the *Worcester Gazette* of the following evening, and widely quoted by the press of the State. His off-hand efforts are always appropriate to the occasion and exceedingly felicitous.

As a presiding officer, Mr. Noyes has few equals and no superiors. His fine presence and quiet dignity of manner awe and hold in check all turbulent demonstrations, while his unflinching courtesy is felt and acknowledged by all. Gifted with keenness of vision and a readiness of apprehension, any movement made by a member to get the floor is immediately recognized, while a motion coming from any part of the House is caught at once and clearly stated to that body. Added to these qualifications is a thorough knowledge of parliamentary law, which makes him at all times the master of the situation. No attempt at resorting to the most bewildering of parliamentary tactics can disturb his equanimity, or make him for a moment lose sight of the point in hand; but, through all the intricacies of motions and amendments and counter-motions, the debate is kept under rigid control, and the final disposition of the question so clear and just that from the decisions of the chair there is no appeal.

To those who have come in contact with Mr. Noyes there is no difficulty in discerning the occasion of his popularity. He possesses in a high degree that

strong personal magnetism that at once draws one to him, while there is a sincerity and cordiality manifested by him that makes the bonds of friendship enduring. Easily approachable, genial and sunshiny by nature, he makes a most delightful companion, and his personal popularity is very great.

In 1864 Mr. Noyes was married to Miss Emily Wells, the only surviving daughter of Col. Jacob C. Wells, a well-known and successful merchant of Cincinnati, O. They have three children. The eldest, Miss Fannie C. Noyes, is a young lady of rare artistic talent, and is now studying in Paris as an animal painter; the second, Mr. Harry R. Noyes, holds a fine position with a well-known firm of stock brokers; and the youngest, Miss Gracie L., is still in school.

MARCUS MORTON is the son of Marcus and Charlotte (Hodges) Morton and was born in Taunton, Mass., April 8, 1819. His father was born in Freetown, Mass., in 1784, and graduated at Brown University in 1804. He received the degree of LL.D., from his *alma mater* in 1826, and from Harvard University in 1840. In 1825 he was appointed justice of the Supreme Judicial Court and continued on the bench until 1840, when he resigned to assume the duties of Governor of the commonwealth, which office he held during that year and again in 1843. He died in 1864. The father of Governor Morton was Nathaniel Morton, of Freetown, born in 1753, who married in 1782, Mary Cary, of Bridgewater. The father of Nathaniel was Nathaniel, born in 1723, who married in 1749, Martha Tupper. The father of the last Nathaniel was Nathaniel of Plymouth, born in 1695, who married, in 1720, Rebecca, widow of Mordecai Ellis, and daughter of Thomas Clark, of Plymouth. The father of the last Nathaniel was Eleazer, of Plymouth, who married in 1693, Rebecca Marshall, of Boston. The father of Eleazer was Ephraim, of Plymouth, born in 1623, who married, in 1644, Ann Cooper. The father of Ephraim was George, of Plymouth, who married in Leyden, in 1612, Julian, daughter of Alexander Carpenter, of Wrentham, England, and came to Plymouth in the "Ann" in 1623. Another son of George Morton, and a brother of Ephraim, was Nathaniel Morton, the secretary for many years of the Plymouth colony and the author of "New England's Memorial."

Thomas Clark, whose daughter, Rebecca, married Mordecai Ellis and afterwards Nathaniel Morton above mentioned, married three wives, and Rebecca was the daughter of the third wife, born in 1698. The father of Thomas Clark was James, born in 1637, who married in 1657, Abigail, daughter of Rev. John Lathrop, of Barnstable. The father of James was Thomas, of Plymouth, a passenger in the "Ann" in 1623, who married before 1634, Susanna, daughter of widow Mary Ring, and in 1664 widow Alice Nichols, of Boston, and daughter of Richard Hallet. It will thus be seen that this branch of the Morton family is descended from two of what are called the "First Comers" of Plymouth.

The gravestone of Thomas Clark, one of these, is still standing on Burial Hill, in Plymouth.

Marcus Morton, the subject of this sketch, fitted for college at the Bristol County Academy, in Taunton, then under the charge of Frederick Crafts, a graduate of Brown University, in 1816, and a recipient of the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard in 1820. He graduated at Brown University in 1838, and after having studied two years in Dane Law School, at Cambridge, received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from Harvard, in 1840. After studying another year in the law office of Sprague & Gray he was admitted to practice in Suffolk County in 1841. He practiced law in Boston until 1848, living in Boston until 1850, and then removing to Andover, in which place he has since held his residence. In 1853 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention from Andover, and in 1858, represented that town in the House of Representatives. On the establishment of the Superior Court, in 1859, he was appointed by Governor Banks, one of its justices, with Charles Allen, of Worcester, as chief justice, and Julius Rockwell, of Lenox; Otis Phillip Lord, of Salem; Seth Ames, of Lowell; Ezra Wilkinson, of Dedham; Henry Vose, of Springfield; Thomas Russell and John Phelps Putnam, of Boston; and Lincoln Flagg Brigham, of New Bedford, as his associates. In 1869 two vacancies occurred on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, in consequence of the resignation of Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and Dwight Foster, which were filled by Governor Claflin by the appointment of Judge Ames, who had left the Supreme bench in 1867, and by the promotion of Judge Morton.

In 1882 Horace Gray, of Boston, who had occupied a seat as associate justice of the Supreme Court from 1864 to 1873, and since 1873 as chief justice; he resigned the latter office on his appointment as one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Judge Morton was appointed by Governor Long to fill the vacancy. In 1870 he received the degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater*, and in 1882 from Harvard.

Judge Morton still occupies his seat as chief justice and, in the performance of his duties, upholds and maintains the high character for which the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts has always been distinguished.

WILLIAM W. STORY, son of Joseph Story, was born in Salem, February 12, 1819, and graduated at Harvard in 1838. He also graduated from the Dane Law School at Cambridge, in 1840, but soon gave up the profession and devoted himself to sculpture, in which he has won an enviable distinction. Among his best known works are the statue of Edward Everett, in the Boston Public Garden, and the statue of Chief Justice Marshall, at the west front of the Capitol in Washington.

EDGAR T. SHERMAN was born in Weathersfield, Vermont, November 28, 1834, and is descended from

an early New England settler, bearing that name. He was educated in the common schools of his native town, and in the Wesleyan Academy at Springfield, Vt. In his earliest manhood he taught four years in the Academy at Harwich, Mass., and in 1858 went to Lawrence, where, in the next year he began the study of law. In 1858 he was admitted to the bar of Essex Co., and soon after took the position of clerk of the police court of Lawrence, which, after two years, he resigned to become a partner of Daniel Saunders, of Lawrence, in the active practice of law. During his six years' connection with Mr. Saunders he enlisted in 1862 in the Forty-eighth Massachusetts Regiment, and after the battle of Port Hudson was breveted major, for bravery in the field. Having served out his time he again went to the front as captain in the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, and served until the end of the war. His active military career was supplemented after the war by his appointment as chief of the division staff and assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Benjamin F. Butler, with the rank of colonel in the State militia, and he held that position until 1876.

After the war he entered into a law partnership of short duration with John K. Tarbox, who had been admitted to the bar in 1860, and who had subsequently, as well as Colonel Sherman, seen service in the field. In 1865-66 he was a member of the House of Representatives, and in 1868 was chosen district attorney for the Eastern District, which included the towns of Essex County. To this office he was chosen for five successive terms, of three years each, and resigned in December, 1882, to assume the duties of Attorney-general, to which he had been chosen as the candidate of the Republican party at the November election.

He was rechosen Attorney-general in 1883, '84, '85, '86, '87, and was, on the 14th of September of the present year, nominated by Governor Ames to fill the vacancy on the bench of the Superior Court caused by the promotion of Marcus Perrin Knowlton to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William Sewall Gardner. Before the publication of this sketch the nomination of Colonel Sherman will be confirmed, and he will be in full possession of his judicial office. In 1884 he received from Dartmouth College an honorary degree of Master of Arts, but neither occupies nor seeks public positions outside of the professional field in which he has labored faithfully, and is now reaping his harvest.

LINCOLN FLAGG BRIGHAM, was born October 4, 1819, in that part of Cambridge called the "Port." He was the son of Lincoln Brigham and Lucy (Forbes) Brigham, the daughter of Elisha and Hannah (Flagg) Forbes, of Westboro, Massachusetts. The first American ancestor of the Brigham family was Thomas Brigham, who came to New England in 1635, and settled in Cambridge, where he died in 1653. The subject of this sketch, after leaving the public

schools of his native town, entered the counting-room of Samuel Austin, of Boston, with a view to a commercial life. His plans in this direction were, however, after two or three years abandoned, and he fitted for college under the care of Rev. David Peabody, the husband of his eldest sister, and afterwards Professor of *Belles-Lettres* and Rhetoric in Dartmouth College, and graduated from Dartmouth in 1842. In 1844 he received the degree of LL. B. as a graduate of the Dane Law School, at Cambridge, and in 1883 received the honorary degree of LL. D. from his *Alma-Mater*. He finished his law studies at New Bedford, in the office of Olifford & Olby, a law firm composed of John H. Olifford, afterward attorney-general and Governor of the commonwealth, and Harrison G. O. Olby, who, while Mr. Brigham was a student in the office, was appointed by Governor George N. Briggs, a justice on the bench of the Common Pleas Court, and who resigned in 1847, and died in 1853. Mr. Brigham was admitted to the Bristol county bar in June, 1845, and after the appointment of Mr. Olby to the bench, became in July of that year a partner of Mr. Olifford. In 1853 he was appointed by Mr. Olifford, then Governor, district-attorney of the southern district of Massachusetts, comprising the counties of Bristol, Barnstable, Nantucket and Dukes county. In 1856 the office becoming elective by a recent law, he was chosen attorney by the people of the district, and held the office until he was appointed by Governor Nathaniel P. Banks to a seat on the bench of the superior court, then first established. Judge Seth Ames, chief-justice of that court, was appointed in 1869 by Governor William Claflin, a justice of the supreme judicial court, and Judge Brigham was promoted to the seat of chief-justice, which he has since up to this time held.

Judge Brigham married October 20, 1847, Eliza Endicott, daughter of Thomas Swain, of New Bedford, and has four sons, one of whom, Clifford Brigham, a graduate of Harvard in 1880, lives in Salem, and as a partner of George Burnham Ives, a graduate of Harvard in 1876, is engaged in the practice of law in Salem and Boston. During the residence of Judge Brigham in New Bedford, which terminated in 1860, he was interested in military affairs, and for a time was the efficient and popular commander of the New Bedford Light Infantry, one of the most active and respectable volunteer companies in the State. In 1860 he removed to Boston, and in 1866 to Salem, which place he has since made his residence. From the exacting labors of his official station he turns to music for his chief relaxation, and in whatever social circle he has lived he has done much to cultivate and refine its musical tastes. As a judge he has won not only the esteem, but the affection also of the members of the bar, and as a man he is universally beloved.

SAMUEL SWETT was born in Newburyport June 9, 1782. He was the son of Dr. John Barnard and

Charlotte (Bourne) Swett, and entered Harvard College in 1796, having been fitted by his father at the grammar-school in his native town. He studied law in Exeter, N. H., with Judge Jeremiah Smith, and afterwards with Judge Charles Jackson and Judge Edward Livermore, and was admitted to the Essex Bar in 1805. He began the practice of law in Salem, where he married, August 25, 1807, Lucia, daughter of William Gray. He relinquished practice in 1810 and removed to Boston, where he became a partner in the firm of Wm. B. Swett & Co. In the last year of the War of 1812 he entered the army as a volunteer on the staff of General Izard, and served as a topographical engineer, with the rank of major. He was *aide-de-camp* on the staff of John Brooks, Governor of Massachusetts, from 1816 to 1823, and was three years a member of the Legislature. His wife died May 15, 1844, and he died in Boston October 28, 1866.

WILLIAM S. ALLEN was the son of Ephraim W. Allen and born in Newburyport in 1805. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1825, and after studying law with Stephen W. Marston, was admitted to the Essex Bar in 1827. For several years he was a partner of Caleb Cushing, and a representative from Newburyport in the General Court. He was the first editor of the Newburyport *Daily Herald*, started by himself and his brother, Jere. S. Allen, in 1832. At that time the *Herald* and the *New Bedford Mercury*, which started a few months earlier, were the only daily papers in Massachusetts outside of Boston. About the year 1835 he removed to St. Louis, where he was elected to a judgeship, which he held for several years. During the last twelve years of his life he was connected editorially with the *St. Louis Republican*, and died in St. Louis in June, 1868.

STEPHEN HOOPER was the son of Stephen Hooper, a prominent merchant of Newburyport, and was born in that town in 1785. He was fitted for college at the Dummer Academy, and graduated at Harvard in 1808. He was admitted to the Essex County bar in 1810, and opened an office in Newburyport. He represented the town of Newbury, to which town his father removed while he was a youth, and which place he continued to make his residence in the General Court when he was twenty-five years of age, and at the age of thirty-one he was chosen a State Senator. In 1818 he removed to Boston, and there devoted himself to the practice of his profession. He was for several years an alderman of the city, and there died in 1825.

EDWARD ST. LOE LIVERMORE was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 5, 1762. His father, Samuel Livermore, born in Waltham, New Hampshire, May 14, 1732, died at Holderness, New Hampshire, in May, 1803, and was Attorney-General of New Hampshire, member of the Continental Congress, member of the convention to adopt the Federal Constitution, president of the Constitutional Convention

of 1791, judge of the Supreme Court, member of Congress and United States Senator. His son Edward was a counsellor at law, and United States Attorney, and judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire. He removed to Newburyport, and while a resident there was chosen member of the tenth Congress in 1806. He removed to Boston in 1813, and died at Lowell, September 22, 1832.

SAMUEL SUMNER WILDE, so long a distinguished justice on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, deserves as a resident in Essex County eleven years, a place in this record. He was born in Taunton, Mass., February 5, 1771, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1789. He read law with David L. Barnes, of Taunton, who was afterwards judge of the United States District Court for Rhode Island. He was admitted to the bar in 1792, and removed to Maine, practising his profession in Waldoboro' and Warren and Hallowell, to which last place he removed in 1799; while at Warren he represented that town in the General Court, and while at Hallowell was twice chosen one of the electors of president and vice-president, and in 1814 was a member of the executive council. In 1815 he was appointed by Governor Caleb Strong an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and at the separation of Maine from Massachusetts he removed to Newburyport, where he resided until 1831. He received the degree of doctor of laws from Bowdoin College in 1817, from Harvard in 1841, and from Dartmouth in 1849.

In early life he was an active Federalist, and lived to be the only surviving member of the Hartford Convention. He continued on the bench thirty-five years, and resigned in 1850, at the age of seventy-nine years. To those readers who remember Judge Wilde, and have been able by personal observation to measure his abilities as a jurist and his high character as a man, the following letter written in Hallowell in 1820, with its estimate of the judge in the early days of his judicial life, will be interesting:

"HALLOWELL, May 31, 1820.

"It is with much regret that we learn that Judge Wilde is making preparations to leave the town and the State of Maine in order to reside in Massachusetts, and there exercise the functions of a Judge in the Supreme Court in that State.

"In his several capacities of a Judge, citizen, friend and acquaintance, his value has been so generally known and felt among us that his departure must necessarily be viewed with concern. On the bench he is conspicuous for his talents and learning, as well as for his candor and impartiality. He is at all times affable, and yet he preserves order; by his industry and arrangement he despatches business; though he knows how to be patient when the case demands it; to his mildness he joins firmness, and by his personal character he adds weight to his judicial decisions; since his sincerity gives assurance that these decisions are independent and conscientious. As a citizen he was formerly much engaged in public affairs, and yet he continued never to lose his temper or to give personal offence, and his intentions and fair dealing never called in question either when conducting his own affairs or those of his clients. Those who have known Judge Wilde as a friend are those who will most feel his loss; since the warmth of his feelings, the pleasantness of his temper, and his desire to render services were always conspicuous in his intercourse with them." * * *

Judge Wilde died in Boston, June 22, 1855.

This record will be closed with a list of the present members of the Essex County bar:

Amesbury.—Horace I. Bartlett (also at Newburyport), George E. Bachelder, George W. Oate, George Turner, Frank C. Whiting.

Andover.—George W. Foster, George H. Poor.

Beverly.—Frederick W. Choate, Samuel A. Fuller D. W. Quill, (also in Salem).

Bradford.—Henry Carter (also at Haverhill), Frank H. Pearl.

Danvers.—Daniel N. Crowley (also in Salem), Willis E. Flint, Edward L. Hill, Stephen H. Phillips (also in Salem), J. W. Porter, Alden P. White (also in Salem).

Essex.—Frank C. Richardson (also at Salem).

Georgetown.—W. A. Butler, Jeremiah P. Jones.

Gloucester.—Archibald N. Donahue, John J. Flaherty, Wm. W. French, M. J. McNeirny, Wm. A. Pew, Jr., J. C. Pierce, Charles A. Russell, Edgar S. Taft, Henri N. Woods, Sumner D. York.

Hamilton.—Daniel E. Safford.

Haverhill.—Abbott & Pearl, N. O. Bartlett, Wm. E. Blunt, B. F. Brickett, Harry J. Cole, Edward B. George, J. P. Jones, B. B. Jones, H. N. Merrill, Wm. H. Moody, Moody & Bartlett, John A. Page, Isaac E. Pearl, Winfield S. Peters, O. H. Poor, H. M. Sargent, E. B. Savage, Warren Tilton, R. D. Trask, H. H. Webster, John J. Winn.

Ipswich.—George Haskell, Edward P. Kimball, Charles A. Sayward.

Lawrence.—Benjamin C. Ames, M. H. Ames, Charles U. Bell, T. Burley, Joseph Cleaveland, Charles A. De Courcey, D. F. Dolan, Newton P. Frye, John S. Gile, W. F. Gile, N. W. Harmon (deceased), H. F. Hopkins, M. S. Jenkins, Wm. S. Knox, P. W. Lyall, D. B. Magee, J. J. Mahoney, Wm. T. McKeone, W. F. Moyes, John R. Poor, D. W. Proctor, Aretas R. Sanborn, John C. Sanborn, C. F. Sargent, Caleb Saunders, Charles G. Saunders, Daniel Saunders, Edgar J. Sherman, John M. Stearns, Andrew C. Stone, John P. Sweeney, Wm. L. Thompson, George L. Weil.

Lynn.—D. O. Allen, John R. Baldwin, T. F. Bartlett, John W. Berry, George J. Carr, N. D. A. Clarke, Wm. C. Fabens (also at Marblehead), Joseph F. Hannan, R. E. Harmon, Nathan M. Hawkes, H. F. Hurlburt, W. B. Hutchinson, Ira B. Keith, Caleb Lamson, Charles Leighton, W. H. Lucie, James B. Newhall, Thomas B. Newhall, M. P. Nickerson, Wm. H. Niles, Wm. F. Noonan, Dean Peabody, E. K. Phillips, T. H. Romaine, Wm. O. Shea, J. H. Sisk, Eben F. B. Smith, Calvin B. Tuttle, Frank G. Woodbury, John Woodbury.

Marblehead.—Wm. D. Trefry (also at Salem).

Merrimac.—T. H. Hoyt, M. Perry Sargent.

Methuen.—Wm. M. Rogers, W. R. Rowell.

Newburyport.—J. C. M. Bayley, Charles C. Dame, John C. Donovan, Joseph G. Gerrish, Frank W. Hale, Harrison G. Johnson, Nathaniel N. Jones, Amos Noyes, Nathaniel Pierce, John N. Pike, E. C.

Saltmarsh.—Thomas C. Simpson, Eben F. Stone, David L. Withington.

Peabody.—Sidney O. Bancroft, Frank E. Farnham, Charles E. Hoag, George Holman, Eugene T. McCarthy, Benjamin O. Perkins, Frederick G. Preston, Thomas M. Stimpson (also in Salem), Wm. P. Upton (also at Salem), F. W. Upton, Henry Wardwell, Charles A. Weara.

Reading.—Solon Bancroft, Chauncey P. Judd, E. T. Swift.

Rowley.—George B. Blodgett.

Salem.—Edward C. Battis, C. A. Benjamin, Clifford Brigham, George F. Choate, W. F. M. Collins, Forrest L. Evans, Andrew Fitz, James A. Gillis, Wm. H. Gove, Joseph E. Quinn, Richard E. Hines, Nathaniel J. Holden, Thomas F. Hunt, A. L. Huntington, George B. Ives, Samuel A. Johnson, D. B. Kimball, Edward P. Kimball, George R. Lord, J. T. Mahoney, Eugene T. McCarthy, P. J. McCusker, Henry P. Moulton, Wm. D. Northend, Theodore M. Osborne, Charles S. Osgood, J. B. F. Osgood, B. O. Perkins, Sidney Perley, Wm. Perry, John W. Porter, D. W. Quill, Josiah F. Quinn, J. M. Raymond, O. W. Richardson, Daniel E. Safford, Charles Sewall, C. H. Symonds, Charles P. Thompson, L. S. Tuckerman, George Wheatland A. P. White, Frank V. Wright, J. C. Wyman.

Saugus.—Benjamin F. Johnson.

Topsfield.—Benjamin Poole.

CHAPTER III.

OLD MODES OF TRAVEL.

BY ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

"You may ride in an hour or two, if you will,
From Halibut Point to Beacon Hill,
With the sea beside you all the way,
Through the pleasant places that skirt the Bay;
By Gloucester Harbor and Beverly Beach,
Salem Witch-haunted, Nahant's long reach,
Blue-bordered Swampscott and Chiglossa's wide
Marshes, laid bare to the drenching tide,
With a glimpse of Saugus spire in the west,
And Malden hills wrapped in hazy rest.

"All this you watch idly, and more by far,
From the cushioned seat of a railway-car.
But in days of witchcraft it was not so;
City-bound travellers had to go
Horseback over a blind, rough road,
Or as part of a jolting wagon-load
Of garden-produce or household goods,
Crossing the fords, half-lost in the woods,
By wolves and red-skins frightened all day,
And the roar of lions, some historians say.
If a craft for Boston were setting sail,
Very few of a passage would fail
Who had trading to do in the three-hilled town;
For they might return ere the sun was down."

—Peggy Bligh's Voyage, by Lucy Larcom.

WHEN this region of ours was first colonized by Europeans, they contented themselves for a time

with the rude means of conveyance and transportation known to their savage neighbors. The favorite way to Boston, Plymouth and Cape Ann was by water. The "dug-out" was much in use, being a pine log twenty feet long and two and one-half feet wide, in which they sometimes "went fowling two leagues to sea." These "cannowes" seem to have been inspected at stated intervals by a town surveyor, and passed or condemned according to their fitness for further service. It was in swimming for one of these, from a desire to visit the Indian Village at "Northfield," that Governor Winthrop's son Henry, on the day after his arrival at Salem, was drowned in the North River. In one of these rude boats, no doubt, Roger Conant might often be seen making his way up Bass River, to visit his farm of two hundred acres, near the "great pond side." And Governor Endicott's little sloop-boat, or "shallop," flits across the pages of the ancient records, as, no doubt, she walked the waters of the bay and rivers, like a thing of life.

The condition of the trail, which was the only land transit between Salem and Boston, is indicated by two contemporary writers of the first authority. On the 12th of April, 1631, Governor Endicott wrote to Governor Winthrop the following letter from Salem :

"Right Worshipful: I did expect to have been with you in person at the Court, and to that end I put to sea yesterday, and was driven back again, the wind being stiff against us. And there being no canoe or boat at Saugus, I must have been constrained to go to Mystic, and thence afoot to Charlestown, which at that time durst not be so bold, my body being, at this present, in an ill condition to wade or take cold. * * * The eel-pots you sent for are made, which I had in my boat, hoping to have brought them with me." * * * *

It will be observed that these worthies were not the plodders of the Colony. Their position insured them the best travelling facilities the times afforded. Governor Winthrop wrote in his journal, October 25, 1631, "The Governor, with Captain Underhill and other of the officers went on foot to Saugus, and next day to Salem, where they were bountifully entertained by Captain Endicott, and on the 28th they returned to Boston by the ford at Saugus River and so over at Mystic."

In 1637 Governor Winthrop passed through Salem on foot, with a large escort, on his way to and from Ipswich, and next year visited Salem by water and returned by land. The first party of Salem people who visited Boston after its settlement are said to have spent four days on the way, and, on the following Sabbath, to have put up a note of thanks in our First Church (now restored and standing in the rear of Plummer Hall) for their safe guidance and return.

In 1650, as we learn from Parkman's "France and England in North America," the first essay was made, at the instance of the Colony of Massachusetts, towards negotiating a reciprocity treaty between these English settlements and the French colonies in Can-

ada. A Jesuit ambassador from Quebec set out in company with a converted Indian chief, to visit Boston, and secure the military aid of this colony against the Iroquois, in consideration of some privileges of trade to be granted by the French. He made his way from "Kepane" (Cape Ann), where he was forced ashore by stress of weather, to Charlestown, "partly on foot—partly in boats along the shore," and from that peninsula the priest crossed by boat to Boston,—probably the first Romanist who ever received a welcome in the Puritan Colony. On returning, he stopped at Salem, and dined with Governor Endicott, who, he says, spoke French.

Some felling of trees and hoisting of rocks was needed to convert these muddy trails into bridle-paths, and then the colonist moved about through the forest, accompanied by good-wife on a pillion behind and followed perhaps by a pack-horse, sweating under well-stuffed panniers. "Such a way as a man may travel on horseback, or drive cattle," the court ordered laid out by Richard Brackenbury, Mr. Conant and others from the ferry at Salem, to Jeffrie's Creek, now Manchester. Poets sing false, or the saddle was sometimes mounted on the backs of neat cattle, in those early days, as now-a-days in South Africa and San Domingo :

"Then, from a stall near at hand, amid exclamations of wonder,
Alden, the thoughtful, the careful, so happy, so proud of Priscilla,
Brought out his snow-white Bull, obeying the hand of its master,—
Led by a cord that was tied to an iron ring in its nostrils,—
Covered with crimson cloth and a cushion placed for a saddle.
She would not walk, he said, through the dust and heat of the noon-day ;
Nay, she should ride like a Queen,—not plod along like a peasant.
Somewhat alarmed at first, but reassured by the others,—
Placing her hand on the cushion, her foot in the hand of her husband,—
Gaily, with joyous laugh, Priscilla mounted her palfrey."

After the bridle-paths came the roads. The configuration of our surface did not favor the use of canals, and we escaped that dreary stage in the development of transportation. Roads multiplied apace, but they were constructed not so much on mathematical, as on social principles. Nothing is more entertaining to the idler than to trace out some old abandoned lane, wandering between crooked walls—choked up with underbrush of barberry, alderberry, rose-bush, fern and bramble—arched with grand old elms, and seemingly leading nowhere. Some dilapidated cellar-wall or ruined well soon answers the question "whither wilt thou lead me?" The pioneers built their homes where the soil was tempting, the slopes attractive, and material at hand. Villages were small and infrequent. Hence roads were made to reach the homesteads of single colonists, and not with prime regard to directness between town and town. And as the distance around a hill was no greater than over it, and the cost of excavating must be avoided, these roads, in uneven places, became still more circuitous, from the hills they encountered. Their original cost has been expended many times over, in widening,

straightening, and leveling them, so that the curious observer will find on either side of the present road, grass-grown bits of the old highway leading off a little, and soon returning to it.

An old family of the county has been in the habit of making a yearly pilgrimage from Cape Ann to Andover, over the road as it was two or three generations back, faithfully tracing out, wherever it was possible, each oxbow in the way, with its ancient trees and low-roofed farm-house and well-sweep and brook. Hawthorne has thus described one of the most tempting of these lovely by-ways, in his account of "Browne's Folly," written for the "Weal-Real" in 1860:

"Along its base ran a green and seldom trodden lane, with which I was very familiar in my boyhood; and there was a little brook, which I remember to have dammed up till its overflow made a mimic ocean. When I last looked for this tiny streamlet, which was still rippling freely through my memory, I found it strangely shrunken; a mere ditch indeed, and almost a dry one. But the green lane was still there, precisely as I remembered it; two wheel tracks, and the beaten path of the horses' feet, and grassy strips between; the whole overshadowed by tall locust trees, and the prevalent barberry bushes, which are rooted so fondly into the recollections of every Essex man."

These old roads belonged to the period when a journey to Boston was a thing to be thought of for days before—and only to be embarked on in pleasant weather. Dobbin must be brought in from pasture—be rested and fed up a little, and have his shoes looked to; the "one-hoss shay," with its capacity for stowage like that of the ark,—

"Thorough-brace bison skin, thick and wide,—
Boot, top, dasher of tough old hide
Found in the pit when the tanner died,"—

this lumbering conveyance was to be cleaned up over night and its wheels put in order; the Sunday suit must be aired and dusted, and when at last the eventful morning dawned fresh and fair, and the leave-taking of several generations was accomplished, the journey of the day was to be performed, by not too burthensome stages, relieved by episodes of breakfast and bunting at the "Creature Comfort," or some other favorite half-way house, and a scrupulous withdrawal of Dobbin from the too active influence of the mid-day sun.

A few figures will show how much distances from point to point have been reduced since these days. We find the following in "Travis's Almanac," Boston, 1713.

"From Boston to Portsmouth (Ferry's excepted), 62 Miles, thus accounted.

"From Winismit, to Owens 4 Miles, to Lewis's 2 & half, to the Sign of the Galley at Salem 9, to the Ferry at Beverly 1, to Fiske's at Wenham 5, to Cromtons at Ipswich 6, to Bennetts at Rowley 3 & half (which is called the half-way house), to Sargeants at Newbury, the upper way by Thurr's Bridge 8, but from Rowley the right hand way by the Ferry is but 7 to mid Sargeants, to Tyves, or to Pike's Gate at Salisbury 2 & half, to Norton's at Hampton 4 & half, to Sherbons at said Town 2, to Johnsons at Greenland 8 & half, and to Harries at the three Tons at Portsmouth 5 Miles & half."

In April, 1775, Col. Pickering marched his regiment from Salem on the alarm of the fight at Lexington. To explain his failure to reach the scene of ac-

tion, he gives these distances in his journal. Salem to Danvers, two miles; to Newell's in Lynn, seven miles; to Malden, six miles; to Medford, three miles; to Boston, four miles; making the route from Salem to Boston, towards the close of the last century, twenty-two miles.

The character of the public houses of the time is closely allied to our subject. The "Sign of the Galley at Salem," mentioned by Travis, was, no doubt, the "Ship Tavern," on School Street, at the corner of what are now Church and Washington Streets, the old Governor's house, brought up by water from Cape Ann, and rebuilt there and successively occupied by Conant and Endicott. It was kept, in 1713, by Henry Sharp, who, in 1701, advertised a calash to let, the first recorded instance of such a convenience in Salem. Modern travelers would hardly think these inns well described by the term "ordinary," under which they were licensed. They were conditioned to allow no tipling after nine at night; the house must be cleared on week-day lecture of all persons able to attend meeting; no cakes or buns to be sold, this was in 1637, on fine of ten shillings, the prohibition not to extend to cakes "made for any buryall or marriage, or such like special occasion." In 1645, the widow of an innholder is licensed "if she procure a fitt man, that is Godly, to manage the business." In 1659, the law forbids dancing at taverns, and as late as 1759, the sale of spirits, wines, coffee, tea, ale, beer and "syder" on the Sabbath.

At the middle of the last century a New York merchant, supercargo on board the ship "Tartar Galley," from New York for London, was disabled when a few days out, and put in to Boston for repairs. While detained there he seems to have moved among what he terms the "best Fashion in Boston." I make room for a passage from his Journal.

"October 19th, 1750. While at breakfast Mr. Nathaniel Cunningham waited on me at Capt. Wendell's, agreeable to promise & furnished me with a horse to go to Salem, being very desirous to see the country. Set out about 10 o'clock. * * * Cross'd Charles Towne Ferry. * * * About 2 miles from thence we cross'd Penny Ferry which is better than 1/2 mile over. Being the neigest way to Salem. From this to Mr. Ward's is about 8 miles, and is about a mile this side of Lyn which is a small Country Towne of ab't 200 Houses very pleasantly situated, & affords a Beantifull Rural Prospect; we came to Mr. Ward's about one o'clock and dynd on fryd Codd. From this place is about 7 miles to Salem. After dinner having refreshed ourselves with a glass of wine sett out on our journey through a barren rocky country which afforded us not the least prospect of anything but a desert country, abound. ing with Loffy Hugged Rocks a fine Pasturing Ground only for their Sheep, the Rhoads are exceeding stony and the country but thinly peopled.

"October 19th. Arrived at Salem ab't 3 a Clock put up our Horses at the Wid's Prats from whence went to See Coll. William Browne where drank Tea with his Spouse, after which Mr. Browne was so Good as to Accomodate us with a Walk round the Towne, Showing us the wharfs warehouses &c.; went up in the Steeple of the Church, from whence had a Fine View of the Town, Harbour, &c., which is Beantifullly Situated From which have a View of Mr. Brownes Country Seat which is Situated on a Heigh Hill ab't 6 Miles Eastward of Salem. Spent the Evening at his House where Joynd in Company by Parson Appleton, Miss Hetty his daughter from Cambridge, they Being Acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Browne, we Supd together and after that where Very merry, at Whist, &c.

"Oct. 20th. Lodg'd at Mr. Browne; after Breakfast Saunterd round the Towne mayking Our Observations on the Build &c. Dynd at his House, after Dinner had a Good Deal Conversation with him upon Various Subjects, he being a Gent'n of Excellent Parts well Adversed in Literature a Good Scholar a Great Vertuous and Lover of the Liberal Arts and Sciences having an Extraordinary Library of Books of the Best Ancient and Modern Authors. about 3 a Clock we Sett out in his Coach for his Country Seat riding trough a Pleasant Country and fine Rhoads. we arived there at 4 a Clock the Situation is very Airy Being upon a Heigh Hill which Over Looks the Country all Round and affords a Pleasant Rural Prospect of a Fine Country with fine woods and Lawns with Brooks water running trough them, you have also a prospect of the Sea on one Part an On another A Mountain 80 Miles distant The House is Built in the Form of a Long Square, with Wings at Each End and is about 80 Foot Long, in the middle is a Grand Hall Surrounded above by a Fine Gallery with Neat turned Bannester and the Ceiling of the Hall Representing a Large doom Designed for an Assembly or Ball Room, the Gallery for the Musicians &c. the Building has Four Doors Fronting the N. E. S. & W. Standing in the middle the Great Hall you have a Full View of the Country from the Four Doors, at the Ends of the Buildings is 2 upper and 2 Lower Rooms with neat Stair Cases Leading to them, in One the Lower Rooms is his Library and Studdy well Stocked with a Noble Collection of Books, the others are all unfurnish'd as yet Nor is the Building yet Compleat, wants a Considerable workman Ship to Compleat it, so as the Design is. But Since the Loss of his first wife who was Governour Burnetts Daughter of New York by whom he has yet 2 Little Daughters Living, the Loss of her he took much to heart as he was doubtly fond of her being a Charming Lady when married. But he is now determind to Compleat it. we drank a Glass wine having Feasted our Eyes with the Prospect of the Country, Returned to his House where Sup'd and Past the Evening Vastly Agreeable being a Very merry Facitious Gentlemen, went to bed Intend'g to Proceed to Marble head Next Morning.

"Oct. 21st. Having Got our Horses ready, after Breakfast took our Leave's of Mr. Browne and Spouse. Before proceed shall Give a Small Discription of Salem. Its a Small Sea Port Towne. Consists of ab't 450 Houses, Several of which are neat Buildings, but all of wood, and Covers a Great Deal of Ground, being at a Convenient Distance from Each Other, with fine Gardens back their Houses, the Town is Situated on a Neck of Land Navigable on either Side, is ab't 2½ Miles in Length Including the build'ge Back the Towne, has a main Street runs directly trough, One Church, 3 Presbiterian and one Quakers Meeting, the Situation is Very Pretty, &c. The Trade Consists Chiefly in the Cod Fishery, they have ab't 60 or 70 Sail Schooners Employd in that Branch. Saw ab't 40 Sail in the Harb'r hav'g then ab't 40 at Sea. They Cure all their Own Cod for Markott; Saw there a Vast Number Flakes Curing; in the Harbour Lay also two Topsail Vessells and three Sloops. on Exam'g into the Fishery find it a very adventag's Branch."

The travellers then ride to Marblehead "trough a pleasant country and good Roades"—spend an hour there at breakfast with Mr. Read—see the town, of which they formed no very flattering impression, and push on to their friend Mr. Ward's, at Lynn. "Dynd upon a fine mongrel goose"—proceeded on their journey "through Mystic, and came to Mr. Wendell's in Boston, ab't 8 o'clock."

I find passages illustrative of the times in the diary of John Adams, written when the author was "riding the circuit" in the practice of the law, at the age of thirty, and residing in Braintree.

"1766, Nov. 3d, Monday. Sett off with my wife for Salem. Stopped half an hour at Boston. Crossed the Ferry; at three o'clock arrived at Jills's, the tavern in Malden, the sign of the Rising Eagle * * * where we dined. Here we fell in company with Kent and Sewall. We all sat at Martin's where we found the new Sheriff of Essex, Colonel Saltonstall. We all rode into town together. Arrived at my dear brother Cranch's, about eight, and drank tea and are all very happy. Sat and heard the ladies talk about ribbon, catgut, and Paris net, riding-hoods, cloth, silk, and lace. Brother Cranch came home and a very happy evening we had. Cranch is now in a good situation for business, near the Court House and Mr. Barnard's meeting-house and on the road to

Marblehead: his house fronting the wharves, the harbor and shipping, has a fine prospect before it.

"4. Tuesday. A fine morning: attended court all day. * * Prayer by Mr. Barnard, Deacon Pickering was foreman of one of the juries * * his appearance is perfectly plain, like a farmer. * * *"

"5. Wednesday. Attended Court; heard the trial of an action of trespass, brought by a mulatto woman for damages for restraining her of her liberty. * * * Spent the evening at Mr. Pyncheon's with Farnham, Sewall, Sargent, Colonel Saltonstall, etc., very agreeably. Punch, wine, bread and cheese, apples, pipes and tobacco. Pipes and bonfires this evening at Salem, and a swarm of tumultuous people attending them.

"6. Thursday. A fine morning. Oated at Martin's, where we saw five boxes of dollars, containing, as we were told, about eighteen thousand of them, going in a horse-cart from Salem Custom House to Boston, in order to be shipped for England. A guard of armed men, with swords, lingers, pistols and muskets, attended it. We dined at Dr. Tuft's in Medford. * * * Drank tea at Mrs. Kneeland's,—got home before eight o'clock."

On a previous visit to his brother Cranch in August, he rode after tea to Neck Gate, then back through the common, down to Beverly Ferry and about town. "Scarce an eminence," he says, "can be found anywhere to take a view. The streets are broad and straight and pretty clean. The houses are the most elegant and grand that I have seen in any of the maritime towns."

On Friday, June 29th, 1770, he set out on another "journey to Falmouth in Casco Bay." Dined at Goodhue's in Salem. Fell in with a London merchant, a stranger, who "made a genteel appearance,"—was in a chair, himself with a negro servant; talked of American affairs; thought the colonists "could not conquer their luxury," and this would make them dependent on Great Britain. "Oated my horse and drank balm tea at Treadwell's in Ipswich." Treadwell's was a favorite resort with him. On a visit there ten days before, he says,—"Rambled with Kent round Landlord Treadwell's pastures to see how our horses fared. We found them in the grass up to their eyes; excellent pastures. This hill, on which stand the Meeting-house and Court House, is a fine elevation, and we have here a fine air and the pleasant prospect of the winding river at the foot of the hill."

On another visit he writes:

"Landlord and landlady are some of the grandest people alive: landlady is the great grand-daughter of Governor Endicott. * * As to Landlord he is as happy and proud as any nobleman in England."

And again—

"The old lady has got a new copy of her great grandfather's, Governor Endicott's picture hung up in the house."

That picture is now among the collections of the Essex Institute.

Next morning, Saturday, June 30th, he "arose not very early, drank a pint of new milk and set off; oated my horse at Newbury, rode to Clarke's at Greenland meeting-house, where I gave him hay and oats and then set off for Newington." Dined there with his uncle Joseph, minister of that town, then in his eighty-second year, and set off for York over Bloody Point Ferry * * "a very unsentimental journey excepting this day at dinner; have been unfortunate enough to ride alone all the way and have met with very few characters or adventures. I forgot

yesterday to mention that I stopped and inquired the name of a pond in Wenham, which I found, was Wenham Pond, and also the name of a remarkable little hill at the mouth of the pond, which resembles a high loaf of our country brown bread, and found that it is called Peters' Hill to this day from the famous Hugh Peters." * * *

"July 1. Sunday. Arose early. I took a walk to the pasture, to see how my horse fared. * * * My little mare had provided for herself, by leaping out of a bare pasture into a lot of mowing ground, and had filled herself with grass and water. * * *

"2. Monday morning. In my sulky before five o'clock, Mr. Winthrop, Farnham and D. Seward with me on horseback: rode through the woods, the tide being too high to go over the beach and to cross Cape Necktick River: came to Littlefield's in Wells, a quarter before eight: stopped there and breakfasted. * * * Rode to Patten's of Arundel. Mr. Winthrop and I turned our horses into a little close to roll and cool themselves and feed upon white honey-suckle. P. M. Got into my chair: rode with Elder Bradbury through Sir William Pepperell's woods: stopped and oated at Milliken's and rode into Falmouth."

Compare this picture of Mr. Adams riding into Falmouth, in his *désobligeant*, as he calls his narrow-seated chair or sulky, with an incident in the career of two statesmen of our time. During the negotiation of the British-American treaty which detained Mr. Webster in the cabinet of John Tyler, after his colleagues had deserted all the departments but that of State, it was proposed to convey him, in company with Lord Ashburton, with the utmost speed, from Boston to Portland. Alexander Brown, a genial, trusty, energetic man, was chosen from among the drivers on the route to arrange the conveyance by stage from the railroad terminus, and the most thorough preparations were made. Relays of picked horses, frequent and fresh, awaited him at every stage-house, a groom to each horse, ambitious, both man and beast, to act well their parts in the struggle against time. Three minutes were allowed for each change of horses. Mr. Brown, afterwards depot-master at the railroad station in Boston, recalled the achievement of that day with pride until his death, and used to tell how the British Ambassador got out at a stopping-place and, watch in hand, observed the process of "unhitching and putting to," remarking that it was done as quickly, within a few seconds, as in England. This was high commendation from an Englishman. And it certainly was a notable thing, to have driven for eight hours over American roads, well enough to keep an English peer in good humor, and to have brought him into Portland, which was the old time Falmouth, in company with the man described by Carlyle as a "Parliamentary Hercules," "a magnificent specimen," whom "that tanned complexion, amorphous, crag-like face and those dull, black eyes under their precipice of brows, and that mastiff mouth, lead one to back against all the extant world," and of whom Emerson wrote "He is a natural emperor of men," and Sidney Smith is reported to have said that he must be a humbug, "for no man could be a tenth part as great as he looked."

Once more, Monday, June 17, 1771, Mr. Adams set out upon the Eastern Circuit.

"I mounted my horse and rode to Boston in a cloth coat and waist-coat, but was much pinched with a raw, cold, harsh, northeast wind. At Boston I put on a thick flannel shirt, and that made me comfortable and no more; so cold am I, or so cold is the weather, June 17th * * * Came over Charlestown ferry and Penny ferry and dined at Kettel's in Malden. * * * Overtook Judge Cushing in his old curriole with two lean horses, and Dick, his negro, at his right hand, driving the curriole. This is the way of travelling in 1771, — a judge of the circuits, a judge of the superior court, a judge of the king's bench, common pleas and exchequer for the Province, travels with a pair of wretched old jades of horses in a wretched old curriole, and a negro on the same seat with him driving. * * * Stopped at Martin's in Lynn with Judge Cushing; oated and drank a glass of wine. * * * Rode with King, a deputy sheriff, who came out to meet the judges, into Salem: put up at Goodhue's. The negro that took my horse soon began to open his heart. He did not like the people of Salem; wanted to be sold to Capt. John Dean of Boston. His mistress said he did not earn salt to his porridge and would not find him clothes."

Arrived at Falmouth, July 2d, he writes:

"This has been the most flat, insipid, spiritless, tasteless journey I ever took, especially from Ipswich."

And this we can understand better when we read of his riding alone through Saco woods after night-fall.

"Many sharp, steep hills, many rocks, many deep ruts, and not a foot-step of man except in the road; it was vastly disagreeable."

Before great advances could be made towards speed, comfort, safety and cheapness in travel, fords and stepping-stones must give way to ferries,—ferry-ways must yield to bridges, and turnpikes must supersede county roads on the great thoroughfares. Road-making was no new art. It had been carried to a high point by the ancients, but the costliness of their works made the lesson of little value to the new countries of the modern world. The Romans, for instance, had magnificent roads leading out into the provinces,—as many of them as the hills upon which the eternal city sat. These roads were crowned with a surface of polished stone, over which wagons, on wooden wheels, were drawn by unshod beasts with ease and speed. But it was only at the beginning of this century that McAdam showed us how to bridge over a quagmire with a crust of concrete so firm as to bear loads that make the marshy substratum on which it rests quake like a jelly.

From 1636 a ferry had been supported between North Point or Salem Neck, so-called, and Cape Ann or Bass River side, now Beverly. From time to time it was leased for the benefit of the grammar school-masters of Salem. At first it provided only for the crossing of persons. But, in 1639, these were the regulations: "Lessee to keep an horse-boate—to have for strangers' passadge 2d. apeice,—for towne dwellers 1d. apeice,—for mares, horses and other great beasts 6d. apeice, and for goats, calves and swyne 2d. apiece." For more than a century, an inn known as the "Old Ferry Tavern," stood hard by on the Salem side. The ferry touched at Salem side near the present bridge, but a little to the east.

In 1787, Beverly, somewhat aggrieved at the manage-

ment of the ferry in the interest of Salem, moved for a bridge. A charter, now on deposit with the Essex Institute, was granted to the Cabots, and Israel Thorndike of Beverly, and to John Fiske and Joseph White of Salem, and the old ferry-way was laid out as a highway by the Court of Sessions. December 13th, the proprietors of the bridge organized at the Sun Tavern. Nathan Dane was moderator, and William Prescott, clerk. The bridge was opened for use September 24, 1788. It was one of the modern wonders. Gen. Washington, on his northern tour the next year, dismounted to examine it and observe the working of the draw. And a Russian engineer was specially commissioned to acquaint himself with its structure. But this beneficent work was not carried through without violent opposition, of which Spite Bridge was one of the fruits. Salem voted to oppose the petitioners and invited other towns to do so. Competition was threatened from a parallel bridge. The navigation of North River, it was urged, would be annihilated, and forty vessels of various tonnage, then employed there, would be driven from the river. Orne's Point was insisted on as the proper terminus in Salem. "Prejudices, strong party feeling and much excitement" are spoken of by Felt, and he adds that one Blythe, a wit of the time, was prompted to observe that there never was a bridge built without *railings on both sides*. This timely successor of the old ferry-way, after compensating its projectors for their risk and outlay, reverted, at the expiration of its seventy years' charter, to the State. I may be pardoned a personal reminiscence in this connection. My grandfather walked over the bridge on the day it was opened for travel, being then a Salem school-boy ten years old, and again in his eightieth year on the day of the expiration of its charter in 1858, having been president of the corporation in the interval.

In 1868 the bridge was surrendered by the State to the towns and thrown open to the public, in accordance with that enlightened social economy which teaches that all needless restraint upon the intercourse of neighbors is barbarism.

Another monument of Essex County enterprise is the turnpike connecting us with Boston, now also, in the same liberal spirit, dedicated to free travel. March 6, 1802, Edward Augustus Holyoke, William Gray, Nathan Dane, Jacob Ashton and Israel Thorndike, with their associates, were incorporated to build a turnpike from Buffum's corner, through Great Pastures, over Breed's Island in Lynn Marshes, across Mystic River, and from a point near the Navy-yard to Charles River Bridge. The Statute Books are full of similar acts at this period. The Essex Turnpike from Andover, intended to bring the travel of Vermont and New Hampshire through Salem to Boston, was chartered the next spring, as was also another from State street, Newburyport "by as nearly a straight line as practicable" to Malden Bridge.

Here again we were not behind the times. Telford

and McAdam had not completed their grand experiments nor demonstrated their rival systems for some years later. But the turnpike corporators used the best science of the day and a wonderful road they made. In the famous records kept at Benjamin Blanchard's Barber Shop, in which his distinguished patrons noted current events, while waiting for an empty chair, it appears that work began near "Pickering's Pen" June 7, 1802. Of course there was vigorous opposition and wild disparagement on one side,—great enthusiasm on the other. Dr. Stearns, one of its most ardent promoters, is said to have declared that, when the turnpike was done, a man might stand on Buffum's corner and look straight into Charlestown Square. The extent of the work of building may be judged of by the fact that a village of huts covered the high ground now occupied by Erastus Ware, which soon became a resort for toddy and tenpins, and that the material and tools employed, sold on the completion of the work, brought at auction, October 27, 1803, thirty-two hundred dollars. Captain Richard Wheatland paid the first toll, July 12, 1803, on his way to Boston to take command of his ship for Calcutta. How much the new route, only twelve miles and a fraction long, did to bring us and the metropolis together, will be recalled with pleasure by some yet living who enjoyed for the first time, in the early years of the century, an evening ride to Boston with a ball, a concert, or a play in prospect to give zest to the excursion.

The largest sum, taken in a year at "Toll-Gate No. 1," near our great pastures, was \$5300, in 1805;—the day of the greatest travel was June 1, 1813. On that summer afternoon the smoke of conflict between the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon" was rolling over the bay. One hundred and twenty stages, crowded to repletion, passed up that day. Thousands of spectators prayerfully watched the fight from every hill-top and gloomily retired when the issue was but too plainly seen.

On the morning of November 6, 1869, the old gate-keeper at "No. 1," gets orders to take no more tolls. Gravely he sets open, for the last time, the last toll-gate in Essex County and breaks out in rhyme:

"The last toll is taken,—I've swung wide the gate,
The word has been spoken,—We yield to our fate!"

The distinctive character of the turnpike among roads is departed. It is as wholly a thing of the past as that negro village which once clustered about the entrance at Buffum's corner, with its fortune-telling and cake-baking and fiddling and dancing. But the great road will stand. Years will not destroy its traces of heavy blasting and grading,—its viaducts of splendid masonry across deep, picturesque ravines, their granite sides and terraced buttresses backed up with sturdy trunks and roots of ancient elm and willow, fit types of the blended beauty and utility which mark its course. No son of Salem returning from

his wanderings, however great a truant, but will pause delighted on that hill top, where bursts upon the eye the eldest born of New England cities, whether the morning sun is touching with an early glory the score of spires and towers, clustered about that thing of beauty, the South Church Steeple, or whether at night-fall, broadsides of factory windows are blazing with their perpetual illumination in honor of the triumphs of industry. While lovers ramble and young limbs are strong,—while Bitter-sweet Rocks live in song, and Great Pastures find a place in story,—so long shall there be brisk walking among its rugged scenes in Spring and Autumn, and willing steeds shall be urged to speed over No-bottom Pond Bridge on the moonlight gallop, so long as water plashes up like molten silver through the chinks in the planking,—until, indeed, the post sings to deaf ears,

"The life to guide the Sory Barb
Across the moonlit plain!"

The first public conveyance noticed by Felt was a "large stage chair," or two-horse curricie which ran from Portsmouth to Boston and back each week, in 1761. "An epidemical distemper" among horses interfered with the business in 1768, but, two years after, Benjamin Coats, who was then landlord at the Ship Tavern in School (now Washington) Street, gave notice that he had bought a "new Stage chaise" which would run between Salem and Boston "so that he will then, with the one now improved in that business, be able to carry and bring passengers, bundles and the like every day except Sunday." He has also five fall-back chaises, one fall-back curricie, six standing top chairs and three sulkies to let. In December, 1771, Benjamin Hart advertises that "he has left riding the single horse post between Boston and Portsmouth and now drives the post stage lately improved by John Noble. He sets out from Boston every Friday morning and from Portsmouth on Tuesday morning following. The above conveyance has been found very useful and now more so, as there is another curricie improved by J. S. Hart, who sets off from Portsmouth the same day this does from Boston, by which opportunity offers twice a week, for travellers to either place."

Systematic staging probably began here about 1796, and in this business Benjamin Hale, of Newburyport, seems to have been the pioneer on the route between Boston and Portsmouth, as was Seth Paine, of Portland, on the lines further east. Mr. Hale was a resolute, persevering man, and there was nothing worth knowing about staging which he did not know. Many improvements in stage springs are accredited to him, as well as the introduction of the trunk-rack, by which means the passenger's luggage was employed to ballast the coach, whereas formerly it had rested, a dead weight, on the axles, jolting and tossing as though springs were yet to be invented. He had made his way up from small beginnings against dis-

couragements and trials, but his single coach, driven by his own hand, in the early years of the century, had given place to a large establishment of horses, carriages and drivers. Mr. Paine's career had not been different. He was a postman in Maine when all the mails were carried on horse-back; a man of few words, prompt, inflexible, and of great energy. He came to be the largest owner and sole manager of coaches east of Portsmouth and government contractor for the eastern mails, while the stages on this side of Portsmouth were under the able and exclusive management of Mr. Hale. The proprietors, at this time, were few,—not more than five or six. Besides those named, were Judge Elkins, of Wenham and Salem, and Samuel Larkin, of Portsmouth. Dr. Cleaveland, of Topsfield, bought an interest about 1806. The profitable character of the business could not long be concealed. Tributary lines spring up. Thus a stage connected with the Boston Line set off from Salem, August 20, 1810, for the Coos County. Three were to be despatched every week. Competition, of course, followed, and, in 1818, opposing lines were absorbed by the original proprietors, and the Eastern State Company was incorporated. It is not too early to write in a historic strain of that once familiar visitant, the Stage Coach. And the books of this corporation, now in possession of the Essex Institute, shed ample light upon one of the largest and most successful staging enterprises of New England.

The Eastern Stage Company was chartered by the State of New Hampshire, for a period of twenty years. Its act of incorporation, approved June, 1818, contains three sections, and, singularly enough, by no word except its title, from beginning to end, indicates the business to be facilitated thereby. By this act, Samuel Larkin, William Simes, Elisha Whidden and their associates are made a body corporate, the "Eastern Stage Company," by name, are to sue and be sued, have a common seal, make rules and by-laws, and generally to do whatever appertains to bodies corporate, with a capital stock not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, and shares not more than five hundred in number, and that is all. To one familiar with the guarded language of acts establishing the railroad lines which superseded this great stage route, the absence of all limitations of power is striking. In the early railroad charters every function that could be anticipated is provided for, even to the grade of the road-bed, the curves of the track, and the erection of toll-houses and toll-gates, after the analogy of the turnpike, where trains were to stop and travellers pay fare.

But these corporators did not abuse their powers, however loosely conferred. Their first meeting, duly notified in the *Portsmouth Oracle*, the *Boston Centinel* and the *Newburyport Herald*, was held at Langmaid's tavern, at Hampton Falls, on Friday, October 9, 1818. They chose Dr. Nehemiah Cleaveland, of Topsfield, Moderator, and Samuel Newman, Clerk, accepted the

charter, adopted by-laws and fixed their capital stock at four hundred and twenty-five shares, of one hundred dollars each. The by-laws provide for eight directors and a proprietors' clerk, to be chosen annually by the share-holders, who were to throw a vote for each share owned, not exceeding twenty—the directors to choose a president from their number, appoint "a principal agent and treasurer" and such "agents, drivers and servants as they may find necessary for the due management of the property." They are to close accounts and declare dividends in March and September, and are allowed two dollars per day and expenses for attendance at directors' meetings. The clerk was under oath, and the agent and treasurer under bonds in the sum of ten thousand dollars.

Article VI. provides a form of stock certificate, assignable by indorsement and transfer on the books of the proprietors' clerk.

Article VII. "No person whatever shall be privileged to ride in any of the company's carriages without paying common stage fare."

They organized thus,—President, Dr. Cleaveland,—Proprietors' Clerk, Seth Sweetser,—Directors, Josiah Paine, Stephen Howard, Seth Sweetser, Samuel Larkin, Thomas Haven, Henry Elkins, Ephraim Wildes. Col. Jeremiah Coleman was principal agent and treasurer.

If the charter said nothing of the purposes of this corporation, their own by-laws said about as little. Nowhere is there a distinct announcement of the function which they proposed to discharge, nor any description of the extent nor location of their field of operations. This is to be explained, no doubt, by the fact that some of these gentlemen were, before their incorporation, already successful operators and proprietors of stages running over portions of the routes they now proposed to combine, and no words were needed to teach them the duties and liabilities of common carriers of persons.

Thus at the first directors' meeting we seem plunged at once into the dust and whirl of stage-coach travel. The six o'clock stage from Portsmouth (they vote) is to be discontinued. What a chapter might be written on that early coach, leaving "Wildes' Hotel" at six o'clock each frosty October morning or, better still, on the stage which, all winter long, in storm or by starlight, left Boston for the East at five o'clock in the morning. The hurried breakfast,—the smoking corn-cake,—the savory rasher,—the potato raked, glowing hot, out of its bed of ashes,—the steaming, creamy, aromatic coffee,—the chill, crisp morning,—lanterns flitting ghostly through the ample stables,—reluctant horse-boys shivering about the door-yard and wishing themselves in their bunks again,—the resonant crack of the whip,—the clear, sharp click of well-shod hoofs on frozen ground,—the clatter of wheels,—the scramble in the dark for seats,—the long, dull ride with fellow-travellers chilled and

grim, half concealed by twilight and half in mufflers,—that crying baby, who seems to have found vent, at that unlucky hour, for all the pent-up sorrows of its little life,—the gradual warmth of conversation and day-break stealing at last over the coach-load,—the side-lights fading out and good nature once more prevailing over cramped legs, sharp elbows and cold feet shuffling among the scanty straw,—all these things must now be given over to the romancer, whose ready pen, ever busy with the past, will not long neglect them.

The late President Quincy gives a well-drawn picture of staging facilities at the close of the last century. He was then paying court to a New York lady, to whom he was privately engaged and afterwards married. Boston had twenty—New York, thirty thousand souls. Two coaches and twelve horses sufficed the travel between the two commercial centres of the continent. The journey was almost as rare an event then as a voyage to Europe is now, and took about as long. To one bent on Mr. Quincy's errand the way no doubt seemed doubly tedious. The impatient suitor writes:

"The carriages were old, and the shackling and much of the harness made of ropes. One pair of horses carried us eighteen miles. We generally reached our resting-place for the night, if no accident intervened, at ten o'clock, and after a frugal supper, went to bed with a notice that we should be called at three, next morning—which generally proved to be half-past two. Then, whether it snowed or rained, the traveller must rise and make ready by the help of a horn lantern and a farthing candle, and proceed on his way, over bad roads,—sometimes with a driver showing no doubtful symptoms of drunkenness, which good-hearted passengers never failed to improve at every stopping-place, by urging upon him the comfort of another glass of toddy. Thus we travelled eighteen miles a stage, sometimes obliged to get out and help the coachman lift the coach out of a quagmire or rut, and arrived at New York after a week's hard travelling, wondering at the ease as well as the expedition with which our journey was effected."

Contrast with this picture an "Old Driver's Reminiscence," which I give in his own words. The stage that left Newburyport for Boston at 8 o'clock in the morning usually took the passengers who had stopped for rest over night, many of whom were strangers to our New England customs. One morning, as the passengers were about taking their seats, a gentleman asked the driver if he would accommodate him with a seat on the box. "Certainly," says the driver, "please step right up before another occupies it." Our first stop was at Rowley, a seven mile drive, during which many questions were asked by the stranger and answered according to the driver's knowledge. At this place we took some passengers. While the driver was arranging the baggage, the gentleman on the box asked him to step in and take something to drink. His reply was, "No, I thank you, sir, I have no occasion for anything," and he mounted the box and drove to Ipswich, where the horses were changed. Here most of the passengers alighted while the shifting was taking place. At the same time the stranger came off the box and urged the driver again to take something to drink. The answer was the same as be-

fore. When the horses were ready, the driver, as was the custom, says—"the stage is ready, gentlemen!" and they take their seats in the coach. Off they start down the crooked hill and over the stone bridge, called by some short-sighted people "Choate's Folly." The next stop was at Wenham, where it was the usual practice to take the fares, it being the Half-Way House to Boston. And here the outside passenger says to the driver again,—“Come, now, you have accomplished one-half of the distance,—you must certainly take a drink with me.” “No, I thank you, sir.” “What kind of men are you drivers here in this section of the country? Drivers where I came from will drink at every stopping-place, and it is with much fear that we travel there, but here I see that passengers are perfectly at ease when seated in the coach.” “Sir, things have changed here within a few years. You were saying that passengers in your section were uneasy, and often had fears for their safety while riding with your drivers. Here all that is reversed, for in former years the travellers used every precaution to keep the drivers sober, but now the drivers by their example try to keep the passengers sober.” “I will never ask you to drink again,” says our outside passenger, and he was mum on the drinking question the rest of the way to Boston.

The arrangements for the main route of the Eastern Stage Company, in the winter of 1818, may be sketched thus: A coach left Portsmouth for Boston at 9 A. M., (the same carriage running through), dined at Topsfield, then through Danversport and Salem to Boston, and back the same way next day, dining at Newburyport. A portion of the Newburyport turnpike was used, and this made Topsfield quite metropolitan, so much so that conventions often met there. In 1808 a great caucus was held at Topsfield to denounce the embargo. The County Convention which established Lyceums met there in 1829. The Essex Agricultural Society, formed at Topsfield in 1818, held its annual meetings there in 1820, '22, '23, '24, '25, '37 and '38, but never after.

Of course the records plunge us at once into all sorts of questions of law and policy,—they meet us at the threshold,—they linger to the end;—questions of tolls on turnpikes and bridges,—conferences arranged with this and that corporation,—new terms made or war declared. Once it is voted that seven hundred dollars be accepted by the Newburyport Turnpike as toll for the year, or the stages go by Old Town Bridge. Complications grow out of the delicate relations of carriers to the public. Too accommodating drivers are induced to act as expressmen on their private account, and attempts are made to hold the company liable for their losses. At the first meeting “Drivers are expressly prohibited from carrying any money or packages, not accounted for to the company’s agent;” and almost at the last a “committee is considering the subject of drivers carrying provisions

from sundry places to Boston for sale, contrary to a vote of the directors.” In April, 1819, “the company do not consider themselves accountable for the loss of any baggage, bundles, or packages whatever, committed to the care of the drivers, or otherwise put into their stages.” This sweeping announcement, so like what is sometimes read on the backs of railroad tickets to-day, was followed up in the same spirit in 1826 and 1829. Now they vote that no driver shall carry anything, except in his pocket, without paying the company’s agent, on pain of instant dismissal; and again, the driver must “agree with the agent to exclude his private or pocket business from his compensation, so the company shall have no participation, direct or indirect, with such business of the drivers, meaning especially Bills of any Bank which may be entrusted to them.” “But is this law?” ask the perplexed proprietors of Benjamin Merrill, Esq., in 1832, and that eminent counselor finds himself unable to give the desired assurance, but on the contrary, they record a long opinion advising them that their contract with drivers will not discharge them from liability, unless notice of it is brought home in each case to the sender of the bill or parcel. And accordingly a notice, drawn by him, is formally served in person on every bank president and cashier on the route, posted in the taverns, and widely advertised in the newspapers.

The record is rich in little incidents which give life to the picture of the times. A driver is fined fifty dollars, the value of a horse killed by his carelessness. Afterwards, for good conduct, the forfeiture is reduced to one month’s wages. Owing to the appreciated state of the currency, in 1820, wages were reduced, and fares from Boston to Exeter put at three dollars. Once in awhile a coach is overturned. In one case, if payment of damages is refused by the Salem Turnpike, the agent is to enter complaint and present the road to the grand jury; in another, forty dollars are received in liquidation. Again, a director is to settle for damages done by loose horses breaking out of the Salem stable. And again, fines imposed by the post-office department for loss of mails, are to be charged off to the drivers who lost them. Sub-agents were selected for the principal points on the route, placed on salary, and under bonds, and quartered at the best hotels. Blacksmith’s shops were established at many points, and extensive stables in Boston and elsewhere, many of them built of brick. Not more than seven shillings were to be paid for shoeing, out of Boston, and but ten cents for caulking or resetting shoes. Drivers are forbid taking letters, in violation of laws regulating the United States General Post-office; and frequent embassies are dispatched to Washington to contract for carrying the mails, or to change the times or terms for delivering them. “Accommodating Stages” are sometimes to take mails at the desire of government or the postmaster at Boston, but “Mail Stages” are regularly designated, and these make better speed

and collect higher fares than the former. Mail-contracts are exchanged among different companies, and combinations formed with other lines where competition would be ruinous, and sub-agents are withdrawn from inns which harbor the books of hostile companies. In April, 1823, it is significantly voted that several sub-agents be discharged, and hereafter it shall be an "indispensable requisite that their moral characters be good, and that they have no horses and carriages to let." In August, 1823, it is voted to "keep a horse and chaise in Boston to accommodate passengers, and carry and fetch their baggage." This under the stress of a vigorous opposition, when the exigency called for unusual efforts and the running of extras at "about the same time the opposing stage goes, but always a little before that conveyance and at the same fare." In October, a number of horses and chaises are to be kept on hire at Newburyport. In December, the extras run a little before the opposition coaches are to charge but half fare. The Ann Street stage-house at Boston is leased and furnished, and Col. Wildes placed there as landlord, with an interest in the profits not to exceed one-half. Next summer the horses are to be fed with cut hay and meal. April 19, 1825, the directors met at Gilman's hotel, in Newburyport. They found their enterprise thriving,—established a sinking fund to be swelled by semi-annual additions; carried one thousand dollars to that account; declared a semi-annual dividend of four per cent.; created seventy-five new shares, making up the full five hundred to which they were limited in their charter, and provided for selling the new shares at not less than six dollars premium on a par of one hundred dollars. To the sinking fund was afterward voted the net income of the Ann Street stage-house, and the agent was directed to sell at auction, from time to time, collections of articles left in their offices and coaches "for which no owners can be found." The second dividend for this year was six per cent., and in 1826 eleven per cent. was divided.

At the end of ten years the prosperity of the company was established. It had now substantial stables, not connected with public houses, at all the chief points of the route, one of them on Church Street, in the rear of the Lafayette Coffee-house, in Salem; and it owned hotels, or a controlling interest in hotels, at Boston, Newburyport, Exeter and Dover. It was sending deputations to the New England Stage Association, which met at "Holbrook's," in Milk Street, Boston, with a view to bring together, at least once a year, representatives of all the stage companies of this section. In October, 1828, it held its shares at a premium of fifty dollars, and made a semi-annual dividend of eight per cent., on one hundred and fifty dollars per share. At this time the management of the stage-house in Ann Street passed into the hands of Mr. Leavitt, upon the death of Col. Wildes and Col. Henry Whipple of Salem, became a director in place of Judge Elkins, resigned.

In 1830, the company was incorporated in Massachusetts, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars. In 1832 it sent delegates to a Mail Contract Convention, which sat at "Wyatt's" in Dover, to apportion the mail routes for New England, and its bid shows that it was running coaches from Concord to Portsmouth; Dover, by two routes, to Newburyport; Portsmouth, by Exeter, to Newburyport, Salem and Boston; from Salem to Haverhill and Lowell; from Gloucester to Ipswich; and from Lowell, by two routes, to Newburyport.

January, 1833, found them free from debt and their stock higher than ever. They owned near five hundred horses. A steamboat had been built on Lake Winnepessaukee and they were running stages from Dover to meet it. At times they ran a daily to Portland. In October, 1834, the stock stood at \$202.13 per share on their books, par being \$100. In January, 1835, they were paying between eight and nine thousand dollars in tolls for the year, had bought turnpike, bridge and bank stocks, and amongst other real estate the Dalton House, between the West estate and Church Street, in Salem, which they sold, retaining a way out from the stables to Church Street. Up to this point their career must be considered as one of unmixed prosperity. The Eastern Railroad was not chartered; the Boston and Maine was but a spur from the Boston and Lowell, extending as far as Andover. Travel increased apace,—with it the running stock and corps of employés. The directors' record-book is pleasant reading now. They meet at comfortable inns, spend two or three days together, examine lucrative accounts, pass the evening over plethoric way-bills, compute their dividends, make combinations with kindred bodies all over the Eastern States, and New York if need be, and smile at competition.

What a text is here for another volume of pen and ink sketches,—these old stage houses which figure in the record,—“Wildes' Hotel” at Portsmouth, “Langmaid's” and “Wade's” at Hampton Falls, “Gilman's” and the “Wolfe” at Newburyport, the “Sun Tavern,” the “Lafayette Coffee House” at Salem, “Ann Street Stage House” and “City Tavern” in Boston! What pleasant memories start up at the recital, as of those ancient hostelries of London, once, as Mr. Dickens says, “the headquarters of celebrated coaches in the days when coaches performed their journeys in a graver and more solemn manner than they do in these times, but which have now degenerated into little more than the abiding and booking places of country wagons.” Of these he says, “there still remain some half-dozen in the borough, which have preserved their external features unchanged, and which have escaped alike the rage for public improvement and the encroachments of private speculation. Great, rambling, queer, old places they are, with galleries, and passages, and stair-cases wide enough and antiquated enough to furnish materials

for a hundred ghost-stories, supposing we should ever be reduced to the lamentable necessity of inventing any." Such was our own poet's Wayside Inn,

"Built in the old colonial day,
When men lived in a grander way
With ampler hospitality—
A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall,
Now somewhat fallen to decay,
With weather-stains upon the wall
And stair-ways worn and creaky doors
And creaking and uneven floors,
And chimneys huge, and tiled and tall.
A region of repose it seems.
By noon and night the panting teams
Stop under the great eaks that throw
Tangles of light and shade below.
Across the road the barns display
Their lines of stalks, their mows of hay.
Through the wide door the breezes blow,—
The wattle cocks strut to and fro,—
And, half effaced by rain and shine,
The 'Red Horse' prances on the sign."

One seems to recall the impatience with which the tired traveller looked forward to alighting at these old inns,—to see again the village steeple peering over the hill, its gilded cockerel glistening in the sunset,—to hear the stage-horn once more bidding the post-master expect the evening mail, the landlord serve the welcome meal; to see honest, little, nervous Jack Mendum, or sturdy, robust, reliable Robert Annable, or good-natured Knight, or the voluble but substantial Pike, or some other famous whip, gather up his reins and muster his strength for a final sweep across the tavern yard, the crowning effort of a day of toil to dusty traveller and smoking, jaded team, and then down go the steps and cramped legs are free at last!

Or we seem again to be bowling down that grand old turnpike from Newburyport, with Ackerman or Barnabee or Forbes, rumbling by old Gov. Dummer's Academy at Byfield, telling off the milestones through the Topsfield of fifty years ago, over the grassy hills and by the beautiful lake at Lynnfield, on the coach that left "Pearson's" at six every summer morning; or to be whirling by Flax Pond, where, a century ago, Mr. Goldthwaite asked John Adams to a "genteel dinner" of fish, bacon, peas and incomparable Madeira, under the "shady trees, with half a dozen as clever fellows as ever were born;" or to be rattling through the old toll-gate and dashing down Great Pasture hills into Salem town on the topmost seat of the early Boston Mail Stage which, in 1835, was to "breakfast in Salem and dine at Portsmouth," while all the eastern landscape is aglow with the tints of morning and the dews of spring make everything in nature sparkle. Or perhaps it is winter.

"Now the increasing storm makes all the plain
From field to highway a vast foaming sea!
And sculptors of the air, with curious skill,
Have graven their images of stainless white,
Pagodas, temples, towers, columns raised
From the exhaustless quarries of the snow,
Afar and near,—the artwork of the wind!"

and we reach perhaps the little court-house on the

hill at Ipswich, with the bar of Southern Essex, to find that another coach-load of jurisprudence is stuck fast on Rowley Marshes, while judge and counsellor alike have committed trespass *quare clausum fregit*, in prying their coach out of a snowdrift with the nearest fence rails.

The Hon. Allen W. Dodge writes of the drivers of those days as follows:—

"In these days of old-fashioned winters, there were many trials and difficulties in getting through the route, but let the storm or the snow blockade be ever so bad, they were always ready to do, to the uttermost, all that men could do to accomplish it. These drivers, too, were the most obliging and kind-hearted men that ever handled reins, cracked whip or sounded stage-horn.

"They were great favorites with all the boys who rode with them. Many of us who were then at Exeter Academy came home at the end of the term by the Eastern Stage route, and a lively time we used to have of it. Quite a number of stage coaches were always sent on to take us. When they arrived what a scramble ensued to see who should ride with Pike, who with Annable, or Knight, or Forbes, or some other good-natured driver, experienced in stages and careful of their young charges as if they were all destined to be governors, or judges, or presidents. We used to consider it the seat of honor on the outside with the driver, there to listen to his stories and to enjoy his company. Many a scrap of practical wisdom did we youngsters thus pick up to turn to good account on the great road of life.

"And then too what a gathering at the old Wells Tavern in Newburyport, when the noon stage-coaches arrived from Boston! The sidewalk was often crowded with anxious boys, and men too, to catch a sight of distinguished passengers and the last failures, and to hear the latest news. Why, it was as good as a daily paper, or a telegraphic dispatch—better indeed, for the living men, actors sometimes in the scenes described, were there to tell what had happened."

I find related in a contribution to the *Salem Gazette*, one of those little incidents that sparkle like jewels in the sand:

"Once when a mere child it was necessary for me to go from home to a town near Boston. This was quite an undertaking in those days, as one was obliged to pass the night in Portsmouth. Being without a protector, my mother confided me to the care of one of those old, faithful drivers. It was evening when we reached Portsmouth and very cold. Everything was new and strange to me. How carefully was I taken by the hand and led up that long flight of stairs to the excellent accommodations which awaited me! How well I remember the kind, smiling face of Robinson, as next morning, whip in hand, he appeared at the parlor door and inquired for the 'little girl' who was to go with him! His hearty 'good morning' and 'all ready, miss,' as I presented myself, are still sounding in my ears. While changing horses at Newburyport I was comfortably seated before a warm fire in the sitting-room. Indeed, I do not know that I could have been more comfortably attended to had I been the daughter of the President. I was the daughter of a poor widow instead, and an utter stranger to the man whose memory I have ever cherished as one of the pleasant recollections of my childhood."

What stalwart men this sturdy, out-door life produced! Moses Head, of Portsmouth, drove into that town, from Boston, the stage that brought news of peace in 1815, with a white flag fastened to the box. News of the battle of New Orleans came at the same time. That evening there was a procession in honor of these events. Head, who was then Ensign of the artillery company, and resembled General Jackson in appearance and stature, arrayed himself in a military suit and chapeau, and personated the hero of New Orleans in the ranks of the procession to great acceptance. He was born among the granite hills of New Hampshire, and died at the age of seventy-two, after a sickness of a day, the only sickness of his life.

Another old driver sends me his recollections of "life on the road," and I insert them here.

"I began to drive on an opposition line in 1823, and after about nine months I had an application from Col. Coleman to come over to the old company. As I thought it a more permanent job, I came over to drive 'Extra.' I had not been long at it before the travel increased very much, so the directors ordered one hundred more horses to be bought, and carriages in proportion, to accommodate the public. The business came on so hard that I had all I bargained for. I followed the mail twelve days in succession, starting from Boston at 2 o'clock in the morning, breakfasting in Newburyport, dinner at Portsmouth and back again to supper in Salem, getting into Boston anywhere from nine to eleven o'clock, so there was not much sleep or rest for me. The twelfth day, when I drove into the yard at Salem, Col. Coleman was there, and said he, 'young man, you had better stop here and get a little rest and take your team in the morning at four o'clock.' So Mr. Rand took the team to Boston and back.

"The worst of it was, I had the same horses out and back every day. It was hard keeping up with the mail, as their horses rested one or two days in the week, and they were like wild ones. Only hold on and they would go as fast as any one wished to ride. As a general thing we made good time. I have been through Charlestown Square on time, for three weeks, not varying five minutes by the clock, although we had some trying storms.

"I was compelled to stop at Hamilton one night, after beating with the storm from seven in the morning till ten at night, with a single sleigh and two horses, and so, completely used up, we slept well. It cleared up about three o'clock, so that uncle Robert Annable, with the morning coach, came along pretty well, and passed us while we were asleep, and took off his bells so as not to awake us, and then he was very joyous to think he had got ahead. It was something, to be sure, that never happened before nor since.

"On the whole it was a very pleasant life, for every one on the road was very hospitable to us. I never got stuck in the mud nor snow, when all the people on the road were not willing, night or day, to lend a hand. So we felt that we were among friends, and that was comforting to us. The wealthy Southerners, who used to come east in summer, would almost always want us to keep on and drive them to Providence or New York, for they did not get so good accommodations at the South. And as we refused the refreshments they offered us at every stopping place, we were pretty sure to get a handsome present before they left, which was far more satisfactory. It was a very pleasant business, and we had our choice of company outside, and that was worth a great deal.

"When it was decided by the Legislature that there should be a Railroad, you may depend upon it there were heavy hearts. For we had spent so much time in staging we did not know what we should do. But all who wished had something to do. The corporation employed a large number of the drivers as conductors, baggage-masters and brakemen. I withdrew and took up the express business, and followed that until 1860. So I had served the public from '23 to '60."

These drivers, so freely trusted with life and treasure, with the care of helpless infancy and age, deserved well of the community they served, and are held in kindly remembrance. They knew of old the wants and habits of the travelling public, and railroad corporations were glad to secure agents from among their numbers.

Has anybody forgotten rare James Potter, of the Salem and Boston Line,—active, clear-headed, courteous and prompt, who for forty years drove with such care and skill to Boston and back that, it was said, he was as well known and as much respected by Salem people as Dr. Bentley? Here he comes up the street from the old "Sun Tavern" with the seven o'clock morning coach, his dapple-greys groomed to a hair and well in hand,—the model driver, trusted by the banks, by the old sea-kings, by everybody with uncounted treasure,—the splendid reinsman, chosen in August, 1824, to bring the beloved Lafayette in safety into Salem!

Has anybody forgotten the scene in College yard at Cambridge, when Peter Ray arrived, at the end of the term, with his coach and six sorrels, to take home what might well be styled the "flower of Essex!" How he displayed, before admiring eyes, his mastery of curves and functions, by turning six-in-hand, at a cheerful trot, in the little corner between Holworthy and Stoughton, and how the Essex County boys, cheered by their fellows and eager for the long vacation, whirled out of college gate and down the historic roads by Washington's Elm, and Letchmere's Point, and Bunker Hill, to their welcome home! Handsome Peter, they called him—a favorite with children and ladies—for with him, on the introduction of the famous steel-spring coaches, they first knew what it was to ride comfortably outside, with an intelligent and entertaining driver, whose tongue kept pace with his team, and whose castles in the air often reached stupendous proportions before half the distance between Lynn and Salem had been accomplished!

And here comes Page! witty, large-hearted, strong-handed Woodbury Page, his two bays on the jump, swinging round the corner from Beverly, sweeping round the Common to the old stable in Union Street, shifting horses, and then round the big elm and off again in a twinkling, with those very four milk-whites, with which he drove Henry Clay, in October, 1833, from Senator Silsbee's door-step in Washington Square to the Tremont House in sixty minutes!

And what shall be said of the polished and agreeable Jacob Winchester, favorite driver on wedding journeys and pleasure parties, who carried bags of specie to and from New York, when our merchants wanted a messenger who would neither play the rogue with funds nor suffer anybody to take them from him; what of the popular driver and consummate reinsman Lot Peach, who would get to Boston about as soon with crows' meat as moderate drivers did with choice teams of horses;—what of Albert Knight, always on good terms with passengers and steeds;—what of stout, little, talkative Major Shaw, who was off at three with the sorrels and the last coach up, rather than not go with whom ladies would often lose the morning stages and some hours of shopping and visiting in Boston;—what of stalwart, kind-hearted, deep-voiced Adrian Low, whose cheerful life ended in mystery and an unknown grave;—what, indeed, of the hundred and fifty good, sound, trusty men who, from first to last, drove stages over these routes in the employ of regular or opposition lines, whole families of them, like the four Potters, the three Annables, the three Akermans, the brothers Canney, Conant, Drake, Knight, Marshall, May, Manning, Patch, Robinson, Shaw, Tenney, Tozzer, Winchester, seeming to have been born on wheels, or descended from the hippocentaurs of ancient fable,—men who combined energy and good nature in a ratio not likely to be developed by any vocation now in vogue,—men who cracked their joke as they swung their whip,—men who knew what it is vouchsafed us

to know of that fascinating uncertainty, the horse, and supplemented this with a wonderfully shrewd insight into the nature of their fellow-creatures!¹

And what shall be said of those elegant coaches built at the Union Street shop for the Salem and Boston Stage Company,—

*"Step and prop-iron, bolt and screw,
Spring, tire, axle, and linch-pin too,
Steel of the Sunst, bright and blue,"*

the first in the country mounted on steel springs, and provided behind with a "dicky" and trunk-rack after the English pattern! And what of those noble teams of blacks and bays and buckskins and roans and chestnuts, clean-limbed and strong, that moved out, with coats like velvet, every afternoon when dinner was over, before the City Tavern in Brattle Street, the Ann Street Stage House or the Marlboro Hotel, sweeping the ground with flowing tails, too often, it must be added, tails of fiction, in which the cunning hand of Lancaster had eked out the unsuccessful efforts of nature! What of those scores of coach-builders and blacksmiths, and harness-makers, who plied the awl, and bent the tire, and drove the plane, with such pride and spirit in these old days, when Harding shod, and Daniel Manning ran with orders from the Sun Tavern to the yards in Union Street, and William H. Foster balanced accounts and made up dividends, and Mackie, over his saddlery, fought out the battle of Waterloo, in which he took a part, and that shy boy, since known to fame as Nathaniel Hawthorne, was keeping stage-books in his uncle Manning's office! What of that ancient negro hostler at Breed's Hotel, in Lynn, with his little competency accumulated from the trifles dropped into his hat for many a year by kindly travellers as the stage rolled off, who fell on his knees on the stable floor and wept great tears when the steam whistle sounded at last and he felt indeed that he must say with his Shakespearian prototype, "Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone!" Too many of this company of worthies are now

*"Where rolling wheels are heard no more
And horses' feet ne'er come,"*

Twenty-one surviving drivers of the Eastern Stage Company honored themselves and the memory of the agent under whom they served, by attending, in April, 1866, the funeral of Colonel Coleman, the man to

¹ It was a happy thought which brought two hundred and fifty "old stagers" of the Connecticut Valley,—Drivers, Proprietors and Agents,—together at Springfield for a merry Christmas in 1859. Hon. Ginery Twitchell and James Parker, Esq., of the Western Railroad, seem to have been promoters of this "gathering of the whips," and two days were given up to their entertainment in Springfield during which the hospitalities of larder and stable were tested to the utmost. At a public dinner on the occasion were produced those spirited lines of Edwin Hyman, now familiar to newspaper readers, beginning,

*"Oh! the days are gone when the merry horn
Awakened the echoes of smiling morn
As, breaking the slumber of village street,
The foaming leaders' galloping feet
Told of the rattling, swift approach
Of the well-appointed old stage coach!"*

whose vigorous and intelligent oversight that enterprise had almost owed its success for a quarter of a century. During the same years the Salem and Boston Company was under the courteous management of William Manning, another model stage agent, known among the "whips" as "Sir William," and to have been trusted by whom they thought enough for an epitaph.

We come now to the closing scene of the Eastern Stage Company. In July, 1835, the ominous words "Rail Road" appear for the first time in their voluminous records. Let us see what these words meant.

Passengers had been transported in carriages drawn by steam over the Darlington and Stockton Railway in England, for ten years. The engines employed were stationary, and inventive genius had been as busy with the problem of travelling in steam carriages over turnpikes, as with the twin problem, which has since completely overshadowed the other, of locomotive machinery for railways. During the first ten years of the century, indeed, the steam engine, both stationary and locomotive, began to be applied to transportation. And long before this, the simple tramway of wood, stone or iron, operated by horse-power, had been employed for the conveyance of passengers and freight. As early as the settlement of New England, wooden rails were in use between the coal mines of Newcastle and the river, and these were so far perfected that in 1765 they had been introduced extensively in England, and enabled a horse to drag from two to three tons on an easy grade. Plates and wheels of iron had still further and very largely increased the draft-capacity of the horse. On the Darlington and Stockton road, trains had been provided with stable-cars, in which the horses employed for motive power on level and up grades, rested and fed in quiet while the momentum of the train carried it down hill.

The use of the Railway was no less familiar on this side the ocean. Our former townsman, Wm. Gray, after leaving Salem, in 1809, owned a wharf in Boston on which trucks were moved by hand over a plank-walk, provided on its edges with round iron bars, on which ran grooved wheels, thus forming a freight Railway from the ship in her dock to the warehouses on Lynn (now Commercial) Street. In grading Beacon Hill for the erection of the State House, late in the last century, an inclined Railway was used, on which the gravity of the loaded cars, in their descent, served to bring up on a parallel track those which had been emptied, and the same expedient, also in use in England, was employed at Quincy when the blue sienite of the quarries began to supplant, as a building material, the familiar gray granite of our hills, ledges and boulders. The first Railroad charter granted by Massachusetts, authorized, March 4, 1826, the building of a Railway from these quarries to Neponset River, and the first freight transported over it was the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument. It was operated by horse-power.

That unrest which prognosticates some great step in inventive art was stirring the public mind and bringing to light every clumsy expedient of cogs and ropes and wheels for mounting grades, and for moving by steam on common roads, as well as on rails, when, in 1829, the Stephensons, father and son, produced the Locomotive "Rocket," and placed it upon the Liverpool and Manchester road. Its success was at once complete and transportation by horse-power was doomed from that hour. In America we were not behindhand in applying steam to propulsion. It was already in use since 1807 on our rivers, canals and lakes. Indeed, the Hon. Nathan Reed, of Salem and Danvers, formerly a member of Congress from this district, had made a paddle-wheel steamboat in 1789, in which he navigated the river from his iron-works to Essex Bridge, taking Governor Hancock, Dr. Prince, Dr. Holyoke and Nathan Dane as passengers with him. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was begun in 1827; other routes from New York and Philadelphia soon after. In 1829-30-31 Massachusetts chartered Railroads from Boston to Lowell, to Providence and to Worcester.

In 1833, the Boston and Lowell road was extended to Andover and Wilmington, and to Haverhill in 1835. This was the first incursion of the iron monster into Essex, but he rapidly made his way over the county, enfolding in his fatal coils the poor struggling Stage Companies, whose nightly dreams were disturbed by the scream of the whistle, and whose waking eyes, turn where they might, were blasted with those words of doom, "*Look out for the engine.*"¹ For a time our directors stood up manfully to their struggle with fate. First they tried to curtail their expenses,—offered to sell real estate,—to buy in their stock at par, then at \$60 and then at \$50, and pay for it in the personal effects of the company. Fifty horses were to be disposed of at a stroke, and again and again another fifty,—hay and grain were high,—the appetites of live-stock inexorable. To add to their embarrassment, travel went on increasing as the hour of dissolution drew near. More horses and more were required, and

again and again they were forced to replace those sold. To sell so large a stud at once, when the end came, would bring prices down to a ruinous figure, and the theory was generally accepted, that upon the establishment of steam cars, horse flesh would be worth little more than dog's meat. Before the end of 1835 they had joined the other proprietors of Newburyport turnpike in offering five miles of it for the use of a projected Railroad to Salem. In 1836 the Eastern Railroad was chartered.

Still they go on voting to sell their horses, still buying more. Late in '36 they try adding twenty per cent. to their fares. The directors meet once a month without notice, sometimes at half past six in the morning. They combine with thirteen like companies to keep up prices. Opposition coaches take the road and prices come down again. Late in '37, they try a reduction of wages, the peremptory sale of thirty horses, "as the company is fast approaching dissolution," they say,—sell the lease they hold of Henry Codman, of the Ann Street House, and agree with the purchaser to keep their teams from day to day,—sell the Exeter Stables, the Portsmouth and Concord Stages,—apply without success for a short extension of their charter to close the business, and in February, '38,—their charter expired in June,—offer for sale the whole remaining assets of the corporation.

This effort failing, the shareholders were for the last time summoned to Hampton Falls,—detailed reports submitted,—a fruitless effort made to start a new company, and the property turned over to trustees for final administration. And so this respectable body-corporate died without issue, at the stroke of midnight, June 26, 1838. Says the late Col. Whipple, who had been a director for ten years, and became its president on the death of Dr. Cleaveland in 1837, "the holders of stock, during twenty years, received eight and one-third per cent. in dividends annually, and after paying all debts, between \$66 and \$67 on each share. It does not appear that a passenger was killed or injured."

In August, 1838, the steam cars from Boston reached Salem. The *Register* speaks of immense crowds on every arrival and departure, covering the depot grounds and the banks of the mill-pond. In the belfry of the wooden station house hung a bell, taken from a ruined Spanish convent, and sold to one of our West Indians for old metal, which was vigorously rung to summon passengers on the departure of a train. At first, the cars took eleven hundred persons per day, but this, said the papers, was evidently due to their novelty, and could not be expected to continue. From six to eight hundred, it was thought, could be relied on. In about a month, sixteen hundred passengers were carried in one day, "the best day's work yet," said the press with enthusiasm! The *Boston Courier* stated that the cars used were not of the prevailing style, shaped like a coach-body with

¹ Mr. Tony Weller has favored the English-reading public with his views on the Railway and its invasion of his native Island, in words which I am forced to recall at this point. Said that eminent driver, as reported in "Master Humphrey's Clock," "I consider that the rail is unconstitutional, and a invader o' privileges. As to the comfort—as an old coachman I may say it—veres the comfort o' sitting in a harm-chair, a lookin' at brick walls, and heaps o' mud, never comin' to a public 'ouse, never seein' a glass o' ale, never goin' thro' a pike, never meetin' a change o' no kind (horses or otherwise), but always comin' to a place, ven you comes to vun at all, the worry picter o' the last! As to the honor and dignity o' travellin', vere can that be vithout a coachman, and vats the rail to sich coachmen as is sometimes forced to go by it, but a outrage and a inenit! and as to the ingen, a nasty, wheezin', creakin', gaspin', puffin', bustlin' monster, always out o' breath, with a shiny green and gold back like a unpleasant beetle; as to the ingen as is always a pourin' out red-hot coals at night and black smoke in the day, the sensiblest thing it does, in my opinion, is ven there's somethin' in the way, and it sets up that 'ere frightful scream vich seems to say 'now eres two hundred and forty passengers in the worry greatest extremity o' danger, and eres their two hundred and forty screams in vun!'"

the door on the side, but were of a new pattern, in which a man may stand erect or pass from one to another, the whole length of the train, while in motion, with perfect safety. The passage from Salem to the Boston side of the ferry occupied from thirty-five to forty minutes, and it was hoped that about thirty-two minutes would be the average time consumed, when all was completed. The *Boston Post* announced that the witches came out of their graves to see these new conveyances. They met all expectations, and Mr. George Peabody, the first president of the road, in his opening address delivered before the six hundred stockholders and others, August 27th, called attention to the fact that those doing business in Boston could now live more cheaply in Salem than in Boston. What the railroad has done for us, in common with all the environs of Boston, cannot be briefly stated. If Boston is the Hub, the railroads seen from the State House dome are the living spokes, which bind it to an outer circle of social and business relations. If these have carried off our men of enterprise in search of a larger market, they have brought back the wealth they accumulate to beautify our estates and elevate our culture, and make of Massachusetts Bay, from Plymouth to Cape Ann, one great suburb in which the arts of cultivated life are brought to aid the native charms of country living.

Of the two presidents of the Eastern Stage Company, the first, Dr. Cleaveland, was a man of no common stamp. He came of the staunchest Puritan stock, his great-grandfather, Moses Cleaveland, having emigrated in his prime from Ipswich, in England, to Eastern Massachusetts and left a numerous and distinguished progeny. Some of them appear among the founders of Connecticut; many of them adorn the learned professions or fill chairs in the universities. Dr. Cleaveland's father died on his 77th birthday, in 1799, having been for more than half a century the pastor of Chebacco Parish in this county—a chaplain in both the French and Revolutionary wars, present with the army at Ticonderoga in 1758, at Louisburg in 1759, at the siege of Boston in 1775, on the Connecticut shore in 1776, and in 1778 in New York and New Jersey, and having given three sons to the Continental army.

Dr. Nehemiah Cleaveland was a man of large stature, and of erect, dignified and commanding aspect. A tall stripling of sixteen, he attended his father upon his service as chaplain during the siege of Boston, and in 1777 enlisted in the army as a common soldier. The stress of war deprived him of the collegiate training to which he had looked forward fondly, and kept him, during his minority, either in the camp or at the plow. Having subsequently mastered the science of medicine he began practice at Topsfield in 1783, purchasing the stock of a successful predecessor, as well as his library of just two volumes. He was soon after complimented with a commission as Justice of the Peace, and began to in-

terest himself in the public affairs of town and county. As a politician he was earnest, ardent and patriotic. He was chosen, through Federalist support, to the State Senate in 1811, and lost his seat next year, under the operation of that famous districting system known as the "Gerrymander." From 1815 to 1819 he was re-elected, and then withdrew. In 1814 he was a Sessions Justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas. From 1820 to 1822 he was an Associate Justice of the Court of Sessions for the county, and in 1823 became its Chief Justice. This station he filled with ability and firmness until 1828, when he retired from public business, receiving at the same time from Harvard College the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine.

With an iron constitution and health, up to his fiftieth year, untouched by disease, Dr. Cleaveland never laid aside the practice of his profession, however interrupted, but had extended it to all the neighboring towns. And until his death, in February, 1837, at the age of 77, he continued to serve, as their trusted physician, the community with which he had for fifty years identified himself by rare activity in every enterprise of moment. As a neighbor he was sought for his willing and judicious counsel, while his public career was marked throughout by good judgment, sound sense and solid worth.

He was twice married and left five children, among whom the eldest son, an honored graduate of Bowdoin, a distinguished educator, man of letters and Doctor of Laws, perpetuates his name and title.

Dr. Cleaveland's was one of those monumental characters which deserve study both for themselves and because they are typical of their times. Formed in our Revolutionary period, it was consolidated like the arch by the pressure which events imposed upon it. If his principles were austere, he applied them as rigidly to his own conduct as to his judgment of others. Thus he could in youth forego, without a murmur, the college training he had been promised, and, at the last, reject narcotics which would have spared him excruciating torture, because they might deaden his mental and moral sensibilities. Says the late Dr. Peirson, of Salem, in the *Medical and Surgical Journal*, "He was a much respected member of the Essex South District Medical Society. No man amongst us set a better example of professional integrity and honor. The few who could boast of his friendship will long remember with pleasure the virtuous and kind-hearted old man, whose influence was uniformly and efficiently exerted in support of good order and the true advancement of society."

Colonel Henry Whipple, the second and last president of the Eastern Stage Company, has left us so lately that the mention of his name is enough to recall a venerable presence and an exemplary life. He was born at Douglass, in Worcester County, June 24, 1789, and died in his eighty-first year, December 2, 1869. He served his apprenticeship with his brother

Charles, at Newburyport, and opened a book-store in the Franklin (then Archer's) Building, in Salem, October, 1810. For three-score years from that time, including part of that golden era when the story of Salem Commerce reads like an eastern fiction, Colonel Whipple was constant at his post, supplying our daring navigators with charts and books of travel,—our busy thinkers and bold projectors of enterprises distant and domestic with the best intelligence of the day. Said the *Danvers Wizard*, in July, 1861: "It would be difficult to point to a man now living so identified with the social, literary and denominational interests of Salem as is Colonel Whipple. In almost all the societies of a social and benevolent character he has been prominent and active. With the grace of native dignity and the bearing of a gentleman of the old school, the suavity of his manner attracted to his place of business the elevated and refined of Salem. His store was the resort and lounging place of all the eminent men of the past who have given a name to Salem in its modern history. Here met Bowditch, Story, Prince, Pickering, the elder Worcester, Barnard and Hopkins. Here Cummins discussed politics with Glen King and Saltonstall, while Dr. Flint and Judge White made criticisms on the last new book."

It was well said of Colonel Whipple that in his death Salem had lost one whom slander never touched, and who had probably never made an enemy,—his religious persuasion a consistent supporter,—the militia a veteran whose commissions bore date and expired before those of any officer now living,—and the Masonic body its oldest member. First from seniority on the roll of the Active Fire Club, and lately President of the Salem Dispensary,—a promoter in 1821 of the Salem and Danvers Association for Mutual Protection against Thieves and Robbers, as well as an active militiaman from his enlistment in the ranks of the Salem Light Infantry in 1811, until he resigned the command of the Artillery Regiment of Southern Essex, he was, in earlier as in later life, ready at all times for whatever service devolves upon the good citizen and Christian neighbor. At the close of the year 1869 he fell peacefully asleep at his home in Salem, after enjoying for a while a tranquil retrospect of the memories he was to leave behind.

The good old days of stage coach travel are over. Gone, too, are most of those to whom they owed their charm. The stage-driver,—that next best man, it was quaintly said, to the minister, out of jail,—we have no longer. The old stage houses are for the most part, as in London, closed and deserted, or stand, like the old Bell Tavern, "with a kind of gloomy sturdiness, amidst the modern innovations which surround them." Never again shall

"The windows of the wayside Inn
Across the meadows, bare and brown,
Gleam red with firelight through the leaves

Of woodbine, hanging from the eaves,
Their crimson curtains, rent and thin!"

Even the Ann Street Stage-House,—the very focus of New England travel,—has vanished, and the name of the street it stood on is fading out of mind! Never again, about its hospitable hearth, that well known company of "whips" shall gather for a parting pipe, when guests are dreaming, and night coaches in, and horses well-bestowed, and smouldering embers, in its ample fire-place, give a fitful, flickering light. I see them now, in their quaint old chairs, whiffs of smoke curling lazily about their cheerful, ruddy, weather-beaten faces,—heavy, wet jack-boots steaming on the hearth,—ample capes and top-coats slung dripping on the benches,—while they chat by turns and stir the fire and laugh at the storm. There sits burly Sam Robinson, telling how he served the sneak who stole a ride on the trunk-rack every day as the noon coach passed through Wenham, by driving into the pond at Peter's Pulpit, under pretence of watering his horses, and then making such vigorous application of the lash that whoso rode behind was glad to escape his parthian blows by dropping off into the water! Or little Jack Mendum mounts a chair to tell how he drove the "mail," and "something broke," and the hungry passengers were all out hurrying him on, and the neighbors bustled about, and he lost his patience, and making up in oaths what he lacked in stature, bid them all stand aside and let him manage, "for while I drive that mail, I am the United States of America!" Or Peter Ray recounts the driving of the first steel spring coach to Boston on its trial trip, freighted with the mechanics who were its builders, and what a stir it made on 'change! Or Major Shaw, blinded by his great popularity, utters his famous threat of running the railroad off the route, by opposition coaches! Or Woodbury Page enjoys the discomfiture of the Charlestown driver, who roughly asked him to "get his bean pot out of the way," when he was taking up a passenger from that city for Beverly, and he replied, "wait till I get the pork in!" Or they all debate, with the warmth of conviction, the relative merits of the northern and southern routes to the eastward, until Alex. Brown declares that stage routes to the east are like different creeds in religion, for all creeds lead to heaven, if faithfully followed,—upon which reticent little Conant taps his pipe on the great iron fire-dog, and as the ashes drop upon the hearth, puts it tenderly away in his waistcoat pocket, remarking that he would rather not go to heaven at all, if he must go by the Dover route, and retires to bed.

"Each had his tale to tell, and each
Was anxious to be pleased and please,
With rugged arts of humorous speech."

Never again, in that quaint old hostelry, shall

"The fire-light on their faces glance,
Their shadows on the wainscot dance."

And the coaches which once, says a writer in the

Lynn Reporter, "raised such a dust on the turnpike, night and day, that Breed's End knew no rest, and the road seemed made for their accommodation, so much at home were they on it in their day of glory," are all gone now. Over Essex Bridge, over the turnpike, through Salem streets, horse-cars now rumble and rattle with their growing freight. And at last the single coach, which brought us daily the dust and mail bags of Cape Ann, has disappeared forever. Never again shall we gather at the cottage gate, as the clatter of wheels and the cloud of dust approach, to welcome the aged parent,—the coming guest,—the daughter home from school. Never again shall we linger in the open doorway of a New England homestead, in tender parting with the young son setting out for sea, or on some distant westward venture,—to speed the lovers starting together on the life-long journey,—never again cast longing glances after that receding freight of dear ones, until at last the winding road and over-hanging elm trees part us, and we sit sadly down to listen,

"While faint from farther distance borne
Are heard the clanging hoof and horn."

Never again will the midnight watcher by the silent bedside hear the mail-stage arrive and go, leaving its messages of love and sorrow for the sleeping townsfolk, and sing, with Hannah Gould,

"The rattling of that reckless wheel
That brings the bright or boding seal
To crown thy hopes or end thy fears,
To light thy smiles or draw thy tears,
As line on line is read."

Famous levelers were these old stage coaches and masters in etiquette also! What chance-medley of social elements they brought about! What infinite attrition of human particles,—what jostling of ribs and elbows,—what 'contact inconvenient, nose to nose'! What consequent rounding and smoothing of angles and corners,—what a test of good-nature,—what a tax on forbearance,—what a school of mutual consideration! For how else could a dozen strangers consent to be boxed up and shaken together for a day, but upon condition that each was to exhibit the best side of his nature and that only!

To the next generation the old stage coach will be as shadowy and unreal a thing as were those which appeared, musty and shattered, to the uncle of the one-eyed Bagman in *Pickwick*, while he dozed at midnight in the Edinboro' courtyard. "My uncle," says the Bagman, in telling the story, "rested his head upon his hands and thought of the busy, bustling people who had rattled about years before in the old coaches and were now as silent and as changed. He thought of the numbers of people to whom one of those crazy, mouldering vehicles had borne, night after night, through all weathers, the anxiously expected intelligence, the eagerly looked for remittance, the promised assurance of health and safety, the sudden announcement of sickness and death. The mer-

chant, the lover, the wife, the widow, the mother, the school-boy, the very child who tottered to the door at the postman's knock,—how had they all looked forward to the arrival of the old coach! And where were they all now!"

CHAPTER IV.

SCIENCE IN ESSEX COUNTY.

BY JOHN ROBINSON.

IN the sketch here attempted of a collection of subjects which may be classified under the general head of scientific, no pretence is made of completeness of detail, or even that many points are not omitted which are as well worthy of notice as some others which are included. The breadth of the term scientific might easily be made to embrace much matter which can be more properly treated under the separate histories of this volume by writers more familiar with the individual worker or his special subject; nor will space be given to the scientific institutions of the county or their work, as they will be fully treated elsewhere. It will, therefore, only be undertaken to show, before directly taking up the subjects of natural history, the principal ground intended to be covered by this article, that in science of almost every sort Essex County has produced workers, and workers, too, of no mean order. In the special field of natural history a very remarkable amount has been accomplished, especially in the direction of local investigation, and, besides, the county offers noteworthy inducements to encourage students of the natural sciences.

There are many names, to which we may point with pride, of men who, at home and abroad, have received high honors, and, either by birth or residence, have added to the fame of Essex County. In medical science the name of Edward Augustus Holyoke, and in mathematics and astronomy those of Andrew Oliver, Nathaniel Bowditch and Benjamin Pierce, are remembered with gratitude and respect. In connection with the early established scientific institutions Essex County held a prominent place. The original membership of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences included seventeen names, which may be claimed as belonging to Essex County, and the initial volume of the memoirs of that institution published in 1785 was very largely composed of papers and communications from Essex County scientists. In chemistry many workers might be enumerated who have contributed their share towards the increase of general knowledge of the subject.

Dr. James R. Nichols of Haverhill, well known through his long connection with the "*Boston Journal of Chemistry*," of which he was the editor, has been a worker in science and a writer of note. Among his

published works are "Fireside Chemistry" and "Chemistry of the Farm," but the one which has probably arrested the most attention is a little volume printed in 1882, entitled "From Whence, What, Where?" which has already passed through several editions.

Mr. Chas. Toppan is conspicuous as the inventor of a very successful process for bleaching, and for the new products of petroleum which he has introduced, having also published accounts of his experiments. In this place should be mentioned the name of Francis Peabody, a patron of the sciences, who was among the first to become interested in the establishment of the "Lyceum" system of scientific lectures, and whose valuable library, ever open for the use of the earnest student, now enriches the shelves of the Essex Institute, of which, as well as the Peabody Academy of Science, he was president. In physical science the record is interesting. Moses G. Farmer, of Salem, the well-known electrician, was for many years connected with the United States Government torpedo station at Newport, R. I. Prof. Charles Grafton Page, in 1837, made experiments with magnetic currents and musical sounds, which excited much attention both in this country and abroad, and which paved the way to that great invention, the speaking telephone, which Prof. A. Graham Bell, a resident of Salem during the years of his experimenting, first publicly exhibited before a meeting of the Essex Institute in that city in 1877.

With these brief references to other branches of science, we will proceed to consider the natural history of the county and the work of students in its various departments.

GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.—The entire absence of fossils and the obscure nature of the rocks of the county render the study of these branches of science uninteresting to the beginner, who is usually attracted at first, and led to more serious study, by the beauty of the minerals or the curious forms of petrifications. It is, therefore, easy to explain the rather limited number of students of geology and mineralogy, as compared with those interested in zoology and botany. The work, too, in the county, although in many cases emanating from prominent sources, has been carried on by many different persons, no single student having attempted any general survey of the whole county, so that a thoroughly satisfactory account of the geology and mineralogy of the region cannot as yet be given.

A great number of papers and notices of local interest have been published in the scientific journals and proceedings of scientific societies; but as the larger portion of these refer to a region of which Boston is the centre, most of the work only covers the southern and eastern portions of Essex County. A very full list of published articles referring to the region of Eastern Massachusetts, collected by Professor M. E. Wadsworth and printed in the "Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History" (vol. xix. p. 217),

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includes upwards of ninety titles of articles in the "Memoirs and Proceedings of the American Academy," "Boston Journal of Philosophy and Arts," "American Journal of Science and Arts," "Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History" and the "Proceedings" and "Bulletin of the Essex Institute," of greater or less length, which relate more especially to the geology and mineralogy of Essex County. Many of these, articles are of course very brief and possess only a negative value, while others are communications of much interest and importance.

The list of writers of the earlier articles include the names of Dana, Agassiz, Hitchcock, C. T. Jackson, W. B. Rogers and Chas. Pickering, while the papers and notices of more recent date, outside of the local workers, include the names of N. S. Shaler, Alpheus Hyatt, T. Sterry Hunt, W. O. Crosby and M. E. Wadsworth. Among the residents of Essex County who have made these subjects a study and who have published the results of their work are Dr. Andrew Nichols, of Danvers; B. F. Mudge, Esq., and C. M. Tracy, of Lynn; J. J. Gregory, of Marblehead; Rev. S. Barden, of Rockport; Dr. H. C. Perkins and Alfred Osgood, of Newburyport; Rev. G. F. Wright, of Andover, and D. M. Balch, of Salem.

Taking the more recently published work as a guide, the following synopsis of the underlying rocks has been prepared by Mr. J. H. Sears, of the Peabody Academy of Science, as a provisional arrangement, but one which, however, a more careful study of the rocks of the county now in progress may in some respects require to be changed:

NORIAN.	| Naugus Head Series.
HURONIAN.	{ Syenite, Hornblende and Biotite, Peabody, Salem.
	{ Feldspar, Marblehead Neck, Lynn, Newbury.
	{ Diorite, Salem, Danvers, Peabody, Nahant, etc.
	{ Hornblende Gneiss, Salem Neck, Danvers, Beverly.
MONTANAN.	{ Limestone, Lynnfield, Danvers, Newbury.
	{ Gneiss, West Danvers, Andover.
	{ Mica Slate, Merrimac, Amesbury, Haverhill.
SHAWMUT.	{ Argillite, Middleton, Topsfield.
	| Amygdaloid, Saugus, River Parker, Newbury.
PRIMORDIAL.	{ Slate, River Parker, Newbury.
	{ Conglomerate, River Parker, Kent's Island.
	{ Trachyte, Marblehead Harbor.

The most conspicuous geological features of Essex County are the trap-dykes, of which fine specimens are to be seen at Nahant, Marblehead and Cape Ann, and the curious drift boulders which are met with in almost every part of the county, and which, together with the many wonderful glacial scratchings and groovings, offer a most favorable opportunity for the study of this epoch in geology.

Many of the drift boulders are of great size and are often found in most remarkable situations, projecting over ledges, mounted upon other stones or crowning the summits of the hills. Among the most noted boulders are Ship Rock, in Peabody, the estimated weight of which is eleven hundred

tons; Agassiz Rock, in Manchester; and Phaeton Rock, in the woods between Peabody and Lynn. Many of these, including some of several tons in weight, perched upon the bare hill-tops, may be rocked by the hand, some even by a child. Were some of these erratics in the grounds of any popular summer resort their fame would be heralded abroad and thousands flock to see them; but, as it is, the country boy, with his bare feet and berry pail, or the infrequent pedestrian on his woodland rambles are their only visitors.

Careful study is continually bringing to light minerals previously unknown in the county. Many of these, although insignificant in appearance, are of great interest to the student, and serve to show the relations between the characters of the Essex County rocks and those of other regions. The number of known or authentically reported minerals may be placed at fifty-nine species.

The most general interest is naturally attached to those minerals, chiefly the metals, of value in commerce or the arts. In the earliest colonial times bog iron was worked at Saugus, and later, at Topsfield and Boxford, it was taken out in two or three places for mechanical purposes. The history of the old iron-works at Saugus River is a very interesting one. They were started in 1643 and continued in operation under many difficulties until about 1688, but now only cinder-heaps, covered with soil and herbage, remain to tell of their existence. At these works labored Joseph Jenks, a native of Hammersmith, England, the founder of a prominent New England family. Jenks was an inventor of considerable note in his day and deserves to be remembered as one of the earliest men of scientific tendencies in the county. A bit of romance attaches itself to him as the engraver of several of the dies from which the famous Pine Tree shillings were struck off in 1652 and later. Iron pyrites had been mined in Boxford, and gold was at one time found in small quantities near Hood's Pond. The so-called Governor Endicott copper mine in Topsfield, has been worked within the century; but, probably, at a profit too small to warrant a continuance of operations. Serpentine at Saugus, Lynnfield and Newburyport has been quarried in small quantities for ornamental purposes and for the manufacture of magnesia.

But the most conspicuous effort, however, to turn our mineralogical resources to account was that at Newburyport, when the wave of speculation in lead and silver passed over the once valueless pastures of that locality. The result, not unexpected to the miner of more practical experience in other regions, although it may have placed profit in the hands of some of the original land-owners or speculators in land, proved of greater interest to the student for whom specimens were brought to hand without cost, than to those who were unfortunate enough to invest their capital in the enterprise with the hope of large

financial returns. All attempts thus far made in the direction of working our precious metals have resulted, as similar attempts in the future are likely to result, in small profit, if not actual loss. But aside from this, there is left, however, as the pride and prize of Essex County's geological and mineralogical resources, the solid granite whose mass not only assure us an enduring foundation and probably exemption from natural convulsions, but which, unquestionably, is to be looked upon as the mineral product of the greatest commercial value in the county.

OUR SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER.—From the fact that the geographical boundaries of Essex Co. are largely natural ones, it is possible to study its flora apart from that of surrounding regions, with much more satisfactory results than is usually the case in small areas of territory bounded by arbitrary lines. Indeed, with the exception of Barnstable County, Mass., where the ocean marks nearly its entire outline, no county in New England offers better opportunities for such work than our own. For the botanist, the Merrimac Valley to the northwest and the ocean on the northeast and southeast form most natural limits, while toward the south a solid mass of cities separate the county from the region beyond Boston, the flora of which shows many immediate and marked changes in character from that of Essex County. The southwestern boundary is, however, a less natural one, although the line of hills beginning at Chelsea and running through Melrose and Saugus to Wakefield and Reading forms a natural division between Essex and Middlesex a portion of the distance. The dividing line between these counties, where Andover and Methuen join Tewksbury and Dracut, is less satisfactory. This is but a short distance, however, and there is no marked difference in the character of the plants on the opposite sides of the line at this point.

BOTANY AND ZOOLOGY: GENERAL FEATURES.—Essex County contains upwards of fifty ponds rich in water and marsh plants, while the deep woods of Middleton, Boxford and Andover and those of Manchester and Essex closely resemble the interesting region at the base of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and with these woods the bare and rugged shores of Cape Ann form a striking contrast.

The land plants belong to the northern flora, and some mountain species may yet be found, while a paradox in the shrubby form of the *Magnolia glauca*, still abundant in the Gloucester swamps, offers a subject for speculation. The marine algae belong decidedly to the arctic flora, for the long arm of Cape Cod projecting into the ocean seems to form a natural barrier to the farther progress of southern species northward. At this point, too, the warm current of the Gulf Stream bears off to the eastward, while toward the shore, in Massachusetts Bay, the almost expended influence of the cold Labrador current is felt. A marked distinction is therefore found between the marine animals and plants north of Cape Cod and those

at the south of it, although in favorable situations, in warm nooks, some southern species are found north of this barrier, while some northern ones retain a foothold south of it, and there are certain cosmopolitan species which flourish in all waters.

It will be seen, therefore, that with the great variety of animals and plants which may be collected, and the natural limits which may be placed to the study of their distribution, attractions are offered which have proved sufficient to develop many students of botany and zoology at home, and to induce many others from abroad, among them some of the most eminent naturalists of the day, to come here to pursue their investigations.

Introduced Plants.—The early settlement of the county and numerous historical data available to the botanist render this a particularly favorable region to observe the introduced plants. Many species, such as the genista, barberry, white-weed and others of European origin, early established themselves in places where they now flourish to an extent it would seem difficult for them to exceed in their native lands. The natural fruits and vegetable productions, and such plants of the old country as could be made to succeed in this soil, were among the first things to which the colonists gave their attention, as early accounts amply testify, and thus we are, in many cases, able to trace the date of introduction of species now thoroughly naturalized. The study of these plants is aided by the little work entitled, "New England Rarities Discovered," by John Josselyn, an early traveler, who made several visits to this country, the most extended being from 1663 to 1671, when he seems to have given much attention to the native and introduced plants. A reprint of Josselyn's work, with notes by Professor Edward Tuckerman, is now available. In studying the Essex flora, it must be borne in mind that, by the clearing of the land and other great changes incident to the settlement, such native plants as were best able to endure these changes, and those which the changes favored, have now been given prominent places, while those which, at the time of the settlement, may have been abundant, but which were unable to endure the changed surroundings, are now scarce or have entirely disappeared. To the botanist all these questions add interest to the study of the local flora, and perhaps explain why the plants have received more continuous attention than either the animals or the minerals of the county.

The Native Plants.—The following table, taken from the catalogue of the flora of Essex County, published by the Essex Institute in 1880, with additional notes made from the herbarium of the Peabody Academy of Science, gives a fair idea of the material available for botanical study and the distribution of species among the different families, as well as the number of introduced plants to be found in the county:

Table showing the character of the plants, native and naturalized, growing in Essex County, Mass.

	Orders.	Genera.	Species.	Varieties.	Introduced from other portions of United States.	Introduced from foreign countries.	Native woody plants.	Native trees.
Exogens.....	85	371	855	36	39	216	157	47
Gymnosperms.....	1	7	17	.....	3	4	10	8
Endogens.....	17	124	372	38	6	41	1	...
Vascular Cryptogams.....	5	21	50	17	.....	1	.....	...
Muscin.....	2	59	161	12	.....	1	.....	...
Characeæ.....	2	2	9	3	.....	.....	.....	...
Thallophytes.....	3	115	312	41	.....	.....	.....	...
	115	699	1776	147	48	263	168	55

Total number of species recorded..... 1776

Species of Fungi (estimated)..... 1900

Species of fresh water Algae (estimated)..... 200

Diatomaceæ (estimated)..... 250

Total of all species recorded and estimated..... 3426

In this table the introduced plants enumerated are chiefly such as have become thoroughly established, although sometimes very locally. The Thallophytes include only the lichens, of which forty-five genera, one hundred and fifty-seven species, are recorded, and the marine algae, of which there are seventy genera, one hundred and fifty-four species. The fungi of the county have never been catalogued, owing to their great number and the difficulties attending their study; but, judging from the catalogues of other regions, it is quite probable that twelve hundred species would be a fair estimate of their number. Neither has any list been prepared of the Diatoms and Desmids, a numerous class, which, together with a large part of the fungi, are microscopic, and, although numerous in species, possess but little value in considering the flora as a whole, or the general distribution or character of the plants of the county.

Prominent Botanists.—The study of botany in Essex County, it may be said in New England, properly dates from the time of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, at the close of the last century. Early writers, as Francis Higginson, John Josselyn, William Wood, John Winthrop and others, refer to the native fruits and flowers. Josselyn published the well-known "New England Rarities Discovered," previously referred to, and Higginson, in a letter written from Salem in 1629-30 (Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. 1, p. 121), speaks of the "Flowering Mulberry," or raspberry, and "Chervil," or sweet Cicely, as growing near Salem in places where, certainly until a few years, these interesting historical plants still flourished. None of these writers can, however, be considered as Essex County botanists, and it is not until the close of the American Revolution that we find any serious or scientific study given to the plants of the county. Manasseh Cutler, of Hamilton, after his varied services of Revolutionary chaplain, lawyer, doctor, pastor, reformer and pioneer, found time to prepare, in 1783-84, as the title of his paper says, "An account of the vegetable production growing in this

part of America, botanically arranged." This was published in the first volume of the "Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences," which was printed in 1785, where some three hundred and fifty species of flowering plants were described, and several important scientific points suggested, which have been since adopted in botanical treatises. Dr. Cutler's paper bears the date of presentation, January 26, 1784, and it was his intention to extend the work, several manuscript volumes now being in existence prepared toward this end.

Following Cutler came Dr. George Osgood and Dr. Andrew Nichols, both of Danvers. The former contributed notes for "Bigelow's *Florula Bostoniensis*," and published a partial list of plants in the vicinity of Danvers and Salem; and the latter delivered, in 1816, a series of lectures on botany, the first of such ever given in this neighborhood. Dr. Nichols was one of the founders of the Essex County Natural History Society, and for some years its president, and he thus had an important influence on local botanical work. In 1823 two young men, both destined to be long remembered on account of their contributions to botanical knowledge, began their work in Essex County. These were William Oakes, of Danvers, later of Ipswich, and Charles Pickering, then spending much of his time at the homestead of his grandfather, Colonel Timothy Pickering, at Wenham.

Oakes, disgusted with law, his chosen profession, became the first critical botanist of the region, and at this time converted Dr. Pickering from entomology and conchology, studies he had first chosen, to botany. Oakes botanized with Pickering extensively in Essex County, particularly in the Great Swamp, Wenham, a region then almost in its primitive wildness. He afterwards prepared a list of Vermont plants for Thompson's history of that State, and had in contemplation a work on the plants of New England, which, owing to the appearance of Beck's Botany, was never completed. His most elaborate work was a folio volume on White Mountain scenery, illustrated by Sprague, which, however, was not published until after his death, in 1848. Oakes was impulsive and generous, and thoroughly in earnest in his favorite study. Like many men of note, he was little appreciated while living, yet no monument could have been erected to make his memory more cherished and his labors more respected by the present generation of botanists than that which he left behind,—an extensive collection of beautifully prepared botanical specimens determined with faultless accuracy, a portion of which formed the nucleus of the present county botanical cabinet, now in the hands of the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem.

Professor Tuckerman dedicated to him a pretty little plant common in the region of Plymouth, but as this was afterwards transferred to another genus, the name "*Oakesia*" has been given to the spring bellwort, a common Essex County plant, by Professor

Watson, of Cambridge, who, in his revision of the Liliaceæ, has thus named it to perpetuate the memory of William Oakes.

In 1838 Dr. Pickering was appointed naturalist to the United States (Wilkes) Exploring Expedition, and, to perfect his knowledge of animals and plants in foreign countries, he made extensive journeys after his return from that expedition. He was the author of several works of great value, the production of which required untiring research. Among them are the "Geographical Distribution of Animals and Plants" and the "Chronological History of Plants," the latter occupying the last sixteen years of his life in its preparation.

It is but right that Essex County should claim a share of the honor of his name, for it was here that his attention was drawn to the study of botany, and in the "Chronological History of Plants," page 1063, we find the following entry: "1824. In this year, after an excursion in 1823 with William Oakes, diverting my attention from entomology, (I made) my first botanical discovery." Dr. Pickering retained the deepest interest in botanical work in Essex County until his death, which occurred at Boston March 17, 1878.

The work of the Essex Institute from its foundation, in 1848, following that of the Essex County Natural History Society, from which it was in part developed, was largely devoted to botany and horticulture, a leading speaker at its meetings and contributor to its publications being Rev. John Lewis Russell, who made his home in Salem in 1853.

Mr. Russell devoted himself principally to cryptogamic botany, publishing accounts of his investigations from time to time as he proceeded. He was, besides, the author of many popular articles on various families of plants. He lectured frequently on botany, and was for many years vice-president of the Essex Institute, and contributed much to the general knowledge of botany in Essex County, but his most extensive collections were made in other places.

Among the earlier published catalogues of the plants of portions of the county was the "Studies of the Essex Flora," by Mr. Cyrus M. Tracy, of Lynn. This was intended to give a list of the flowering plants found in the neighborhood of Lynn, and enumerated five hundred and forty-six species. Besides possessing a very happy gift as a botanical lecturer, Mr. Tracy has contributed several valuable articles upon local botany to the publications of the Essex Institute and elsewhere.

At the evening and field meetings of the Essex Institute many papers on botanical subjects have been presented, including, in addition to those previously referred to, contributions from George D. Phippen, S. B. Buttrick, John Robinson and John H. Sears, of Salem; Rev. A. B. Alcott, of Boxford; Miss Mary N. Plumer, of Newburyport; Miss H. A. Paine, of Groveland; and others. Many students of

botany are distributed throughout the county, and numerous private herbaria have been formed, and, at the rooms of the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem, a large and valuable collection of the plants of Essex County is accessible to botanists. Special work has been done by several authors and collectors outside of the county, who have either visited this region to study the plants, or who have made comparative observation from specimens sent to them from the county for the purpose. W. H. Harvey visited Nahant about 1850 to study the marine algæ in preparing his famous work, "*Nereis Boreali-Americana*," which was published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1852-57. Professor W. G. Farlow, in his "*Algæ of New England*," and in his monograph of the *Gymnosporangia*, includes the Essex County species studied by him at various stations. Dr. B. D. Halstead and Dr. T. F. Allen have studied the *Characæ*, and have published articles on the species; Mr. F. S. Collins has carefully studied the marine algæ, Mr. C. E. Faxon the grasses, sedges and mosses, and Mr. C. J. Sprague the lichens. Rev. A. B. Hervey, now of Taunton, worked almost entirely in Essex County in preparing his "*Collector's Guide and Introduction to the Study of Marine Algæ*." Nearly all of the work of Essex County botanists has been systematic; at least little, if anything, in the way of original research has been published by any county author in relation to the physiology or morphology of plants.

Horticulture.—In horticulture, a science too seldom treated as such, the citizens of Essex County have furnished valuable contributions. The establishment of the Essex Agricultural Society and the horticultural department of the Essex Institute have doubtless fostered the interest which has been shown from the earliest date in this subject, and which at times has been given considerable prominence in the county. There are several names worthy to be mentioned as promoters of the science of horticulture. Robert Manning, of Salem, whose death in the midst of his labors occurred in 1842, at one time cultivated in his own gardens, for the purpose of critical comparison, nearly one thousand varieties of pears, together with other fruits, sufficient to make the total of two thousand varieties, several of which he originated. John Fisk Allen, as early as 1843, produced some valuable varieties of grapes, the famous "*Allen's Hybrid*" being one of the number, and during the years of his experimenting in horticulture he tested the large number of four hundred varieties of grapes under glass. Mr. Allen was the first person in New England and the second in the United States to successfully cultivate the great water lily of South America (*Victoria regia*), which he flowered in Salem in 1853, and later he published, at great expense, a superbly illustrated folio work on its habits and cultivation. Between 1830 and 1877 Mr. Geo. Haskell, of Ipswich, made many scientific experiments in the culture of the grape by grafting, inarching and hybridization,

the results of which he published in pamphlet form in 1877. During this time Mr. Haskell produced several hardy hybrid grapes of acknowledged merit. Beginning in 1861 and continuing for several years afterward, Mr. Edward S. Rogers, of Salem, by a strictly scientific experiment, the result of excellent botanical knowledge, produced the famous hybrids between the native fox grape and the more tender hot-house varieties, known as the "*Rogers' Grapes*." These have given to cultivators a class of hardy grapes of rare excellence and world-wide reputation, and have won for the originator the gold medal of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, the highest award of the most eminent institution of its character in America.

Zoology.¹—Though Essex County has been a favorite collecting ground for naturalists for many years, exact statistics of its fauna are lacking. For this there are several reasons, the most prominent of which is that in recent years students have failed to record the results of their researches. Thus, of the mollusks, no catalogue has been published for half a century, while not a single group of insects has been thoroughly worked up. In fact, the only group concerning which we have definite statistical knowledge is that of the vertebrates, where we have, thanks to the labors of Messrs. Goode and Bean, of the United States National Museum, a catalogue of all the fishes that are known within the county limits, and the excellent catalogue of the birds by F. W. Putnam, which, although the work of his youth, has required but few corrections to bring it up to the present time. Of the other vertebrates, the turtles, snakes and batrachians are comparatively few in number and fairly well known, while to the knowledge of the existing mammals but little can be added, although a very interesting chapter could be written upon those which have disappeared, and whose story must be looked for in the early colonial records and the Indian shell-heaps. We have many catalogues of New England animals, but it is a difficult task for a student to predict from these exactly what forms will be found in a certain restricted region. Thus the land forms to be found in Northern Maine or on the White Mountains would differ greatly from those occurring near the shore of Long Island Sound, and from neither could we exactly tell those which would be found in Essex County. In the marine fauna, too, a similar difficulty is noted, for Cape Cod divides the animals occurring in the salt water into two groups, each with its own facies, although there are of course many species which occur on either side of that barrier.

The following estimate of the number of species, although but rudely approximate, may serve as a guide for the present and until further published

¹The writer is largely indebted to Prof. J. S. Kingsley, of the State University of Indiana, formerly a special student at the Peabody Academy of Science at Salem, for the account of this branch of the natural history of the county.

work shall furnish us with accurate figures (in some groups there are almost no data to base any conclusions upon, while others, however, are comparatively well known):

Sponges.....	20	
Cœlenterates.....	100	
Echinoderms.....	30	
Molluscoides.....	60	
Mollusca.....	390	
Worms.....	225	
Crustacea.....	250	
Insects.....	2500	
<i>Vertebrates:</i>		
Ascidia.....	20	
Fishes.....	160	
Batrachia.....	18	
Reptiles.....	22	
Birds.....	206	
Mammals.....	41	517
		4102

In the above estimate both the fresh water and marine fauna are included. Of the simplest forms of animal life, the Protozoa, no account is made for the reason that absolutely nothing is known of them beyond the fact that the species are very abundant; every stagnant pool has its population, while the mud near the shore is actually alive with them. Inconspicuous as they are, they play an important part in the food supply of many of the economic fishes, as well as in destroying still smaller forms which might otherwise be injurious to human health. Of the sponges of the county but little is known; many of them are inconspicuous, and none are of value for the ordinary purposes for which sponges are used, as all lack that resilience of fibre characteristic of commercial sponges. The finest examples of sponges in Essex County have been found on the piles of Essex bridge.

The marine worms are very abundant, and furnish a large amount of food for fishes. While the ordinary conception of a worm is that of a disgusting animal, many of the marine worms are marvels of beauty both in shape and color. In this respect however they must yield to some of the Cœlenterates, a group which includes the jelly-fish, sea-anemones and those other flowers of the sea which the naturalist calls hydroids. None of these, however, have the economic importance possessed by some of the mollusks and crustacea, groups which furnish the oyster, clam and lobster.

The insects are almost solely terrestrial and, as will be seen from the above table, include over half the total number of species occurring in the county. Of these the beetles are the most numerous in species, it being estimated that from twelve to fifteen hundred can be found within the boundaries. Next in numerical importance come the flies and bugs, followed in turn by the bees and ants on the one hand, and the butterflies and moths on the other, the remaining forms of insects being few in number of species. The vertebrates are so well known that they need no further mention than the figures against the different orders in the table above.

The marine fauna of Essex County is decidedly northern. The majority of the species found along the coast range north to the British provinces, and not a few may be collected on the shores of Europe, making the passage by the way of the Arctic seas. A smaller number range southward and pass the boundary line of Cape Cod, though but few extend in this direction beyond the Jersey shore. The land animals are likewise northern in character, and Essex County may be regarded as a portion of the "Alleghanian region" of the "Eastern province" of zoological geography.

Several localities in the county have become famous as zoological centres, either from the students who have lived near them or from the profusion of the material they offer for study. To the first category belongs Salem, for the Essex Institute and the Peabody Academy of Science have drawn many zoologists hither. Here Wheatland, Putman, Packard, Hyatt, Morse, Emerton and Cooke have labored, while for several years students came from all parts of the country to attend the Academy's Summer School of Biology. Salem may also rank among the places of the other group, for there are few spots on the whole New England coast which furnish better collecting ground than that around Essex (Beverly) Bridge, where the number of species to be found is very large, although indiscriminate collecting would soon deplete it. Next in order is Nahant where the Agassizs, father and son, with their assistants and pupils, did so much to enlarge our knowledge of the marine life. More lately Annisquam has come into prominence through the laboratory there established in 1881 by Professor Hyatt and maintained by the Women's Educational Society of Boston.

The interest in zoological studies has been fostered by the various scientific societies within the county, the most prominent among which are the Essex Institute and the Peabody Academy of Science of Salem. Besides these may be enumerated the Lynn Natural History Society, the Cape Ann Literary and Scientific Society, at Gloucester, the Danvers Natural History Society, the Bradford Natural History Society, the West Newbury Natural History Society, the Merrimac Natural History Society, of Amesbury, and the Cuvier Club, of Salem, which last, although composed entirely of young people, gives promise of good results. For two years the United States Fish Commission made Essex County the centre of its explorations, contributing much information of value, especially in relation to the deep-water animals.

The fauna of Essex County has been made the subject of several studies, some of which are worthy of mention in the present sketch. Professor Hyatt has studied the sponges; the Agassizs, father and son, and the late H. J. Cook have investigated the radiates the development of the worms has been studied by Alexander Agassiz and Charles Girard; the mollusca have been investigated by John Lewis Russell

William Stimpson and Edward S. Morse; Professor Morse, also, was the first author to point out the true position of the brachiopods among the worms, his theory now being adopted by the most eminent scientists. The crustacea and their development have been studied by A. S. Packard and J. S. Kingsley; the harvestmen have been described by H. C. Wood, and J. H. Emerton has made and published researches on the spiders. Among the insects, the work of A. S. Packard, S. H. Scudder and F. W. Putman deserves mention. J. S. Kingsley has described the development of one of the ascidians, while among the fishes the papers of G. B. Goode and T. H. Bean and of F. W. Putman upon the species, and the investigations of J. S. Kingsley, H. W. Conn and B. H. Vantleck upon the development, should not be omitted. F. W. Putman has studied the reptiles and birds, furnishing the list of county species published in the proceedings of the Essex Institute previously referred to. The birds have also been investigated by Dr. Elliot Coues.

In spite of the work above referred to, and the excellence, even eminence, of many of the workers, the field is so large and the supply of materials so great that there still remains an enormous amount of work to be accomplished before a knowledge which may be termed exact is obtained of the animals of the county.

ARCHÆOLOGY.—In archæology, a study but recently given its proper position among the sciences, considerable work has been done in the county. The surface relics of the race which formerly occupied this territory have long been observed, and, in a few instances, preserved specimens of the so-called axes, celts and arrow-heads were placed in the East India Museum in Salem as early as 1802, and examples were figured in the first volume of the American Academy, published in 1785, from the cabinet of that institution. But it is only in comparatively recent years that any scientific observations have been made in relation to the graves, village sites and shell-heaps of this early race. Much has been written of late, speculative and otherwise, in relation to the pre-historic people, which may be read by those desiring to form opinions as to the correctness of the various theories advanced, but it is sufficient here to say that the most reasonable theories point to the Algonquin Indians of the region at the time of the settlement of this country, and their direct ancestors, as the people who fashioned the implements of stone, bone and clay which are daily turned up by the plough and occasionally met with in graves and shell-heaps. Yet it is reasonable to accept the theory that another and earlier race once occupied the country, perhaps the ancestors of the Esquimaux, even ruder in their way than the Indians, and who, being driven to the North by a more aggressive race, left their relics behind, which are now found confused with those of later date. It was supposed formerly that the shell-heaps found all along our coast were natural deposits, and not until recently

were they connected with the early inhabitants of the county. Professor Jeffrys Wyman, of Cambridge, investigated the shell-heaps at Ipswich, with Putnam, Cooke and Morse, and later these investigations have been continued by many others.

The most interesting result of the study of these shell-heaps is perhaps that learned from the examination of a very old deposit at Ipswich, composed of shells of the oyster, a species now practically extinct along our shore, but which at the time of the deposit of this shell-heap must have been very abundant. From the relics there found, it was clearly shown that cannibalism was practiced by the people who left us this record of their existence. In 1867 Mr. J. F. Le Baron prepared a map of the shell-heaps on Castle Neck, Ipswich, and throughout the county are numerous collections of so-called "Indian relics," most of which may be classed as "surface-finds," owned by private individuals and public institutions. The largest collection of pre-historic relics is that of the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem, which numbers several thousand specimens and includes many objects from graves and shell-heaps, besides skeletons and crania.

Besides the work of Wyman, Putnam and others and the articles published by the Essex Institute on this subject, Dr. Abbott, of New Jersey, has made some field observations here and has published in his work entitled "Primitive Industry" much of interest in relation to the local archæology, besides giving figures of specimens collected in Essex County. Professor Morse, of the Peabody Academy, during his visit to Japan, made several explorations in connection with the archæology of that country, the results of his work being published in the memoirs of the University of Tokio, Japan.

Archæology is now one of the most progressive among the sciences, and one of Essex County's gifted sons, Professor Frederick W. Putnam, formerly of Salem, now Peabody Professor of Archæology and director of the Archæological Museum at Cambridge, profiting by his early training as a zoologist, is for the first time teaching the country the proper and only way of exploring the mysterious mounds of the West.

It will be seen by this sketch that a large portion of the scientific work has centered in and around Salem. This is undoubtedly due to the facilities there offered for study. Museums and scientific institutions had early become established in Salem, and many society and private libraries and microscopes were available. But with the interest in these subjects and the establishment of good lecture courses and libraries in nearly every city and town, natural history and scientific clubs and societies have sprung up in various parts of the county, and students of natural history may now be found at every hand, both collectors and those who are pursuing their studies of the minerals, the fauna or the flora, without forming collections.

CHAPTER V.

THE SPIRIT OF THE EARLY LYCEUMS.

BY ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

TIMOTHY CLAXTON was born in Norfolk, England, August 22, 1790. His father was a gardener, in the service of the Windham family, at Earsham Hall. Neither his father nor his mother could read or write, but, with the generous aid of the Honorable Mrs. Windham, the mistress of the house, they were enabled to educate their children. Timothy was from boyhood a marked character, and, as a young man, identified himself with the great movement for the general diffusion of knowledge, which, under the lead of Henry Brougham and other less conspicuous and comprehensive minds, swept over England and Scotland in the third decade of the present century. It was in the year 1823 that the so called "Mechanics' Institutes" began to attract the attention of all classes in Great Britain by their marked success. In that year, Claxton, who had spent some time in Russia, engaged in the introduction of gas-works, sailed from St. Petersburg and landed at Boston, whence, in September, he removed to Methuen, in this County, and connected himself with the machine-shop of a cotton-mill established by Stephen Minot, of Haverhill, at Spicket Falls, and at that time operated under the supervision and agency of the afterwards well-known political economist and writer, Amasa Walker.

In detailing, in his autobiography entitled the "Memoir of a Mechanic," the years passed in Methuen, this remarkable man says :

"In the spring of 1824 an opportunity offered itself for me to attempt the formation of a society for mutual improvement. A small society, for reading and general inquiry, had existed for about five years in the village, and was at a very low ebb at that time. I attended it and found a respectable number of both sexes, assembled at the house of one of the members. They were engaged in reading by turns, and the president put questions to them as they proceeded. I inquired what other exercises they had. He told me that was all, except an annual address by the president. I asked if it would not be well to try the debating of questions and familiar lectures on science and the arts. He thought well of it. I told him I thought they need not be afraid, for I had seen persons engaged in such exercises whose opportunities were inferior to theirs. I was asked if I could give them a lecture. I said I would try, and prepared myself accordingly. I had brought a small air-pump with me from Russia, which I made from a piece of gas-tubing, with a ground brass plate, on a mahogany stand. I bought a few glass articles, which I ground to fit the pump-plate, with a little sand and water, on the hearth-stone of my room. I procured a small wash tub and fitted a shelf to it, for a pneumatic cistern. In this way I succeeded, with a very simple apparatus, in explaining the mechanical and some of the chemical properties of air. This put new life into the society. Their constitution was revised, to make provision for a library and apparatus. Debating was introduced with success, and the ladies handed in compositions which were read at the meetings. Several members were prevailed upon to give lectures on subjects connected with their professions or callings. I served as vice-president for the remainder of my stay in the town, and took an active part. The society became too large for the members' houses. It tried the School-House and then the Tavern Hall, but, not satisfied with either, built a two-story building for its own use, and continued to prosper. It held weekly meetings, with a routine of exercises for the month, comprising, for the first week, Reading by all ; for the second, Reading by one member specially designated ; for the third, Original Lectures, and for the fourth, Discussion."

Here we have germinating, in the spring of 1824, in Essex County, the root-idea of the American Lyceum. The society, which Claxton left behind him well-established in Methuen, when, in October, 1826, he removed to Boston, possessed every characteristic feature of the novel organization now to be described, and which, under the new name of "Lyceum," soon to be applied to it by another, was about to challenge the approval and enlist the interest, and even the enthusiasm of the best minds in the country. I have been thus minute in describing Claxton's enterprise, because no earlier date than this can be assigned to the origin of the Lyceum system in America. On his removal to Boston, he became well known for his mechanical ingenuity, his large scientific attainments and his whole-souled devotion to the diffusion of useful knowledge. He at once associated himself with Josiah Holbrook, who had just come there from Connecticut, and with other kindred spirits and before the end of the year 1826 had established the "Boston Mechanics' Institution." In 1829 he bore an active part in the formation of the first Boston Lyceum, and in 1831, with Holbrook and others, established the "Boston Mechanics' Lyceum," of which, for the next five years, Claxton was chosen president. Finally, having inherited an estate in England, he returned thither to enjoy it, and there closed his life. In 1839 he issued, from the London press, a book of "Hints on Self-Education," of which the *London Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal* remarked, in a strain of high commendation, that "it had all the ease and simplicity of De Foe, and the exemplary utility of Franklin."

Dr. George A. Perkins, of Salem, who passed his early years in Boston, well remembers Claxton as a valued friend of his boyhood, always genial, gracious and kind, who would interrupt his work, not for hours merely, but for days, in order that some willing-minded youth might not go unenlightened.

Attention was first publicly called to the general practicability of organizations like this in an anonymous article which appeared in the October number of the *American Journal of Education* for 1826. It proved to have been written by one Josiah Holbrook, an *alumnus* of Yale College and a native of Derby, Conn., born in 1788. Mr. Holbrook afterwards became well known as an enthusiastic devotee of popular education in all its phases. At different periods of his career he was a lecturer upon science, a maker of school apparatus, and a compiler of school textbooks, and in 1824 was conducting at Derby an agricultural and manual-labor school, in which he had, in some measure, anticipated the modern theory of object-teaching. His scheme for "Associations of Adults for Mutual Education," as he called them, the name "Lyceum" being only applied a little later, was introduced to public notice in a guarded editorial indorsement as "of uncommon interest," as "important in a political point of view," as "intimately con-

nected with the diffusion of intelligence and with the elevation of character among the agricultural and mechanic classes," as "a sure preventive of those insidious inroads of vice which are ever ready to be made on hours of leisure and relaxation." With such high hopes, prompted by motives so unmistakably humane, ingenuous and noble, did the pioneers in this unique undertaking make their modest, though confident appeal to public favor!

On January 7, 1879, the Concord Lyceum commemorated its fiftieth anniversary. The first name on its original roll and its first president had been the venerable and Reverend Dr. Ripley, the Revolutionary sage who had, from his study window in the Old Manse, watched his parishioners defending the bridge on that fateful day when there

"The embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world!"

The last of the original signers of its constitution had been Judge Hoar, then a lad of twelve, now become a personage of the first distinction, introduced in 1870 by Emerson to Carlyle, as "a friend whom you saw in his youth, now an inestimable citizen in this State, and lately in President Grant's Cabinet, Attorney-General of the United States. He lives in this town and carries it in his hand."

Naturally called on to speak on such an occasion, Judge Hoar remarked:—

"The Lyceum began, as most things do that are good, by the gratuitous labors of an enthusiast, Mr. Josiah Holbrook, of Boston, a man who was interested in geology and mineralogy, and went about the State delivering lectures upon these subjects, and urging the people of the cities and towns to form Lyceums for popular education. His scheme embraced a good deal. He persuaded the people of various towns and cities, of Boston, and Charlestown, and Salem, and Worcester, and many of the smaller towns of the commonwealth to start his Lyceums. There has been but one, however, that has grown up into anything like the proportions of the institution which he contemplated and recommended, and that is the Essex Institute at Salem. It has, as he proposed each Lyceum should have, a large library, an extensive collection of objects in natural history, cabinets of mineralogy, having courses of lectures, and the members dividing themselves into sections for the prosecution of the study of history, science and art."

The large expectations entertained of Holbrook's novel scheme will appear from the contemporary expressions of its prime mover and his coadjutors, and from the sympathetic utterances of the journals of the day. There was nothing new in the Debating Club, the Social Library, the Literary Circle, the Union for General Inquiry and for Scientific Research. These had long been known, and in one form or another had sprung into a sporadic life in all the active centres of the world. Paris and London had not been without them for centuries, and Franklin had, just a hundred years before, established his "Junto," where the select coterie of a dozen friends, picked from his "ingenious acquaintance," who spent Friday evenings at the Ale House in Philadelphia in 1727, discussed curious queries on points of morals, politics or natural philosophy, propounded a week in advance of their consideration, heard original essays

from each member in turn, and finally established a "lending library,"—the germ of the American Philosophical Society. But the idea of combining the functions of libraries and literary, scientific and debating clubs all in one body—of throwing the doors wide open and inviting in all who would assume their share of the work—of systematically organizing such clubs in every village and hamlet and then, for mutual encouragement and help, joining them all in a common league together, was indeed a new conceit, and if impracticable in its details, was not unworthy of that formative period which preceded Boards of Education, Normal Schools and Teachers' Institutes and Conventions,—the day of slow mails, stage-coach travel, rare newspapers, scant amusements and unsystematic teaching, before the cylinder-press, the electric telegraph, the locomotive engine, the submarine cable and the ocean steamer had made the world one family,—the day which ushered in our "revival of learning," when the depressions resulting from two wars waged to effect our independence of Great Britain were happily over, when a distinctly American literature was beginning to show itself in the writings of Dana, Bryant, Irving, Cooper and Halleck, when Mann and his co-workers were just extorting from the close-locked Teutonic intelligence the secrets of the Prussian school system for the advantage of our new republic, when Bancroft, Everett, Ticknor and Hedge were just returning from their first taste of German University culture, burthened like honey-bees with their delicious store, and when the English speaking peoples on both sides of the water seemed suddenly waking up to the consciousness as of newly discovered truth in the now familiar postulate that democratic government, while it is the safest and most stable of all if it rest on generally diffused intelligence, becomes, when based on prevailing ignorance, the most intolerable of despotisms.

Holbrook's confidence in his scheme was contagious because it was enthusiastic and exuberant. He supposed the Lyceum system would rapidly pervade the country and ultimately the world at large. "It seems to me," he said in his original prospectus, "that if associations for mutual instruction in the sciences and other branches of useful knowledge could once be started in our villages, and upon a general plan, they would increase with great rapidity and do more for the general diffusion of knowledge and for raising the moral and intellectual taste of our countrymen than any other expedient which can possibly be devised. And it may be questioned if there is any other way to check the progress of that monster, intemperance, which is making such havoc with talents, morals and everything that raises man above the brute, but by presenting some object of sufficient interest to divert the attention of the young from places and practices which lead to dissipation and to ruin."

In this initial article and in the subsequent allusions to the subject with which the public press and

educational periodicals fairly teemed, the general mechanism of the proposed organization is sufficiently disclosed. Each "Association of Adults for Mutual Improvement" was to have its president, secretaries, treasurer, curators and other needful functionaries and also three delegates to meet, twice a year, delegates from other branches of the organization in the same county, for the furthering of its various objects, especially "for qualifying teachers." And this board of delegates for the county, duly organized, shall appoint a representative to meet representatives from other like boards, who shall be styled the "Board of Mutual Education for the State." These State boards are to organize in turn, to meet annually for certain prescribed functions, and to send delegates to a general conclave embracing the whole country, whose permanent headquarters were ultimately to be established at Washington. The society was to be open to all adults of both sexes who were willing to share its labors and its cost, and the monies accruing from fees for admittance or from the generosity of patrons were to be applied to the purchase of books, cabinets, philosophical and scientific apparatus, the collection and exchange among the Lyceums of the country of specimens in botany mineralogy and natural history, the preparation and publication of town and county maps and histories and the observing and communicating through publication and correspondence of atmospheric, meteorological and climatic phenomena, the chemical analysis of soils, the character of quarries, minerals and mines, and such other facts of importance as might from time to time come to the knowledge of the corresponding secretaries. Funds might also be applied to the aid of institutions for "practical instruction," and even to the help of deserving aspirants in pursuing the higher branches of study. In science "classes" were to be formed, each choosing its "foreman," and conducting its investigations in its own way, and each in turn occupying the floor on its allotted night and claiming the attention of the whole Lyceum, be it in geology, astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry or mechanics. The plan of itinerant, migratory or perambulating libraries was commended to the attention of counties and towns. This plan consisted in combining the funds devoted by several neighboring towns to the purchase of books for general circulation, so that more books should be obtained for the money expended and no duplicates bought. Thus each town in a group, say of five towns for instance, would take possession of one fifth of the books purchased, keep them for an agreed period and pass them on to the next town of the group, receiving a second fifth at the expiration of the stipulated term. But in the estimation of the projectors of the Lyceum the library in all its forms had failed as a stimulant to independent thinking amongst the mass of the people. Some more pungent flavor must be imparted to general education. This was to be effected through the immediate contact and clashing

of mind with mind in neighborly bouts over issues of real, living, dominating importance. Questions upon which all the townspeople had finally to pass were to be debated before all the town by friends and neighbors who had serious convictions, *pro* and *contra*, as to how these questions ought to be determined. Moreover, scholarship was seen to possess intrinsic and inherent values of its own, quite aside from the consideration it buys. Why, it was asked, may not all men enjoy these in equitable measure? The locking up of learning in cloisters and colleges had been denounced by our forefathers from the first, as among the "wiles of Satan." Why not seize, perforce, upon the cherished heir-loom of the schools? If eloquence and culture, if the gifts of tongue and pen and the power of deep thinking were precious boons, entitling the possessor to the deference they claimed, why, it was impatiently asked, might they not be more evenly distributed? If science and the arts really conduced to the amelioration of mankind, why be longer indebted for their blessings to a few favored devotees? Why not snatch them for ourselves? Was it the spirit of the Renaissance and the Reformation abroad again? Or was it rather the error of the French Encyclopedists masquerading in a new disguise? It was no spirit of hostility or jealousy towards the higher learning, for it assumed that happiness was possible in the ratio of the learning attained. It was not proposed to raze the citadel, but only to assault its keep and divide its hoarded treasure. It was an uprising in behalf of more light. Perhaps it was the socialistic principle applied to culture. Perhaps it was communism in brain-food and brain products. It wandered far away from its English prototype,—so far that we find Sir Thomas Weise, a British member of Parliament, discussing the doings of the National Lyceum of America in 1831, with a view to adapt its methods to the needs of the Mechanics' Institutes of England. Holbrook claimed it as a thoroughly American product, and it certainly seemed well suited to the genius of the country, for it was democratic in spirit and republican in form; it was free and voluntary and spontaneous in its origin; it was elastic and self-adapting in its organization; it was social and humanizing in its aims, and kept before it the great and dignified cause of self-culture and mutual improvement, while it certainly might claim continental scope and dimensions, after its first national meeting in 1831, when no less than eight or nine hundred town Lyceums were reported in different parts of the country, with fifty or sixty county Lyceums, as well as several State organizations. The end showed that vitality resided in the town Lyceums and not in the attempted confederations of them.

The reader who finds it hard to recognize in all these anticipations the lyceum of actual fact as we have known it for the last half-century, may easily reconcile himself to the truthfulness of the picture I

have drawn by a little study of the journals of the day,—by an examination of the score of articles which appeared in the first five volumes of the *American Journal of Education*,—and by a passing glance at the state of opinion and conditions of life which prevailed in the New England of 1820–30.

When Claxton was lecturing on air before his townsmen of Methuen, there was not a rod of steam railway in existence. That potent leveling and centralizing agency had not begun its work. The question was still an open one whether horse-power or steam would ultimately prove the better motor for the new roadways already being provided with rails of wood, iron and stone. And it was only in 1828–29 that the Stephensons succeeded in applying the tubular boiler to the traction engine “Rocket,” and that the triumph of steam was established. The first locomotive-engine which invaded Essex County ran on a spur track laid by the Boston and Lowell corporation to Andover in 1833, and to Haverhill in 1835. The Eastern Railroad reached Salem in 1838. Topsfield was, up to this time, the recognized centre of the county, and its Academy Hall and its famous Stage House, since removed to Phillips’ Beach, Swampscott, and there consumed by fire, were the usual meeting-places for all county gatherings. Each town had then a social autonomy of its own, not yet impaired by the draft on its active citizenship, necessary to meet the business demands of our great railroad centres, building up great hives of industry and bringing together great swarms of population, nor by the superior attractions of city art galleries, concert-halls, lecture-rooms and theatres for our hours of ease. Each was a social centre for itself,—a planet, as it were, revolving with its own satellites in its own sphere, and not yet swung out of its appointed course by the disturbing attraction which, when brought near, the greater body, be it material or social, possesses for the less. Each had its traditions, its ancient families, its leading people,—both those of approved hospitality, of the great house and the long purse, and those who based their claims on superior knowledge, character, discrimination and taste,—its clergymen and deacons, its squires, doctors, teachers, ship-masters and owners of shipping,—its town elite,—and for better or for worse, its own townspeople must suffice, in the main, for its own needs.

Our county, one of the original four incorporated and set off in 1643, has an area of not far from five hundred square miles which, at the time we speak of, supported a population of about eighty thousand souls, and of these fifty-four or fifty-five thousand lived in thirteen large towns, every one of them incorporated before 1650, and seven of them as early as 1640. Of the towns in Massachusetts possessed of four thousand inhabitants and upwards, Essex County contained nearly one-half. Of our six prosperous cities the largest, Lynn and Lawrence, held no such places in the census tables then. Lynn, now the

larger of the two, was a town of not half the size of the Salem of that day, and smaller than either Newburyport or Gloucester, while Lawrence, which now bestrides our great water-way like a Colossus, had neither “promise” nor “potency” before 1847. In many ways ours was a peculiar county. Nowhere on this continent, outside the great cities, were so many people brought together in so small a space. Nowhere was there greater average wealth or more generally diffused intelligence, independence, comfort and thrift. Save in a few exceptional situations, as of the counties of Dukes and Barnstable, there was nowhere in the country a population living on an equal area and touched by navigable water at so many points. Besides the lordly Merrimac, flanked on either hand with growing towns, turning more spindles than any other river in the world to-day, and weaving miles enough of cloth every three weeks to swathe the earth, which furnished to our thirty miles of northern frontier a cheap highway for freight, the county could claim, within its limits, no less than five valuable and commodious harbors, at Newburyport, Gloucester, Beverly, Marblehead and Salem, not to omit others of lesser draught, but fully equal to the more moderate demands of local trade. Treading hard upon the heels of the great towns already mentioned came Andover, Haverhill, Newbury, Ipswich and Danvers. Amongst the counties of the State Essex had no rival,—not even Suffolk,—in the aggregate of her population, unless, perhaps, Worcester, and probably she overtopped them all. Her lands were held in small hereditary estates by the men who tilled them. Her capital and her enterprise found ready employment at home, or if they looked abroad, turned eager glances to the East, and not as lately toward the setting sun.

Content in earlier years with the hard fare and meagre earnings of the fisheries and the export trade in fish, and later trained on the gun-decks of ships of war, or of their own privateers, the people of Essex County had come, since the days of peace, to push their ambitious ventures into every sea. Foreign commerce, which is in itself a liberal education, had taught them what the bold and strenuous life of the fishing-smack or the man-of-war could never have engrafted upon their sturdy, Puritanic thought, and they brought home from their distant voyaging a freight more remunerative than silks, or gums or spices, made up of broadening views of life and liberal estimates of men and things. Geography and ethnology they studied at first hand. The populations which their enterprise employed, and the trade which their successes and their hospitality invited, built up large markets for the consumption of all that the interior sections of the county could produce. The population was singularly homogeneous, the few mills there were being operated by the sons and daughters of Essex County farmers and mechanics, amongst whom the average of intelligence and character was not a

whit lower than where mills did not exist. This high average was not reduced—possibly it was advanced—by another manufacture which formed a peculiar feature of the industry of the county. Shoes were then made by hand, and as the occupations of husbandry and the fisheries left much of the inclement season unemployed, these callings were very generally supplemented in the winter months by the making of a coarse kind of shoe for the southern market. This was a craft which called for little capital, since the shoe-stock was distributed in weekly portions from Lynn or Haverhill, the great centres of this peculiar industry, nor did it require any great degree of dexterity or skill. And thus the frugal yeomanry of Essex, whose summers were employed on the Grand Banks or on their ancestral acres, clubbed together by half-dozens to build the little box-like shoe-shops which once dotted all our country roads, and in which they wrought lustily all winter with lapstone and awl, in a temperature less conducive to longevity, perhaps, then stimulating to cerebration. And here all unconscious of the dictum of Pliny—“*ne sutor ultra crepidam*”—they were so effectually over-ruling, as well as of the supercilious slurs of Cicero, and Plautus and Horace on their indoor habits and unmilitary pose, they passed judgment from the bench, so to say, on the latest sermon, newspaper leader, political harangue and local gossip, with as much critical acumen, and as deep, earnest consideration of each passing topic as though, in very truth, time's noblest offspring were *the last*.

I do not know that I need sketch in further detail the salient features of this sturdy people. General the Baron von Riedesel's remark upon the Bay Colony in Revolutionary days,—high praise from an enemy,—“the inclination of the people is for commerce, navigation and the military art,” as well described them half a century later, and no local community could with less presumption take to itself the glowing encomium of Burke upon the commerce and fisheries of New England. Theirs was the county which had produced the Pickerings, the Cabots, the Crowninshields, the Lowells,—Nathan Dane, Manasseh Cutler, Rufus King, Theophilus Parsons, Joseph Story,—the Derbys, the Thorndikes, the Peabodys, the Jacksons, the Grays, the Lees, the Pickmans, the Hoopers, the families of Cleveland and Phillips and Bowditch, and, earlier than all these, the fine old stocks of Lynde, of Sewall and of Dummer. Theirs was the sod upon which Endicott and Higginson and Saltonstall and Winthrop first stepped ashore. Theirs was the soil upon which Gage had mustered his myrmidons, in the vain hope to quench the insurgent spirit flaring up in a Provincial Assembly which defied his sovereign from the old town-house in Salem. And while it may be the fact that no actual collision of troops ever consecrated in blood the soil of Essex County, although we suffered from Indian butcheries in the valley of

the Merrimac, and felt the shots of British cruisers along our seaboard, and saw from the north shore of the bay the smoke of battle between the “Shannon” and her doomed antagonist,—that unequal contest over which English school-boys still regale their drooping spirits in the chorus,—

“The Chesapeake, so bold, out of Boston. I am told,
Came to take a British frigate neat and handy,
And the people of the port came out to see the sport,
With their music playing ‘Yankee doodle dandy!’”

—while all this may be true, certain it is that no equal number of people had borne a heavier share in Indian, French or British hostilities, or contributed more victims to the horrors of Mill Prison, Dartmoor and the slave-pens of Algiers, from the gloomy days of Bloody Brook, of the Pequots and the Narragansetts,—from the days of the brilliant assaults upon Port Royal, Louisburg and Quebec,—down through the times when Washington took command of the Continental forces and called on us, without waiting for the action of Congress, to improvise a navy,—the times when Mugford and Manly and Harraden and Hugh Hill were afloat,—when Marblehead set her amphibious regiment on foot,—down to that later day when all our seaboard towns vied with each other to do homage to the naval heroes of the second war of Independence. The doubtful claim to the first bloodshed of the Revolution on that Sunday afternoon in February, 1775, at the old North Bridge in Salem, might be worth contesting in another county, but not here, for our people have twice sought out and attacked, on her own chosen field, the naval power which claims to rule the waves, closing with her wherever they could find her, be it in the Indian Ocean or the Irish Channel, or in whatever waters her red flag proclaimed her the terror of the seas, and giving battle until she cried enough. Facts like these go far to justify the ancient boast that Essex County produces more history to the acre than any equal area in the country. Antecedents like these had well prepared the people of the county for the new educational dispensation of which we speak, and they were as ready as any of their neighbors to distinguish the wheat from the chaff in Holbrook's singular proposals.

Enough has been said to indicate in a general way what these proposals were. It must be remembered that the first scientific survey of an American State was Hitchcock's survey of Massachusetts, the report of which became public in 1833; that we had no State Board of Education before 1837, and no authorized map of the commonwealth until 1842, and that our first Normal School, established at Lexington in 1839, and which it had been proposed, the year before, to establish at Dummer Academy, was the first in America, although the Prussians had known them for a century. The Lyceum was accordingly hailed as a cheap and much needed training-school and examining board for common-school teachers, while its semi-annual county gatherings were to serve the pur-

poses now met by Teachers' Institutes and Conventions. It was the impression of its projectors that scientific topics were to prove the most attractive, and that by adhering rather exclusively to these they were to escape at once both the Scylla and the Charybdis of religious and political contentions. To suppose, however, as is common, that at any time troublesome questions were successfully excluded from the Lyceum platform is to accept an error. No question was more generally discussed from the outset than that of the relative disadvantages of a free black and a slave population, the Colonization Society's methods, and abolition in the District of Columbia, and while the heat engendered was probably less than it would have been a little later,—the Garrison mob was in October, 1835,—I am convinced that the most volcanic topics were not interdicted, from reading a letter now before me, addressed by the Hon. Horace Mann to my father, both being members of Governor Everett's first Board of Education, in which is reported an attack made in a lecture before one of the best-conducted and most conservative Lyceums of the county, denouncing the board "as a machination of the Devil,—showing the preponderance of Unitarianism in it,—that the next element in point of strength was infidelity, two members being infidels, and its orthodoxy confided to one poor, weak old man!"

Another mode proposed to quicken the public mind was through "cheap and popular" publications. The Middlesex County Lyceum, under the Presidency of Edward Everett, began the publication of a series of treatises, of which the first was a popular Lyceum lecture on taxation by Andrew P. Peabody. It is now before me, and is designated on its title-page as Vol. I., No. 1, of the "Workingmen's Library." A prospectus follows, from which it appears that the publications were intended, in part, for reading as Lyceum lectures in small towns where there might be difficulty in procuring speakers. They were to be published monthly, and furnished by a committee of five. They were not to fail for want of being "plain and intelligible;" each writer to be "answerable for his own statements and opinions;" the price to be seventeen cents each. In a letter to my father, who was associated with him on the board of management of the Middlesex County Lyceum, Mr. Everett, whose clerical habit had not wholly worn off, although he franks his letter as a member of Congress, speaks of these publications as "tracts," is "more and more favorably impressed" with the plan, "if it be made sufficiently cheap to penetrate the community," and recommends "short tracts, such, for instance, as may be read aloud in an hour & a quarter at the farthest,"—offers as his own contribution a lecture lately repeated at Charlestown, Waltham and Framingham,—hopes it "might do as one of the tracts," and thinks "the rule should be to put them as low as they can possibly be afforded." Henry Brougham was promoting

publications of a similar character at this time in Great Britain.

One marked result of the Lyceum system, the production of a school of trained and able debaters in every town, does not seem to have been anticipated by its projectors. Among the long lists of prospective benefits I do not find this enumerated. But it was plain from the start that the Lyceum was to afford a free-school of debate for questions calculated to shape public opinion, questions involving expediency and policy, quite as much as questions of pure science. Thus Emerson seems to have found in the Lyceum the freedom denied him in the pulpit. How far he shaped the Lyceum, how far the Lyceum shaped him, is a question upon which we may not enter here. His biographer, Cooke, states that at once upon his return from Europe in 1833 "he took advantage of the interest in this new mode of popular instruction and working with many others served to mould the Lyceum into a means of general culture; helped make it a moral and intellectual power, a quickening influence on life and thought," while his admirer, Margaret Fuller, lets us see that in his lectures he was enlisting a following which made the later essays possible. Whether, without the Lyceum, Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher would have achieved their triumphs in the mastery of popular audiences, is a debatable question. Even of such men as Garrison and Parker,—men whose natures are an endogenous rather than an exogenous product,—it is not quite safe to say that they would have been just what they were without the Lyceum. But I had better let Mr. Emerson tell his own story.

Mr. Emerson stepped from the pulpit to the Lyceum platform. He describes his appearance in the new field, which occurred in the winter of 1833-34, as his "first attempt at public discourse after leaving the pulpit." His subjects had at that time a marked leaning towards natural science. Two years later he detailed to Carlyle the reasons which ought to bring the latter to America. "Especially Lectures. My own experiments for one or two winters, and the readiness with which you embrace the work, have led me to expect much from this mode of addressing men. In New England, the Lyceum, as we call it, is already a great institution. Besides the more elaborate courses of lectures in the cities, every country town has its weekly evening meeting, called a Lyceum, and every professional man in the place is called upon, in the course of the winter, to entertain his fellow-citizens with a discourse on whatever topic. The topics are miscellaneous as heart can wish. But in Boston, Lowell and Salem courses are given by individuals. I see not why this is not the most flexible of all organs of opinion, from its popularity and from its newness, permitting you to say what you think, without any shackles of prescription. The pulpit of our age certainly gives forth an obstructed and uncertain sound, and the faith of those in it, if men of

genius, may differ so much from that of those under it as to embarrass the conscience of the speaker, because so much is attributed to him from the fact of standing there. In the Lyceum nothing is presupposed. The orator is only responsible for what his lips articulate. Then what scope it allows! You may handle every member and relation of humanity. What could Homer, Socrates or St. Paul say that cannot be said here? The audience is of all classes, and its character will be determined always by the name of the lecturer. Why may you not give the reins to your wit, your pathos, your philosophy, and become that good despot which the virtuous orator is?

"Another thing. I am persuaded that if a man speak well, he shall find this a well-rewarded work in New England. I have written this year ten lectures; I had written as many last year, and for reading both these and those at places whither I was invited, I have received this last winter about three hundred and fifty dollars."

The next year he wrote to Carlyle: "I find myself so much more and freer on the platform of the lecture-room than in the pulpit. . . . But I preach in the Lecture-Room and there it tells, for there is no prescription. You may laugh, weep, reason, sing, sneer or pray according to your genius. It is the new pulpit, and very much in vogue with my northern countrymen. This winter, in Boston, we shall have more than ever; two or three every night of the week. When will you come and redeem your pledge?" And again, "I am always haunted with brave dreams of what might be accomplished in the Lecture-Room, so free and so unpretending a platform, a Delos not yet made fast. I imagine eloquence of infinite variety,—rich as conversation can be with anecdote, joke, tragedy, epics and pindarics, argument and confession." In an earlier letter, dated April, 1835, he had said to Carlyle: "If the lectures succeed in Boston, their success is insured at Salem, a town thirteen miles off, with a population of fifteen thousand. They might, perhaps, be repeated at Cambridge, three miles from Boston, and probably at Philadelphia, thirty-six hours distant. . . . They might be delivered, one or two in each week. And if they met with sudden success, it would be easy to carry on the course simultaneously at Salem, and Cambridge, and in the City."

To all which solicitations, Carlyle, not taking very kindly to the proposal, though thinking "I could really swim in that element were I once thrown into it," "a thing I have always had some hankering after," "could any one but appoint me Lecturing Professor of Teufelsdröckh's Science,—'Things in general'!" replies from time to time with an occasional growl, and they keep the plan "hanging to solace ourselves with it, till the time decide," until, in December, 1841, he writes in this characteristic strain of Emerson's "Lectures on the Times", "Good speed to the Speaker, to the Speech.¹ Your Country is luck-

lier than most at this time; it has still real preaching; the tongue of man is not, whensoever it begins wagging, entirely sure to emit babblement, twaddlement, sincere cant and other noises which awaken the passionate wish for silence."

Of course there were objectors and doubters, and the Lyceum was opposed on the very grounds upon which its promoters supported it. For those who shook their heads over Pope's line,

"A little learning is a dangerous thing,"

and Bacon's warning,

"A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism,"

the answer was ready,—that we cannot have much unless we first have little, and that the having of little begets the desire for much. If these organizations might not hope to carry higher aloft the apex of the pyramid of human knowledge, they might hope to be able to broaden out its base and set the venerable pile upon a more firm, stable and comprehensive footing. It was the diffusion of information, primarily, and not the advancement of science, which the Lyceums aimed at. The systems of education they recommended were always described as *practical*, and were pretty sharply antagonized with those of the colleges and higher schools. They seem to have had a strong leaning towards manual labor academies, which were then much in vogue, and one of which enjoyed a brief career at the Cherry Hill Farm, in North Beverly. They proposed to insist, amongst other branches, upon instruction in practical politics, and called for the study of the State and Federal Constitutions, and for text-books on familiar principles of law. The lottery was one vulnerable member of the hydra-headed monster, and they proposed to attack that. Intemperance was another, and they proposed to have a tilt at that. As a Board of Education, as a Lecture Bureau, as an Agricultural, Geological and Topographical Survey, they made no doubt, the Lyceum was to prove invaluable. They proposed a great central School, for the dissemination of their ideas, connected with which a central work-shop was to manufacture and send forth at cost, school apparatus, philosophical, astronomical and geometrical instruments and chemical and other scientific preparations. They went so far as to propose, in much the same spirit in which we have set apart a Labor Day and an Arbor Day, to consecrate the second Monday of December to the interests of the Lyceum. The Lyceum was to do for the head, if not perhaps for the moral nature, what religion was doing for the heart, and one of our judges, holding a criminal term of court, charged his grand jury to go home and devote themselves to the establishment of town Lyceums, as a measure of prevention against crime. The mistakes they made were due in part to sanguine temperament, and partly to the spirit of the times, which was a spirit of unrest. These were the days of Fourier and of Owen, of Brook Farm and the

Phalansteries, when phrenology and mesmerism were struggling hard for a place among the sciences, and all sorts of experimental sociology were in the air. By undertaking a great deal too much; by claiming a great deal more than they could maintain, the projectors of the system had well nigh obscured the real merits of their conception. They had discovered a valuable specific, but it was not a panacea for all human ills. They had found a pearl of great price. It was not the philosopher's stone. Fortunately there were not wanting keen-eyed scholars who could appreciate the value of the discovery, and Essex County had her share of these.

It was in November, 1826, that Holbrook addressed thirty or forty of the farmers and mechanics of Millbury, a little town of a thousand inhabitants just south of Worcester, and at the close of a lecture on natural science induced them to organize themselves for mutual improvement, and to assume the somewhat pretentious title of "Millbury Lyceum, No. 1, Branch of the American Lyceum." This little group of persons,—there is no reason for supposing they ever met earlier than September, 1826,—included among its number several marked characters of whom perhaps Thomas Blanchard, the great inventor, was the most conspicuous. The United States Government had, at that time, a manufactory of small arms at Millbury, under the supervision of a very able mechanic named Morse, and with the co-operation of Blanchard and another mechanic named Andrews, who had correctly calculated an eclipse of the moon, he established this society. It was by no means the first of the kind, nor the first to take the name of Lyceum, but it was the first in Holbrook's system. Troy, N. Y., had maintained its Lyceum since 1818, but it was a collection of curiosities and specimens, such as we oftener call a museum. Gardiner, Me., had a Lyceum in 1822, but that was an academy established by a benevolent gentleman of the town bent on trying the experiment of the manual labor system. Professor Hitchcock may have applied the name as early to one of the natural history societies at Amherst College, but what Holbrook knew of these things or what guided him in the choice of this classic word he has not told us. It was so new and strange a word that we are instructed by the *Journal of Education* to pronounce it "Li-seè-um." To designate a new thing he had a right to a new word, and these Greek names have been most arbitrarily impressed into the service of modern ideas. An Athenæum with us is likely to be a library, but this is not what it was at Athens nor what it means in England. A Gymnasium with us imports a place for physical training, but the Greeks used it much more comprehensively to cover all sorts of culture, especially mental, and the Germans follow them. The word Museum, quite divorced from the muses who gave it once a graceful significance and an alliteration with music, generally designates with us a gathering of rather dry subjects. In Ger-

many, equally without relation to its native origin, it means a club house. In Paris the Lyceum is a Government preparatory school; in London it is a theatre; in modern Greece a university,—so that whatever the word meant to the ancient Athenian, Holbrook might, without greater violence, apply it to his new club for mutual improvement. In fact the Lyceum of ancient Athens was a grove where Aristotle daily imparted his learning and inspiration through the medium of conversations and discussion, as did Plato in another grove called the Academy. And if, as is probably true, the word Lyceum is related in its origin to the words *λῆκος*, *λενκή*, *lux*, light, Holbrook might turn the laugh on his too fastidious critics, for surely Aristotle's grove was no *lucus a non lucendo*!

From whatever source derived the word met a want and while the more scholarly amongst his recruits objected that it was stilted and inapt and that it made a very bad plural withal, no movement was made for substituting any other, and those who cared much for the thing and little for the name were both astonished and delighted to see the number of societies throughout the country calling themselves Lyceums, increasing before the close of 1831 to something like a thousand.

Of these none were earlier in the field than Claxton's, at Methuen, and this was one of the very few which provided itself with a local habitation. The structure stood on what is now Broadway, near Park Street, and has since been removed and converted into a dwelling. One other in this county, organized at Salem, in January, 1830, and at once incorporated, completed and occupied in January, 1831, and paid for out of the proceeds of its lecture courses, the commodious structure for its own accommodation, still in daily use, and known as Lyceum Hall. Of the Salem movement, Judge White, Col. Francis Peabody, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, and Rev. Chas. W. Upham seem to have been the central figures. The first address delivered before the Salem Lyceum was given by Judge White, its first president, in the Methodist chapel in Sewall Street. The preliminary meetings for its formation had been held at Col. Peabody's house, and brought together, as we learn from the memoir of that conspicuous citizen by Mr. Upham, such active and able coadjutors as Dr. A. L. Peirson, Leverett Saltonstall, Rufus Choate, Benjamin Crowninshield, Robert Rantoul, Jr., Elisha Mack, Dr. Geo. Choate, Warwick Palfrey, and others, of whom Hon. Caleb Foote, Hon. Geo. Wheatland and William P. Endicott, Esq., are the last survivors. An address from Hon. Stephen C. Phillips opened the new hall the walls of which were decorated with frescos of Judge White and Captain Joseph Peabody, of Demosthenes and Cicero, and also with a somewhat ambitious design over the platform, in which the Lycean Apollo appeared resplendent in his cloud-borne car. But of this tradition relates that an unlucky janitor,

groping in the attic, presumably to regulate the ventilation, put his stumbling foot through the ceiling, and found himself occupying, uninvited, a seat in the chariot of the god of light! This famous Lyceum, with its unbroken continuity of lecture courses now reaching the limit of fifty-seven consecutive years,—a record only paralleled, so far as I know, by that of another, formed December 21, 1829, in the little red brick school-house in Littleton, a town of one thousand inhabitants, between Concord and Groton, which, under the name of the Littleton Lyceum, has sustained itself with spirit and success, and without a break, to the present time,—this famous Lyceum has called to its platform the most eminent men and women of our era. While few names are wanting which could add lustre to its record, the name of most frequent recurrence is that of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The next Lyceum formed in Essex County, after that at Methuen, of which I have definite information, was an organization for lectures and discussion formed at Beverly, certainly as early as December, 1828,—probably earlier,—and which took the name, November 5, 1829, of the Beverly Lyceum. It owed its origin to the activity and public spirit of Robert Rantoul, Jr., Dr. Augustus Torrey and T. Wilson Flagg. Hon. William Thorndike was its first president, and on its original roll of members, it is interesting to find, in company with the names of William Endicott, John Pickett, Augustus N. Clark and Warren Prince, probably the last survivors of the Beverly worthies who joined it, that of Caleb Foote, of Salem.

A Lyceum, formed at North Andover, April 13, 1830, is claimed to have been the outgrowth of an association for mutual improvement organized early in the year 1828, and such a society existing, May 15, 1830, in the North Parish of Danvers, is also thought to have been gathered in some form and at some time during the same year.

At South Danvers, the "Literary Circle," devoted at first to reading and conversation solely, opened its meetings with an address from Dudley Stickney, its first president, on December 16, 1828, at Dr. Shed's Hall, nearly opposite the South Danvers Bank, and although it enjoyed from the outset the countenance of Rufus Choate, Dr. Nichols, Fitch Poole, Dr. Joseph Osgood, and others hardly less honored, it could not be called a Lyceum before January 9, 1834, when it took that form of organization.

A movement began in Lynn, also, as early as December 23, 1828, and in this Alonzo Lewis seems to have been active; but of its nature I know nothing.

So far as I can learn, there was not in existence in Essex County, on the fifth day of November, 1829, any organized body, in full working order, calling itself a Lyceum, and supporting an established course of debates and lectures, except at Beverly.

Of the extent to which the late Hon. Robert Rantoul, Jr., contributed to the success of the organization, it does not become me to speak. His college experience

had qualified him to be of service in this way, for he had succeeded, in 1823, before the end of his freshman year, in establishing a debating club called the *AKPIBOAOTOMENOI*, which, in November, 1825, united with the Hermetic Society and the old Speaking Club or Fraternity of 1770, forming, under a constitution drawn by him, the Institute of 1770. Hon. Chas. W. Upham, in his memoir of Col. Peabody, has recorded his high estimate of my father's services, and the late Ellis Gray Loring, of Boston, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, and Dr. O. W. Holmes, all near his time in college, with Dr. Andrew P. Peabody and the late Richard Hildreth and J. Thomas Stevenson, his classmates, have testified at various times that they then regarded his power in organization and in debate as phenomenal. Mr. Rantoul left college in August, 1826. He resided at Beverly for the next five years, while studying his profession in the offices of Hon. John Pickering and Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, and afterwards occupying an office in the Stearns Building at Salem. In the summer of 1831, he was residing and practising his profession at South Reading, and there became a member of the publication committee of the Middlesex County Lyceum.

Rufus Choate, who was some years Mr. Rantoul's senior, was practising law at South Danvers, in an office facing the Square, from September, 1823, until his removal to Salem in 1828. Before those dates he had pursued his studies in the offices of Mr. Andrews, of Ipswich, and of Judge Cummins, of Salem, as well as in that of Attorney-General Wirt, at Washington. He seems to have taken an early and very active interest in the Lyceums springing up around him, as so rare a nature could not fail to do, and to have identified himself, both before and after his establishment in Salem, with the efforts of his neighbors in behalf of mutual improvement. His name appears for the first time, as a lecturer, in the roll of the Salem Lyceum,—he was a member of its first board of managers,—in 1831, and but twice thereafter; but his lecture, entitled the "Romance of the Sea," originally known as the "Literature of the Sea," when first delivered in Salem, in 1837, became at once famous. Whipple says of it in his "Recollections of Eminent Men,"—"Those who heard it forty years ago now speak of it as a masterpiece of eloquence. It enjoyed a popularity similar to that of Wendell Phillips's lecture on 'The Lost Arts.'"

The first steps towards the organization of an Essex County Lyceum were taken at a gathering at Topsfield, December 30, 1829. It was not composed largely of delegates, but some eighty public-spirited professional and scholarly gentlemen came together there in Academy Hall, for mutual enlightenment on this interesting theme. Besides the Methuen and Beverly Lyceums, there were then existing in the county, one at Newburyport, organized November 25, 1829, on a very independent footing, and holding weekly meet-

ings; and another at Bradford, East Parish, now Groveland, called the Franklin Lyceum, organized December 23, 1829, holding weekly meetings in the hall of Merrimac Academy. If others were represented in the gathering at Topsfield, I have failed to trace them; but of those then in existence three, probably those of Newburyport, Bradford and Methuen, declined to send delegates or be in any way subjected to the authority of the proposed County Lyceum; and one, Beverly, sent delegates to protest against the scheme of confederation, except on condition that the autonomy of the town Lyceums was fully recognized and assured. The feeling of these remonstrants was well expressed by Ichabod Tucker, of Salem, who said: "For purpose of mutual improvement, the County Lyceum will be useless. He had no objection himself to ride ten or twelve miles once in three or four months, to shake hands with his friends from distant parts of the county, and to take a social chat and eat a social dinner together. He thought it would be a very good thing. But it was idle to think of forming a government while there was nothing to govern, or of forming any board of control without the consent, first asked and obtained, of those who are to be controlled by it." This spirit of opposition to the plan of confederation was by no means exceptional here, but cropped out elsewhere. The opening address, by Dr. Thomas A. Greene, before the New Bedford Lyceum, December 18, 1828, says: "We have adopted the name of New Bedford Lyceum, in preference to calling ourselves a branch of the American Lyceum, as has been done in some other places. This involves no necessary connection with other societies, but leaves us at liberty to pursue our own course." The very vigorous Lyceum at Newburyport was started on the same basis, and there is reason to think that many of the most promising of the early organizations kept aloof at least until they could be assured that no undue control would be attempted by the County Lyceum, and also that all efforts on the part of the evangelical element to give it a sectarian or denominational caste would be defeated. The differences of opinion which thus developed themselves, and the warmth with which opposite views were maintained throughout an extended session, showed that this gathering was no dilettanti excursion. It was called to order by Rev. Gardner B. Perry, of Bradford, who was its secretary, and Hon. Robert Rantoul, Sr., of Beverly, was its president. The question whether Lyceums should be of spontaneous growth and self-sustained, or should derive their charters and powers from a central head, such as a County or a State Lyceum, was vigorously discussed by Judge Cummins, Elisha Mack, Ichabod Tucker, Robert Rantoul, Jr., Dr. George Choate and Rev. Chas. W. Upham, all of Salem, and Rev. Leonard Withington, of Newbury, in favor of the view which prevailed, and by Dr. Spofford, of Rowley, and Rev. Henry C. Wright, of West Newbury, in opposition,

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and the convention recommended a County Lyceum, as a means of strengthening town Lyceums previously formed, but in no sense or degree as a source of power or authority, and after appointing the necessary committees, dissolved. One of these committees, of which Rev. Chas. W. Upham was chairman, issued, January 24, 1830, a circular letter, inviting the towns to form Lyceums, to send delegates to proposed semi-annual county gatherings, and to adopt constitutions modeled either on Holbrook's or that of the Beverly or of the Salem Lyceum, each of which was quoted *in extenso*. The letter concludes with an urgent appeal to the town Lyceums to send delegates to a county convention, called to meet at Ipswich Hotel, March 17, there to consider a county constitution to be submitted by the committee. Representatives of seventeen Lyceums attended this meeting,—there were then twenty-six towns in the county,—and adopted a county constitution; they chose Judge White president, fixed the annual meeting on May 5th, at Ipswich; requested an address from Judge White, which was delivered, and is in print; and apportioned the county amongst a Board of Managers, in the following districts: To Mr. Howe, of Haverhill, his own town, Methuen and Bradford West Parish; to Mr. Crosby, of Amesbury, that town and Salisbury; to Rev. Mr. Withington, Newburyport and Newbury; to Rev. Mr. Perry, Bradford East Parish, West Newbury and Rowley; to Rev. Mr. Vose, of Topsfield, that town and Boxford; to Mr. Cutler, of Lynn, Lynn and Saugus; to Rev. Mr. Bartlett, of Marblehead, and Rev. Mr. Badger, of Andover, their own towns respectively; to Hon. Wm. Thorndike, Beverly and Essex; to Hon. Israel Trask and Rev. Mr. Hildreth, Gloucester and Manchester; and the towns of Salem, Ipswich, Danvers, Lynnfield, Hamilton, Middleton and Wenham, to Hon. D. A. White, Rev. John Brazer, Eben Shillaber and Ichabod Tucker, Esquires, all of Salem.

The first annual meeting was held, as announced, on May 5th, in the First Parish meeting-house at Ipswich, and it is proof enough of the quickening influence of the county movement inaugurated at Topsfield December 30, 1829, that between that date and the meeting at Ipswich, May 5, 1830, Lyceums had been formed at Salem, January 18th; at Andover, February 10th; at Manchester, February 18th; at Gloucester, February 19th; at Topsfield and New Rowley, some time in February; at West Newbury, March 16th; at Essex, some time in March; at North Andover, April 13th; and one at Amesbury and Salisbury in common, and others, at dates which I cannot determine, at Lynn, Haverhill and some of the parishes. Delegates were present on the 5th of May from eighteen established Lyceums.

The County Lyceum met next, November 24th, at the Tabernacle in Salem, where it was addressed by Rev. Mr. Perry, who succeeded to the presidency upon the retirement of Judge White, and whose address was printed. The second annual meeting was held, May

27, 1831, in the First Parish meeting-house at Newburyport, and was addressed by Rev. Dr. Brazer, of Salem, whose remarks were also printed. Ipswich had formed a Lyceum since the last report, and was now represented in the convention. But so far as I can ascertain, this was the last meeting of the Essex County Lyceum. Teachers' Institutes were coming into favor; some element of internal discord may have relaxed its hold on public support, or it may be that the town Lyceums had found themselves so strong as to be perfectly well able to get on without it.

Meantime the State Lyceum of Massachusetts, the second in the country (New York being a month before us), was coming into prominence from the character of the men who were conspicuous in it, and, to Holbrook's mind at least, his scheme was also taking on national, if not even international dimensions. But before passing from the local Lyceums, let us look for a moment at the nature of the subjects with which they mainly concerned themselves. I shall not enumerate the long list of subjects upon which lectures were delivered, because in the selection of these the listeners had little voice. But the topics chosen for debate and the character of their other exercises certainly furnish a fair criterion of the prevailing standard of intelligence and the drift of public feeling. In the large towns, where either the services of professional men were to be had for the asking or the money required to secure them was readily forthcoming, the lecture was the common medium of instruction. Nothing else was ever offered in Salem. But it was in the small towns, as the annual reports assure us, that the institution did its greatest work, and here debates were the chief attraction. These were both written and extemporized, but in both cases the subjects were announced in advance and disputants appointed to open the discussion. In North Danvers, in Topsfield, in Haverhill and in Beverly debates seem to have proved a special attraction. Among the questions discussed were these: "Ought the habit of wearing mourning apparel to continue?" "Ought imprisonment for debt to be abolished in Massachusetts?" "Are railroads likely to prove advantageous?" "Is it expedient to authorize a lottery for completing Bunker Hill Monument?" "Ought the government to remove the Seminoles and Cherokees, and have Indians a right to tribal government independent of that of the State and of the Union?" "Do newspapers, on the whole, contribute to the morals of a people?" "Do the evils of the militia system counterbalance its advantages?" "Is capital punishment justifiable in Massachusetts?" "Are the poor laws in their present state beneficial?" "Ought public roads to be maintained by the town or the county?" "Ought representatives, in voting, to be governed by their own convictions or those of their constituents?" "Is it expedient to divide the town of Danvers?" "Is Free Masonry calculated to promote virtue, religion and good government?" "Ought immigration to

be discouraged?" "Is it right, is it expedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia?" "Ought the incorporation of factories to be encouraged?" "Is it expedient to take legal measures to prevent the distillation of ardent spirits?" "Which sex has produced the best authors, according to their respective opportunities for literary acquirement?" "Does public policy require that females be excluded from the public offices of government and exempted from the active duties of citizens?" "Is the use of ardent spirits and stimulating liquors beneficial to the community?" "Is it for the advantage of Christendom that the Russians expel the Turks from Europe?" "If the Greeks gain their independence, what form of government will best suit their circumstances?" "Is the present government of France likely to be permanent?" "Has the career of Byron been beneficial or injurious?" "Of Napoleon?" "What occasions the stillness of the air which precedes earthquakes?" "Is the use of anthracite coal likely to conduce to economy and comfort?"

In many instances the same question was discussed for several sittings and often referred to a committee for final determination. Ladies made their contributions, if at all, in writing, and often anonymously, through the medium of the post-office or of a special receptacle for their communications and essays established by each Lyceum. In some places, notably in Gloucester, Boston and Philadelphia, ladies were encouraged to take part, but their co-operation was not always invited. In Salem, Haverhill and elsewhere they were at first admitted on special terms, and each required the guaranty of a male sponsor for her good behavior. The sex seems to have been treated with a vague distrust, like some untried, monstrous and explosive force, only to be experimented on, if at all, with the utmost circumspection. Where they appeared they were cautioned to come with heads uncovered, for bonnets were ample, and the presence of these fascinating obstructions, it was said, tempted auditors to rise from their seats when experiments were shown, and thus still further to intercept the vision. Of topics for lectures, I think that electricity, experimentally illustrated, was the universal favorite. In Salem Colonel Peabody owned costly apparatus for these experiments; in other less fortunate places the funds of the Lyceum were devoted to its purchase, and everywhere men of scientific knowledge enough to exhibit and explain the phenomena of galvanism, magnetism and kindred manifestations of this tremendous agent were in unfailing demand. In this connection the fact is not without interest that Professor Charles Grafton Page, of Salem, whose name was a household word amongst early Lyceum-goers, and who was afterwards for many years a principal examiner of patents at the Patent Office, and also connected with the early stages of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, succeeded, in 1851, in driving a locomotive electric engine on the Baltimore and Ohio

Railroad from Washington to Bladensburg and back, reaching a maximum speed of nineteen miles per hour. It was not an uncommon practice in the Lyceums to engage some attractive celebrity for the opening lecture of a winter's course, and to make that lecture free, with a view to invite a large attendance and to recommend the institution to general favor. This policy was a justification of the remark of Dr. Holmes, in his "Lecture on Lectures and Lecturers," that the Lyceum served the purpose, among others, of a cheap menagerie for showing the lions to the people. I recall a course at Beverly, probably in 1842, opened by John Quincy Adams, who was afterwards entertained at the Brown mansion, on Cabot Street, now the residence of Mr. Perry Collier. Curators were chosen where there were cabinets and apparatus, and other officers for the care and administration of libraries. In some places, where the repetition of lectures was made necessary by the straitened accommodations of halls and churches, the lecturer read the same address on Tuesday evening and on Wednesday afternoon, and his audiences, by a process of natural selection, divided themselves between those whose occupations left their evenings free and the school attendants, teacher and pupil, with ladies and persons of leisure who could spare the hours of daylight, and so made a "lecture afternoon" in a new sense on Wednesday. In other places, as in Salem for the years between 1851 and 1856, when we had outgrown our little amphitheatre and were yet repelled by the cost and vastness of Mechanic Hall, courses were repeated on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, and the former being a night devoted by the Evangelical Churches to religious gatherings, the atmosphere on the first reading of a lecture was considerably more heretical than on the second. The lecturer's fee was generally ten dollars, rarely twenty, and in most cases lectures, like other services, being rendered by public-spirited townsmen,—Mr. Emerson delivered ninety-eight in Concord,—were gratuitously rendered. Dr. Chapin's *not*, "I lecture for FAME, Fifty-And-My-Expenses," belongs to a later epoch. In some instances the exercises of the Lyceum were opened freely to the public, but generally a little contribution to the funds was exacted, say fifty cents or a dollar per year. The magic-lantern took the place of our elaborate apparatus for illustration, but the name "Phantasmagoria," perhaps, made up for some of its deficiencies.

The Lyceums, while alike in general drift, differed much in methods and details; that at Gloucester was organized under the general act for incorporating Lyceums approved March 4, 1829, and for the first five years continued its sittings through almost the entire year. It devoted its attention at once to the schools of Gloucester and to the history of the town. To the distinguished names I have mentioned in connection with it, may be added those of Dr. Ebenezer Dale, Benj. K. Hough, Dr. William Ferson and John W.

Lowe. The Lynn Lyceum encouraged the production of dissertations and essays and divided itself into ten classes or departments covering agriculture, trade and manufactures, education, letters, morals, art and sciences, physiology, natural history—including mineralogy, geology, botany and chemistry—history and public improvements. Two outlying districts of Lynn, namely, Woodend and Swampscott, had early Lyceums of their own. The Beverly Lyceum often had a lecture, followed by a debate on the same evening. At one time it met twice in each week for debate, and the debates sometimes extended over several adjournments. It also voted by yea and nay vote on the weight of argument, as well as on the merits of the question. And the president of the Lyceum did not preside over the debates, but was required to appoint in each case a chairman of the committee of the whole. Robert Rantoul, Sr., contributed a course of lectures on the history of the town which became the acknowledged basis of Stone's "History of Beverly." In a course on physiology, by Dr. Augustus Torrey, resort was had to the expedient of distributing a full printed synopsis of each lecture before its delivery. The Lyceum of Amesbury and Salisbury had expended nearly a hundred dollars for books and apparatus during its first season. That at Andover had followed an introductory by Holbrook, and a second address by Judge White, with a course of six illustrated lectures on astronomy from Rev. Harvey Wilbur, which were delivered at intervals of two or three days, and cost seventy-five dollars. Then Rev. Calvin Stowe pointed out the dangers of the prevailing ideas in education, especially those incident to Lyceums, and he was followed by Rev. E. W. Hooker in an essay claiming the Scriptures as the only basis of ethical science. At Bradford Merrimac Academy, one of the six large institutions of the kind then flourishing in the county, the students from abroad were allowed free admittance to the meetings of the Lyceum, probably in consideration of the use of Academy Hall, and a collection of mineral and vegetable specimens and other curiosities was begun, in 1830, having amongst them what was thought to be a foot and leg of aboriginal sculpture. At North Andover meetings were held once a fortnight, the year round, save in the summer months, and headquarters were established, with a reading-room, in the brick building opposite the meeting-house. At North Danvers the meetings were largely attended, occurred three times each month, and were occupied, with "Lectures, Debates, Compositions on Miscellaneous Topics, Reports of Committees appointed to solve questions in Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, and to criticize Declamations and Compositions." Lectures were read on chemistry, mechanics, geography, natural history, phrenology; geometry, natural theology, anatomy and architecture.

It would only be necessary to look beyond the county in order to extend indefinitely this catalogue of

idiosyncrasies. The Nantucket Lyceum, one of the very earliest, incorporated by a special charter approved February 12, 1827, at once took steps for the gathering of a museum of local industry, by issuing a printed call to whalers, urging them to neglect no opportunity for bringing home specimens illustrative of their venturesome and romantic calling and giving them directions as to the best known means of securing and preserving them. The Worcester Lyceum made the common law of business a special topic for instruction, and organized classes in chemistry, history, geography and practical mechanics. Many of the Lyceums anticipated the functions of village improvement clubs, embellishing, with shade-trees, the roads and lanes, beautifying the borders of lakes and streams, opening vistas and caring for the village green. And one at Williamstown, if the journals of the day may be trusted, attempted the introduction of a new industry and undertook the planting, in the spring of 1830, of twelve thousand white mulberry trees at its own cost.

Such were the early Lyceums of Massachusetts, and Essex County contained between a fourth and a third of the whole number, when, in February, 1831, Mr. Secretary Vose, of Topsfield, presented the best report made by any county to the first gathering of the Massachusetts Lyceum at the State House in Boston. With a brief review of the doings of the State and National Lyceums this paper may fitly close.

The first movement looking towards the organization of a State Lyceum in Massachusetts took place at the Exchange Coffee-House in Boston, November 7, 1828. Daniel Webster filled the chair and endorsed the scheme, and George B. Emerson was secretary. Josiah Holbrook reported progress. Edward Everett pledged his support and urged that books and apparatus quite beyond the reach of single persons, could be owned and made of general use by Lyceums. The meeting adjourned for one week, and met again at the same place for the report of its committee on the present condition and needs of the Lyceum system, when Edward Everett was called to the chair, and after discussion, another adjournment for one week was had. At the last meeting Dr. Charles Lowell took the chair and an elaborate report was submitted and adopted after debate, and laid before the people of the State, setting forth very forcibly and plainly the purposes and advantages of the Lyceum and urging general attention to its claims. The movement had the endorsement, also, of Henry Ware, then acting president of Harvard College, of Alexander H. Everett, and of other names hardly less conspicuous and influential, but it lacked the vital energy of the town Lyceums.

Later in the same winter, February 6, 1829, a meeting of members of the Legislature and others interested, was held at the Representatives' Hall, resolutions voted and given to the public, and a committee raised to collect and report information on Lyceums

in the commonwealth. This report was made at an adjourned meeting at the same place, February 19, 1830, at which Governor Lincoln presided. It recommended, through Alexander H. Everett, its chairman, the formation of town and village Lyceums and of county Lyceums as an outgrowth and supplement to these, defined and described their objects, urged teachers to join them, proposed a State Lyceum, appointed a State Central Committee, including many of the foremost names in Massachusetts, upon which Essex County was represented by Stephen C. Phillips, Rufus Choate, Benjamin Greenleaf, William Thordiko, Gayton P. Osgood, Alonzo Lewis and others, recommended the Lyceums to co-operate in the proposed survey by Colonel James Stevens for a map of Massachusetts, proposed a scientific and practical examination of the resources of each town, gave a definition of the Lyceum as "a voluntary association of persons for mutual improvement," sent out a circular letter, with a promise of others, and urged in return a general response in the form of systematic reports from all the Lyceums in Massachusetts.

In consequence of this action the Massachusetts State Lyceum was organized February 25, 1831, and of this Alexander H. Everett was president and Josiah Holbrook secretary. Dr. James Walker, Hon. John Davis and Judge White were among its vice-presidents. It arranged for an elaborate lecture course at the State House during the annual session of the Legislature, with a most exhaustive catalogue of subjects and a most distinguished list of speakers, including Judge Jackson, Horace Mann, Theodore Sedgwick and James Savage. Its first anniversary meeting was held at the State House, February 1st, 2d and 6th, 1832, the president in the chair and Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem, secretary. It appeared that the twenty-six towns in Essex County supported twenty-three Lyceums, a record quite in advance of any other section of the country. Salem had the largest Lyceum in the State, numbering twelve hundred members. That at Newton ranked next, and after Newton came Newburyport, with four hundred and fifty, and Gloucester with four hundred. Haverhill with three hundred and fifty, was amongst the largest. Timothy Claxton took part in this meeting in an effort to show how Lyceums might be of service to struggling inventors in perfecting their designs and models. At the next meeting of the State Lyceum, which proved to be its last, held February 20, 1833, Dr. Gannett and Rev. John Pierpont appear among the speakers. But the efforts of all these good men and true were unable to save it longer.

The National Lyceum did not succeed much better. Organized in the United States Court Room in the City Hall at New York, May 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1831, in accordance with a call issued January 13, by the State Lyceum of New York, sitting at Utica on its first gathering, the National Lyceum of America proceeded to adopt a constitution based upon the representation

of local Lyceums, each State and territory to send not less than three delegates, and not more than half its number of members in Congress. This body elected Hon. Stephen van Rensselaer, of Albany, N. Y., as its president, and Hon. Edward Everett and Hon. Thomas S. Grimke, of South Carolina were two of its five vice-presidents. It issued the usual appeals for support; commended to the aid of local Lyceums the work of Colonel James Stevens, an eminent engineer, then engaged in Massachusetts on the first State topographical map produced in the country; called for the establishment of normal schools; questioned the policy of retaining Latin and Greek in the advanced schools as a required study; urged the introduction of the natural sciences; and, after much labor of a more formal character, adjourned for a twelve-month. Its next meeting was in the Aldermen's Room in the City Hall at New York, May 4, 5, 6, 7, 1832, and here it was honored with the presence of an ex-president of the Spanish Cortes, of Zavala and Salgada, two Mexican ex-governors, and of Fortique, a representative in the Congress of Venezuela, as well as at other times of the consul-general of Colombia, the Prussian Envoy, an Armenian essayist from Constantinople, an Athenian professor, and a philosopher from London. It met again May 3, 4, 5, 6, 1833, in the same place, and elected President Duer of Columbia College its presiding officer. It recommended a uniform system of meteorological observations, amongst the Lyceums of the country; the introduction of vocal music and manual labor in the common schools; commended Audubon's great work on the birds of America; heard letters from several leading personages in the West Indies and the Central American States, as well as in various parts of the Union, and urged the formation in New York of a National Cabinet of Natural History, to be made up of contributions from local Lyceums. At a meeting in the same place, May 2, 3, 5, 1834, Massachusetts made a good report through Hon. Wm. B. Calhoun, and the state of education in Cuba, Poland and Mexico were considered. It was voted to print an essay on the North American Indians by Schoolcraft, and a text-book on Constitutional Jurisprudence, furnished by President Duer. In May, 1835, the annual meeting was again held in New York, and the teaching of political economy and the fine arts in the public schools was advocated. John Pickering's researches in the dialects of the North American tribes were highly commended. Signs of approaching dissolution began to manifest themselves. At the meeting of May 6, 7, 9, 1836, at the same place, Dr. Howe, of Massachusetts, explained his method of educating the blind, and New Grenada reported the purchase, at government cost, of twenty thousand slates and two hundred thousand slate-pencils! Holbrook proposed supplying every one of the eleven thousand counties in the United States with a cabinet of minerals of its own, furnished through the system of Lyceum exchange. In May, 1837, the annual meet-

ing was held in Philadelphia. The disposal of the surplus revenue was discussed and Espy's theory of storms was commended, with a request to the local Lyceums to report their weather observations to Espy. Government was memorialized in favor of a weather bureau. Holbrook now produced his twelve-page prospectus of a "Universal Lyceum," with Henry Brougham at its head, a list of fifty-two vice-presidents, one for every week in the year, taken from all the nations of the earth, and one hundred and thirty-nine secretaries, besides Josiah Holbrook, who is styled "Actuary." The declared objects were "the diffusion of knowledge over our globe," and "the exchange of shells, minerals and plants." The meeting of 1838 was held at the free church in Hartford, Connecticut, and sat but one day, May 15. Common-school matters occupied it largely, but it found time to consider also the questions of international copyright and the improvement and embellishment of towns and villages. It complains of lack of funds and finds the American Institute of Instruction a growing competitor. It met once more; this time at New York again, May 3, 4, 5, 1839; fifty-five delegates were present, but none from Massachusetts. It proposed a convention to sit for one week from November 22d, at Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, just before the session of Congress, in order to influence that body in applying the Smithsonian Legacy, and also in favor of selling the public lands for educational purposes. It proposed to call for educational statistics in the next decennial census, and finally it proposed a General National Convention of the whole Union to sit at Washington, D. C., in May, 1840. These never met, and so ended all but what survived in the town Lyceums, and possibly here and there a scattered county organization, of the Lyceum system of Josiah Holbrook. This remarkable man seems to have died as he had lived, reaching out for more than he could grasp. His lifeless body was found floating in a stream near Lynchburg, Va., May 24, 1854, and there was reason to believe that in clambering alone up the rugged bluff to secure some rare mineral specimen or delicate flower of which he was in search, he had missed his footing, and so lost his life. Few in any age have shown more unselfish devotion to a noble idea, and what he really did, however it may have fallen short of what he hoped, is monument enough for any man.

CHAPTER VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Agricultural—Medical—Railroads.

ESSEX AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.¹—The idea of the formation of this society originated with Col. Timothy Pickering, who, at the head of forty men, made the

¹ By Benjamin P. Ware.

first armed resistance to British forces, February 28th, 1775, at North Bridge, Salem. He called a meeting of farmers, and other inhabitants of Essex County, at Cyrus Cummings' tavern in Topsfield, Monday, the 16th of February, 1818. Ichabod Tucker was chosen moderator, and Daniel Cummings, secretary; these, with John Adams, Paul Kent and Elisha Mack, were appointed a committee to report a plan of organization.

Timothy Pickering was chosen president, and William Bartlett, Dr. Thomas Kittredge, John Heard and Ichabod Tucker, vice-presidents, Leverett Saltonstall, secretary, and Dr. Nehemiah Cleaveland, treasurer.

Timothy Pickering was annually chosen president, for ten years to 1829; Frederick Howes, four years, from 1829 to 1833; Ebenezer Mosely, three years, from 1833 to 1836; James H. Duncan, three years, from 1836 to 1839; Joseph Kittridge, two years, from 1839 to 1841; Leverett Saltonstall, four years, from 1841 to 1845; John W. Proctor, seven years, from 1845 to 1852; Moses Newell, four years, from 1852 to 1856; Richard S. Fay, two years, from 1856 to 1858; Daniel Adams, two years, from 1858 to 1860; Allen W. Dodge, three years, from 1860 to 1863; Joseph How, two years, from 1863 to 1865; William Sutton, nine years, from 1865 to 1874; and Benjamin P. Ware, thirteen years, from 1874 to 1887, now holding the office.

The secretaries and treasurers of the society have been as follows:—

SECRETARIES.

David Cummings.....1818-19.	Allen W. Dodge.....1844-60.
Frederick Howes.....1819-20.	Charles P. Preston.....1860-85.
John W. Proctor.....1820-42.	David W. Low.....1885-
Daniel P. King.....1842-44.	(Now in office.)

TREASURERS.

Ichabod Tucker.....1818.	William Sutton.....1841-56.
Daniel A. White.....1819-21.	Edward H. Payson.....1856-81.
Benj. R. Nichols.....1823-25.	Gilbert L. Stroeter.....1881-
Benj. Merrill.....1825-28.	(Now in office.)
Andrew Nichols.....1828-41.	

There has been a carefully prepared address delivered before the society, at its annual meeting, every year since its organization, except the five years between 1823 and 1829. These addresses have been delivered in every instance by a citizen of the county, invited by a vote of the trustees, and have been published in the transactions of the society, and form a valuable part of the agricultural literature of the society. Col. Timothy Pickering delivered the first address in 1818, and again in February, 1820. The others were as follows:—

Andrew Nichols, in October, 1820.	Hon. Ebenezer Mosely, in 1834.
Rev. Abel Abbott, in 1821.	Hon. Daniel P. King, in 1835.
Rev. Peter Eaton, in 1822.	Hon. Nathan W. Hazen, in 1836.
Hon. Frederick Howes, in 1823.	Rev. Nathaniel Gage, in 1837.
Col. Pickering, again in 1829.	Rev. Leonard Withington, in 1838.
Hon. James H. Duncan, in 1830.	Rev. Allen Putnam, in 1839.
Rev. Henry Colman, in 1831.	Hon. Asahel Huntington, in 1840.
Rev. Gardner B. Perry, in 1832.	Alonzo Gray, A. M., in 1841.
Dr. Jeremiah Spofford, in 1833.	Hon. Allen W. Dodge, in 1842.

Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, in 1843.	Nathaniel Cleaveland, Esq., in 1865.
Hon. John W. Proctor, in 1844.	Hon. Otis P. Lord, in 1866.
Rev. Edwin M. Stone, in 1845.	Rev. R. H. Seeley, D.D., in 1867.
Hon. Moses Newell, in 1846.	Dr. Geo. B. Loring, again in 1868.
Thomas E. Payson, Esq., in 1847.	Benjamin P. Ware, Esq., in 1869.
Joseph Newell, Esq., in 1848.	Hon. Benj. F. Butler, in 1870.
Hon. Am. T. Nowhall, in 1849.	Hon. Joseph S. How, in 1871.
Hon. Caleb Cushing, in 1850.	Hon. Wm. D. Northend, in 1872.
Rev. Milton P. Braman, in 1851.	Rev. Charles B. Rice, in 1873.
Hon. Henry K. Oliver, in 1852.	John L. Shorey, Esq., in 1874.
Hon. Joseph S. Cabot, in 1853.	Rev. Dr. E. C. Bolles, in 1875.
Hon. R. S. Fay, in 1854.	Cyrus M. Tracy, in 1876.
Dr. James R. Nichols, in 1855.	Rev. O. S. Butler, in 1877.
Ben. Parley Poore, Esq., in 1856.	T. C. Thurlow, Esq., in 1878.
Dr. E. G. Kelly, in 1857.	Dr. Geo. B. Loring, again in 1879.
Dr. Geo. B. Loring, in 1858.	David W. Low, Esq., in 1880.
Edward Everett, in 1858.	Dr. James R. Nichols, again in 1881.
Hon. J. J. H. Gregory, in 1859.	Francis H. Appleton, Esq., in 1882.
Rev. John L. Russell, in 1860.	Hon. Chas. P. Thompson, in 1883.
Hon. Alfred A. Abbott, in 1861.	Am. T. Nowhall, in 1884.
Geo. J. L. Colby, Esq., in 1862.	Thomas Saunders, in 1885.
Hon. Daniel Saunders, in 1863.	Rev. John D. Kingsbury, in 1886.
Hon. Darwin E. Ware, in 1864.	Dr. William Cogswell, in 1887.

In connection with these addresses, fifteen original hymns, odes and songs, have been sung by selected choirs, and published in the transactions. There have also been published in the transactions of the society, (67) sixty-seven prize essays upon various subjects connected with agriculture, for which has been paid premiums varying from eight to twenty-five dollars each; also (49) forty-nine prize reports of committees; premiums paid for these from six dollars to ten dollars; in addition there have been published (626) six hundred and twenty-six extended reports of committees, containing original ideas and suggestions, each filling from one to ten pages of printed matter.

These addresses, essays and reports contain the best thoughts, the broadest experiences and wisest suggestions of the most prominent farmers and professional men of Essex County, in the last sixty-five years, and make up, principally, the agricultural literature of the county.

The Essex Agricultural Society, unlike all others in the State, owns no grounds, including a trotting track and show buildings; it has no local abiding place. But instead, owns a tent, some portable cattle pens, twelve hundred exhibition fruit dishes, an experimental farm of one hundred and fifty acres, which brings an income of from three hundred to five hundred dollars per annum, besides conducting such experiments as are required by the committee having that matter in charge. A library of eight hundred volumes of valuable books for reference and study, and funds invested in bank stock, the market value of which is \$17,119.83.

This society needs no trotting track, for it never paid a dollar for speed since its organization; or for any other attraction, nor allows any on its grounds, except of a purely agricultural or horticultural character, which must be grown or owned within the county. Domestic manufactures and works of art from citizens of the county receive the encouragement of the society. All stock competing for a pre-

mium must be owned in the county at least four months previous. Agricultural implements, from any source, are admitted for competition; no entrance fees required from any competitor for premiums. The whole of the exhibitions are open, free to the public, except for admission to the exhibition hall, where twenty cents is charged. An average sum of three thousand dollars has been offered in premiums annually for the last ten years, and since its organization the society has, as near as can be ascertained, awarded in premiums and gratuities an aggregate of \$48,727.54. In addition, the society has supported three scholarships at the Massachusetts Agricultural College through the entire course of four years, at fifty dollars each per year, and for three years had a premium of one hundred dollars offered for the best prepared student, who shall enter the college from Essex County and continue through the four years' course.

This society holds its annual exhibitions in different parts of the county where most needed and where suitable accommodations can be provided. Since its organization, it has held its shows at Danvers, ten times; Lawrence, seven times; six each at Lynn, Topsfield, Haverhill and Newburyport; five times at Georgetown and Salem; four times at Gloucester; three each at Andover and Ipswich; two at Peabody; one at Newbury; and two others in doubt. This society has held, since required by the State Board of Agriculture, 1879, forty-eight institutes in different parts of the county where most wanted. At each meeting two sessions have been held, with a large attendance, and the subjects selected discussed with much interest and satisfaction to the farming community, resulting in promulgating much practical knowledge and a growing interest in the farm. Two trials of mowing machines and other machines for making hay, have been organized and conducted by the society, and two of plows and other implements for cultivating crops, each proved of great value to the farmers and were a complete success. The whole number of members since its organization is twenty-nine hundred and eighty-six; the present number now living is fifteen hundred and eight.

The society publishes annually an edition of from fifteen hundred to two thousand copies of its transactions, containing from one hundred and twenty to two hundred and twenty pages, for distribution among its members and others.

The transactions published since the society's organization make in the aggregate eighty-seven hundred and sixty-one pages of valuable and interesting reading matter, and which are no inconsiderable part of the agricultural literature of the State.

ESSEX SOUTH DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY. - This is one of the oldest of the district societies that form the Massachusetts Medical Society. It was organized November 4, 1805, by ten physicians, who met at the Sun Tavern, in Salem; Dr. Edward Aug-

ustus Holyoke president and Dr. John Dexter Treadwell secretary. It consists of those members of the Massachusetts Medical Society who reside in Lynn, Swampscott, Nahant, Saugus, Lynnfield, Marblehead, Salem, Peabody, Danvers, Middleton, Beverly, Wenham, Topsfield, Ipswich, Hamilton, Essex, Manchester, Rockport, Gloucester.

Its meetings are held every six weeks, either in Salem or Lynn, except occasionally during the summer months, in other towns within the district. At these meetings written papers are read and oral communications are made, giving an account of interesting cases that have occurred in their practice.

The Library, which was established by a vote of the society at its first meeting, contains about twenty-five hundred volumes. The books from the libraries of the late Drs. E. A. Holyoke, A. D. Pierson and Samuel Johnson compose a large portion and are very valuable additions. The circulation is limited to members of the society. The library is deposited in Plummer Hall, Salem.

THE ESSEX NORTH DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY was organized November 3, 1841. An application had been previously made to the Massachusetts Medical Society and granted by that body for the formation of the fellows of that Society practicing in Amesbury, Andover, Boxford, Bradford, Georgetown, Haverhill, Lawrence, Methuen, Newbury, Newburyport, Rowley, Salisbury and West Newbury into an association to be entitled the Essex North District Medical Society. At the date above mentioned Dr. Jonathan G. Johnson, of Newburyport, was chosen president; Dr. Rufus Longley, of Haverhill, vice-president; Dr. F. V. Noyes, of Newburyport, secretary; Dr. Isaac Boyd, of West Newbury, treasurer; and Dr. J. Spofford, of Groveland, librarian. The Society chooses annually eight counsellors, and these in connection with the counsellors of other district societies in the State constitute the Board of Counsellors of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Five censors are also chosen annually, who examine applicants for admission as to character and professional qualifications, and the consent of three censors is necessary for admission.

Stated meetings are held quarterly. The annual meeting is held at Haverhill on the first Wednesday in May, at which officers for the year are chosen, and other meetings in August, November and February at such places as may be from time to time determined.

BOSTON AND MAINE RAILROAD extends from Boston to Portland, Me., a distance of 115.50 miles. This road was originally organized as the Andover and Wilmington Railroad Company. It took its present name in 1839. This company is now the largest railroad corporation in New England. Its leased lines in Essex County are as follows: *Eastern Railroad*, chartered April 14, 1836; *Danvers Railroad*; *Lowell and Andover*; *Newburyport*; *West Amesbury*;

Chelsea Beach; Newburyport City; and Boston and Lowell and branches. President, George C. Lord; General Manager, James T. Furber.

BOSTON, REVERE BEACH AND LYNN RAILROAD extends from East Boston to Lynn, along Revere Beach. It was chartered May 23, 1874, and was

opened July 29, 1875. It does a large summer business. Gauge three feet. Honorable Edwin Walden, of Lynn, is president.

Boston, Winthrop and Shore Railroad extends from Point Shirley to Point of Pines. Honorable Edwin Walden, president.

THE HISTORY OF ESSEX CO., MASSACHUSETTS.

CITIES AND TOWNS.

CHAPTER I.

SALEM.

INTRODUCTORY.

BY REV. GEORGE BATCHELOR.

THE writer of this introductory chapter is released from the ordinary duties and responsibilities of the chroniclers whose work he prefaces with some general views of the various epochs of the history of Salem. The careful precision as to names, dates and the order of events required of them must here give place to general views, rapid sketches and such characterization of men and times as may be expected of the essayist rather than the historian.

For more than a hundred years after the discovery of America by Columbus, New England was unknown. It was a century of exploration and discovery, and the Catholic Spaniard played a leading part in the process of opening a new world to civilization. His imagination was inflamed by what are now incredible stories of treasure to be discovered, of magical and supernatural manifestations to be noted in nature and human life, and by hopes of attaining to some new and unheard of power over the secret forces of nature, then so unknown, and yet so tempting to the unscientific mind of the sixteenth century. He was animated, also, by zeal to convert or dispossess the infidel, and to commend himself as a loyal son of the church, thus at one happy stroke making his fortune both for this world and the next. In 1565 St. Augustine was founded, and in 1582 Santa Fé was colonized and made a station of the church, and the Spaniard, keeping for the most part within those isothermal lines which, by an unwritten law of nations have so largely controlled the course of empire, was elated by visions of inexhaustible

wealth, national glory and religious propagandism for which the western continent offered such unexampled opportunities.

To the Protestant Englishman during all this time New England was unknown except as an undistinguished part of the western world. With the seventeenth century the French, English and Dutch began to establish colonies in Nova Scotia, Canada, Virginia and New York. Then New England begins to emerge slowly from the vast, unsurveyed bulk of the continent, and to attract the attention of those in whose keeping were the seeds which, for a hundred generations of English and Germanic life, had been preparing to grow into the social, civil and religious institutions of New England. "God sifted a whole nation," said Stoughton, "that he might send choice grain out into this wilderness." He might have said that the civil and religious institutions of the Germanic race were sifted to furnish precedents, aptitudes and the specific religious impulses out of which to produce the Puritan Church and the New England Commonwealth.

Reviewing the events recorded in this volume, and contemplating the rare and great qualities of the founders of Salem as manifested in some of the most heroic and dignified aspects of human life, and in crises of difficulty and danger; regarding, also, without flinching or apology, the grim and cruel traits and deeds which disfigured their lives and stained their record, one need not be ashamed of his interest and admiration. The founders of Salem were not greater, wiser or better than other men. But the narrowness of their opportunity, together with the great use they made of it, rendered their qualities conspicuous, and the record of them a just cause of pride to all who inherit any share in their labors and rewards. As in some little Swiss canton, where nature has thrust together and pushed high into the

air the sublimities of that Alpine scenery, of which every detail may be surpassed elsewhere, while the general effect has no rival, so in this little township were to be brought together and set to do the drudgery of common life such gifts of culture, courage, wisdom and strength as commonly go to the founding of kingdoms and the conduct of empires. Indeed, in their own way, the way of intelligence and freedom, they were laying the foundations of institutions with influence more powerful and enduring than any empire which has risen or fallen since they lived their strenuous lives of homely toil and great endeavor. The events which were crowded into the first century of what was then their obscure history, spread over a larger surface and connected by more evident ties with the fortunes of civilization, would have attracted universal attention. Now they become an imperishable part of the history of human progress.

In 1614 Capt. John Smith, prince among adventurers and good fellows, coasted, named and praised New England, and going home to England he spent much time in commending the newly-discovered "Paradise" to rich and influential people. Then came the Pilgrims bound for a more genial climate; but driven out of their course by fortunate accident, they settle in Plymouth, and establish their church. But even in their little and well-sifted band there was not perfect agreement in matters of religion, although that was their chief concern, and soon we see John Lyford, of no enviable reputation, with John Oldham and others, because they could not agree to "separate" from the Church of England, pushing out and exploring the coast to the northward to find or found a home. Among them was one Roger Conant, well commended then and afterward for his homely good sense and perfect honesty. They tarry awhile at Nantasket, where Capt. Miles Standish, coasting that way, had built a hut a year or two before, and there, in somewhat dubious case, they are waiting when the Dorchester Company in England, having by this time (1623) forty or fifty ships passing to and fro, bringing over fishermen, salt, etc., and taking home cargoes of fish, beaver skins and such furs and other spoil of the wilderness as may be gathered there, summon Roger Conant to take charge of their station at Cape Ann. A charter has been secured, and hopes are entertained that now, after many misfortunes, some profit may accrue to the adventurers. Conant is to be Governor, Lyford minister to the half a hundred people gathered there, and Oldham is asked to come and trade with the Indians, which office he declines. Misfortunes continue, however. Fire, sickness and quarrels (a fierce one with Miles Standish) break their courage, reduce their profits and finally cause the abandonment of the undertaking.

Conant now has in mind an undertaking of another kind. Finding on the peninsula of Naumkeag a sheltered place where he thinks it possible for colo-

nists to maintain themselves in comfort, he proposes to the Rev. John White, of the Dorchester Company, to establish there a plantation. It has been commonly believed that he proposed to provide here a shelter for such unhappy creatures as might in England be persecuted for their religion. This is now disputed on the ground that he was not a "separatist" in Plymouth, and did not agree with John Endicott when he came, and that he was now probably only looking out for a place where he and others might find life a little less hard to support on the usual terms. It is not impossible, however, that, "churchman" though he was, he had suffered enough for his religion to long for a place where the cursed jangle of theological discord might be forgotten, and other interests be made prominent. White promised him assistance of all needed kinds, and in 1626 Roger Conant, John Woodbury, John Balch and Peter Palfrey (names to be remembered) begin the clearing of the forest and the building of houses. About twenty-five, all told, are gathered there, and Naumkeag (not yet Salem) begins to be. Two years later there were, it may be, thirty or forty persons in the colony. Some had followed Lyford to Virginia, and some had returned to England. Conant, resolute and patient, remained and kept with him those who were inspired by his confidence and shared his hopes, whether religious or commercial. But, as so often happens, he was to sow that others might reap. He was too modest and undemonstrative to figure as a "personage," and to meet the more ambitious views of those in England who were influential in the management of affairs; and so it happened, when the property of the Dorchester Company passed into the hands of the New England Company, that Conant was superseded by Capt. John Endicott.

It was not Roger Conant, mild, tolerant, conciliatory and unambitious, that the feeble colony needed, but John Endicott, the man of the iron hand and determined will, the man to tear the cross from the flag of England and defy the world when his blood was up and his religion was in question. As a business transaction the transfer was justifiable enough. The parties to it on the other side of the water were buying and selling so much property at its commercial value. But on this side of the water it looked like the betrayal of a trust. Having no rights which they could legally defend, the old colonists felt the change to be grievous when, from being masters of the situation, if not the guardians of a refuge sacred to those who were oppressed for conscience' sake, they were suddenly and unexpectedly reduced to a handful of ordinary colonists who were transferred with the soil, and could only take the hard choice to go or conform to the law of the land. They were heard to talk about "slaves" and "slavery," and for some months held aloof from the meetings of the newcomers. But Capt. Endicott occupied a higher social

position than they, and he was not a man to be trifled with. In 1629 Governor Endicott receives intelligence as follows: that the company at home has obtained a confirmation of their grant by letters patent from His Majesty, Charles I., and that he is confirmed as Governor, with a council styled "the Council of Massachusetts Bay." The new-comers had the power. But they saw that it was hard for the others to submit, and were disposed to use their power kindly. The colony was now grown to include, perhaps, three hundred persons, and at last the old settlers determined to make the best of it, and united in one body under Governor Endicott, and then, as we are told, "in remembrance of a peace settled upon at a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors after the expectance of some dangerous jar," they called the place Salem, or Peace. The story is a pretty one, and seems to furnish a natural and probable explanation of the change of name, but it is necessary to say that all such interesting statements are doubted or denied by modern investigators. It is held by some that Conant gladly received Captain Endicott and that their differences of opinion related to such matters as the morality of raising tobacco and other such affairs of minor importance.

The story of the ecclesiastical and commercial fortunes of Salem will be told elsewhere in the succeeding narratives. They were inextricably intertwined with each other. Both begin now to assume importance, although many a weary day must pass before either of them will be settled and prosperous. For a time the religious interests which they had at heart compelled them to postpone somewhat the temporal enterprises upon which depended their comfort and success. Whatever we may say of the purposes of Roger Conant, nobody need be in doubt as to the purposes of John Endicott. Religion was with him the first concern. He believed his creed. He had come here to give it room to grow into a new mode of life, and he did not intend to let anything among the powers terrestrial or demonic interfere with his purpose. But, before the temporal plans of the little community could be carried out, some very stern necessities were to try and to strengthen their faith. The winter of 1629 brought them little but trouble and sorrow. The climate, then as now, was rough and unsparing. No proper accommodations could be provided for so many families, their base of supplies was three thousand miles away, they were unused to such hardships and were ignorant of the dangers to be provided against. While, therefore, their friends in England were thinking of them as happily established in the "Paradise" of New England, and were looking forward to the pleasure of joining them in the spring or summer following, they began to sicken and die of exposure to cold, and the hunger which comes not with absolute famine, but inability to eat

the coarse food which they had. Some epidemic disease probably brought on shipboard, had been communicated to them, and the place had become infected and pestilential. When Winthrop came with Saltonstall, Dudley and Johnson, and a company, in seventeen ships, in all, a thousand or more before the season was over, they found a colony of men and women haggard with weakness and want and depressed with sorrow. More than eighty had died in that awful winter, and of those who remained many had scarcely strength to stagger to the shore to meet the new-comers and give them tearful welcome. To the gentlemen and ladies who had come to transfer the government of the colony to the soil of New England, and establish here homes even more splendid than those they had left behind them, Salem offered at that time but few inducements. Winthrop therefore pushed along the coast, and soon he, with Dudley, Johnson, Saltonstall and the most of the new colonists, were laying the foundations of Charlestown, Boston and Watertown. The seat of government was transferred to Charlestown, and again the hopes and ambitions of the men of Salem had ended in a bitter disappointment. To Governor Endicott was now measured out that which he had meted to Roger Conant, and probably he was no better pleased than he with the result. But this time there was no rebellion. Endicott was too good a disciplinarian to resist a higher authority, and it happened then, as it has many times since in Salem, that the good things provided for home use were passed over to the common account, and the commonwealth gained by her loss.

We need not waste much time in praising the consummate wisdom of the founders of Massachusetts. They were wise, and they did well, and what they wrote in their charters and constitutions, and established in their customs and laws, show that they were seeking the best things in human institutions and knew the value of them when found.

But it is clear enough now that the Puritans were not the inventors of the system they established in New England, nor of the many complicated devices by aid of which they made their ideas effective in the conduct of affairs, social and civil. They selected, indeed, but they did not create out of pre-existent nothingness the institutions which here they cleared from much rubbish of ecclesiasticism and from the burden of the monarchy of England. The beginnings were small. Seen from the outside, they were mean and bare. The homes, labors and successes of the first colonists of Salem would be unworthy of our attention were they associated with the lives of ordinary settlers in a new country. But small though the beginnings were, these men were beginning to store up and to train the energy which was afterward to expand with tremendous force in the opening of the whole world to commerce and civilization, and in

the establishment of the best things in American life.

In the New World, free to follow the bent of their minds, they emancipated themselves from many an impediment and returned to the natural tendencies of the Germanic race, to which they belonged, and which, in Europe, has ever since been slowly attaining to that which they arrived at quickly. Of that race they brought the traditions and tendencies, and, almost unchanged, some of its most ancient customs and laws. The town, the town-meeting, the common holding of lands, the pasturage under herdsmen of their goats, swine and neat cattle, the pastor who was not a priest and many curious customs which have seemed to us to be evidences of their independence, skill and ingenuity, or which look like the temporary expedients of necessity, were simply survivals of English and German habits, dating back sometimes a thousand years, or even in some cases as we now know, antedating European civilization itself, and originating as in that immemorial past of our race when its home was in Asia.

Indeed, during the whole of the seventeenth century, the daily life of the people of Salem, if accurately represented to us now, would suggest European rather than American associations. Religion was the most important concern in that little settlement when it held a thousand souls. But, after all, the business of getting a living then, as now, occupied most of the waking hours. For the most part, their life on shore was rural, and their occupations and customs such as may even now be noted in secluded parts of the Old World.

On a summer morning the good man and good wife were up with the sun, attending to their various tasks, for by six o'clock at the latest, and in some years by half an hour after sunrise, the herdsmen of various kinds will be heard blowing their horns as they pass each man's door, gathering all the swine, goats and neat cattle of the town into flocks and herds, to be cared for during the day in the great pastures and other common fields. "The Great Pen" is provided for the cattle, and if, at six o'clock, any townsman shall not have his cows milked and ready for the herdsman, he must follow after as he may, and be responsible for any damage done to or by his stray cattle. At half an hour before sunset the horns of the approaching herdsmen were heard again, and every man was required to care for his own swine and goats at home. Sometimes in town-meeting it was a matter which divided the suffrages of freemen, as it was voted, that in a given season, the swine should or should not be allowed to run at large by night. Such customs are unknown now in America. But they still survive in many of the pastoral regions of Europe, such as the Black Forest and secluded valleys of Switzerland.

Simple, honest, God-fearing men and women made

up the majority of the population. Their tasks were homely and laborious, and their tastes simple. But although from necessity their life externally was not unlike that of the European peasantry, they were neither stupid nor ignorant. Even those who had belonged to the servant class, and there were many of them, had passed through experiences which had sharpened their wits and greatly enhanced in their eyes the value of liberty. They had come over "under bonds" to serve a specified time in a condition not much better than slavery. Some had regained their freedom on the failure of commercial and industrial enterprises, it being cheaper to let them shift for themselves than to find work for them or to return them to England.

The yeomanry were picked men who had come over, not only because they hoped to better their condition and give their children a better chance than they could have at home, but also because they were interested in great problems of religion and government, and believed that these problems could be worked out to better advantage in a new country where they might be free from tradition and adverse precedent. They were trained in a school of experience which will show results in later generations.

Among these were some who held with tenacity to the social distinctions of the old country. They were those of official and professional standing, such as in England would, if not bearing a title, be permitted to write "gentleman" after their names. In spite of the leveling influence of their experiences and of the theories they held, the old habits were not easily given up, and, unconsciously, even, the relations of master and servant were retained on the Old World footing, and the mutual reserve remained after such relations had ceased. It took two hundred years, under the most democratic of institutions, to abolish the distinctions of aristocracy, and to make a "yeoman" of like character and education seem as good as a "gentleman." It was years before the possibility of establishing in Massachusetts an hereditary aristocracy ceased to be either a menace or a temptation.

With the founding of Boston, Salem lost its relative importance, but continued to be a centre of intelligence, and gradually, after long discipline, became one of the most influential towns in the commonwealth. Its liberality and intellectual alertness were shown very early in the treatment accorded to Roger Williams, who was loved and honored in Salem long after he was proscribed by the colonial authorities. Even John Endicott admired and defended him until further resistance to authority would have been rebellion. The enthusiasm, humaneness and free thought of Roger Williams seem to belong rather to our time than to that of the Puritan, who, with all his goodness, was grim and sometimes cruel. The man who, in 1631, could advocate, as he did, the rights of the savage, and in later years make his noble

plea for toleration, must have been a rare creature, and those who loved and honored him, as he was loved and honored in Salem, must have been, even then, capable of better things than the circumstances of the hard times in which they lived could offer them. When he goes into exile in 1636 it is pleasant to read that Governor Winthrop, not in office, however, gives him a private hint that he is wanted by the government, and that the safest place for him will be found on the shores of Narragansett Bay.

The Puritan minister was a great personage in the little colony. From the nature of the case, religion being avowedly and actually first among the concerns of the community, he was a man of much official dignity and influence. He could not be elected to office nor long hold it in comfort unless he represented the best thought and feeling of the people and showed a gift for mastery. He was the most highly-educated man in town. He had leisure to correspond with men of like standing abroad. He was the organ of communication with the outside world. He had no competitors. The intellectual appetite of his townsmen was keen, and there were no adequate means of satisfying it in a time when they had no lectures, no concerts, theatres, newspapers, magazines, or many books. He was the peer of the best, and was freely consulted both in public and private by parishioners and magistrates as to questions of conscience and questions of policy. The first ministers were men of such parts and learning that they were largely independent of each other and of their congregations. They seemed to have moved back and forth between the two continents with great freedom, and to have excited great interest, both by their coming and their going. They have been over-praised, and condemned beyond their demerits; for they were neither so good nor so bad as they have sometimes been represented to be. They would not have been human had they not been tempted to magnify their office unduly, and they must have been more than human to emancipate themselves wholly from the bigotries and superstitions of their times. We shall soon see them doing some cruel work, and our modern blood will find it difficult to keep cool as we helplessly watch the unmerited sufferings of good, even if misguided, men, and we shall helplessly writhe as we hear the hissing whip fall upon the naked backs of women whom pastors and magistrates alike agree to punish in the name of God. But if we are wise, we shall reflect on all the circumstances of the time and make such allowance as is due.

The Puritan attempted to crush the imagination, and is, therefore, supposed to have been devoid of it. But the imagination is a faculty nimble of foot and light of wing. It goes where it is not sent, and works where it is most contemned. Often it transforms itself, and, because its lighter moods are not in favor, plods in the disguise of some heavy-footed fac-

ulty, and masquerades as a phase of the sober reason, or still more homely common sense. In the Puritan the imagination did not exercise itself in the modern fashion nor after the manner of "ungodly playwrights." It was not stimulated by such visions of wealth and conquest as turned the head of the Catholic Spaniard. It was in him a sober faculty, dealing with the well-attested realities of common life, and what he considered the equally well-attested realities of the supernatural world. Given the facts to work upon, and this creative faculty was capable of producing surprising results. As the sober-visaged, plainly-clad Puritan sat in church listening to the long prayers and still longer sermons and lectures in which his favorite preacher described the city of God, his imagination, released from all restraint by his godly purpose, made many an excursion into the realm of those fair possibilities which on the earth were nowhere actual. He saw new and holier churches, societies, commonwealths arising to make the earth a safer home for the chosen children of God. He saw cities arise in the wilderness; fleets sailed over unknown seas, and broad lands, cleared, inhabited and wisely ruled, stretched in peaceful expanse before his comprehensive and creative imagination. These visions were not a waste of his time and energy; for they were the working plans of the architect and the engineer, who was able to create that which he imagined. He could understand the proud boast of the Roman, who, if he could not play the fiddle, could make a small village into a great city. To describe the Puritan as without imagination is to deny to him that which was a chief characteristic of his laborious life. His stimulus and delight came with and from the exercise of this power, by which the mind clearly sees that which, as yet, has never been. That which distinguished him from those who commonly and consciously use this power was the capital fact that they never used it solely for pleasure. It was an instrument as useful as the more homely tools of the working intellect. That which in the Puritan was active, but disguised, in his posterity two hundred years later was to break out into the full fruit and flower of the imagination. Hawthorne was the legitimate product of the ancient stock. All along the line of modern life, when Puritanism had completed its emancipation, there broke a wave of poetry. Bryant, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell and the rest of that distinguished company only revealed the inherited traits which were in their ancestors, though not then manifest. Even Quakerism now sings in the poetry of Whittier.

That Puritanism was not, in all its parts, so grim as we sometimes imagine was shown by the love the people of Salem bore to Roger Williams. It was made still more apparent that it was not without tenderness of heart and susceptibility to change of thought when the great "Antinomian Controversy"

came. In 1637 Anne Hutchinson, a great-hearted woman, nearly overturned both church and state. By her liberal ideas and impassioned eloquence she carried with her Henry Vane, the Governor, and a majority of the people of Boston, the ministers almost unanimously opposing her. She was, as even her enemies admitted, a woman of wonderful power and attractiveness. Her philosophical ideas were not unlike those of modern Transcendentalism, and in many ways she only anticipated the thoughts which two hundred years later Emerson was to make familiar to sympathetic audiences in Lyceum Hall. The dispute was carried into everything, interfering with the course of government, even down to the conduct of town affairs. It made it more difficult for John Endicott to carry on the Pequot War. The reaction from Antinomianism brought back into power Winthrop, Endicott and the other old settlers—the “fathers and founders”—who were already, because of their seniority, becoming “distinguished townsmen.” Mrs. Hutchinson found little open sympathy in Salem, because Hugh Peter was then at the full tide of his remarkable success, and he, with Governor Endicott, severely punished all who rebelled. They gave Governor Winthrop their hearty support, and helped him back into power, thus re-establishing Puritan rule in Massachusetts. Still, before her tragical death at the hands of the Indians, in 1643, this remarkable woman had made an ineffaceable mark on the institutions of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and greatly strengthened the impulse to grant, as well as claim, liberty of conscience.

From this time on there are two parties in church and state, representing Puritanism and Puritanism ameliorated. They go on in Salem together until the cruel policy of Governor Endicott, together with the absurd notions of demoniacal influence then current, bear their proper fruit in the “Witchcraft Delusion.” Then Puritanism begins to relax its arbitrary and merciless tyranny and milder counsels prevail. Meanwhile, we shall see the two in conflict and shall see how a false theory of duty can, in the name of righteousness, drive humane men to the most inhuman deeds.

But the townsmen of Salem during this eventful seventeenth century were not solely given up to religious contention. They had many other interests, some of them very absorbing. Their lives were not stagnant or dull. To have in rapid succession two such ministers as Roger Williams and Hugh Peter, and to trace with intelligent interest as they did their subsequent career, the one founding a colony, the other going to the scaffold to expiate the death of a king, was enough to sharpen the wits of the dullest and give him a lively interest in the affairs of two continents. The great events of the rebellion, the Commonwealth, the restoration of the Stuarts and the Revolution all passed within the limits of a single lifetime,

and every change in the fortunes of England was felt in the homes of Salem. Each man felt a responsibility for the issue of the battle over the seas, and when the commonwealth of England fell, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was accounted its lawful heir.

But at home were many and engrossing occupations and interests, some good and some to modern consciences, as much to be condemned as any of their religious excesses. Commerce began its beneficent career, and was for a hundred and fifty years a source of good things innumerable. It kept the intellect alert, gave knowledge of other nations and gradually liberalized the minds of all who were engaged in it. It produced a remarkable breed of men, to whom in time the burdens of ecclesiasticism became insupportable, and the Puritan spirit was at last transformed and a broad catholicity took the place of bigotry. But as yet we see only the beginnings, and we see them marred by many an evil practice. The distillery arose in the colony and began to pour its poisoned stream into all the homes of savagery. The ships which went out laden with New England rum returned sometimes freighted with African slaves, and tender consciences did not seem to be hurt by the transaction. It is recorded that negroes were brought to Salem as early as 1638. The laws of nations were not well defined in those days, and a war with any nation, or a war among unfriendly nations, gave excuse for privateering, which easily slipped into piracy. Pirates who preyed upon their own commerce were punished when caught, but those who only molested unfriendly nations were winked at, and it was not a thing unknown for a pirate to sail into Salem harbor and sell his plunder to the townsmen, who asked no questions so long as they got good bargains. Indeed, it is now quite impossible to tell the true story of those times without doing injustice to them, so greatly has our moral standard in many things been elevated. One can easily see, however, that there were many compensations for the Puritan. His world was not so colorless as it seems to us when we think only of his religion, and imagine that to have been his only absorbing interest.

The internal arrangements of the colony at Salem were for many years matters of constant and grave concern. Things which seem to us trivial were then of great importance. The public lands were at first held by the government, and the towns, as agents of the colony, distributed them among their inhabitants. A law restricting this power of distribution to the towns was passed (as William P. Upham, Esq., informs us) in 1635. The land was granted in small building-lots and planting-fields to those who were admitted to the privileges of the town. There could be no speculation in town lots. Only the occupiers could hold them. The rights of forest, field and shore were common, and to the householders pertained cer-

tain privileges of pasturage and other rights peculiar to the proprietors. A man was made a freeman by the General Court, and when he desired to settle, asked to be "admitted an inhabitant," and, if his request was granted, became a member of a corporation consisting of certain named persons and such others as they chose.

Land was given to any one who became an inhabitant. At first there was no difficulty. But the question which arose when the late-comers were numerous, and insisted upon their full share of these privileges, became troublesome. Among the old settlers there were at least three distinctions of social rank attaching to freemen, non-freemen and servants. These were increased by an additional line drawn between the cottagers and commoners,—those who had a share in the original common rights and those who had not been admitted to such rights. The cottagers had great advantages, and for many years clung to their privileges. They even held meetings separate from the town. The contention at times must have been much more exciting than the news of a change of government in England, or the loss of the colonial charter, because it affected the fortunes of every householder in a direct way. It was not until the eighteenth century came in that the dispute was closed. In 1660 the general government passed a law that those who then had cottages or houses built should have rights in common land. About a generation later it was a serious question what rights they should have (then a large number) who were not included under that law. The cottagers were those who held under the law; the commoners were those who claimed a right, not by virtue of the act of 1660, but by right of habitation. In 1702 the town passed a vote settling this difference and admitting to a right in the commons all houses then built. In 1713 the commoners, which term then included both commoners and cottagers, organized under the province law, and are to this day represented by the "Great Pasture Corporation." These various measures were not agreed upon without great friction and excitement, and even the famous "witchcraft year," which came when the dispute was at its hottest, could only postpone the excitement over a matter which affected the fortunes of every townsman. The commoners at last voted to give up to the town the highways, burying-places, the common lands which lay within the town, bridge and the block-houses, with the training-grounds and various other relinquishments, which brought the affairs of the town on to a modern footing. Hospitality was not a characteristic of those days. People were suspicious and jealous of new-comers and required of them proofs that they would be safe and agreeable neighbors before they admitted them to a share of the common property. For temporary purposes they granted them cottage rights and garden spots, but not every new-comer was welcome.

Strolling adventurers were promptly arrested and required to give an account of themselves. For a hundred years these internal relations of the community were very important and influential. They have now nearly passed out of the memory of all but the students of antiquity. But they were important then, and in the various attempts made to adjust differences and find out that which was for the common welfare, the community was being compacted and trained to common action in a way which made all its strength available in its great days when it covered the sea with privateers and merchantmen.

But before we take leave of the seventeenth century there are still some grievous things to be noted. The Friend is to us an emblem and suggestion of peace. But in 1657 he was to the people of Salem a creature to be abhorred and, by force if necessary, expelled from the community. It must be remembered that during all this century any, even the most innocent, trespasser was there illegally if he was not permitted by the authorities to make his home there. No matter what his business, if he was forbidden to dwell there, and still persisted in opposition to the proprietors, he was regarded as being as much outside of his rights as a poacher or a burglar. There was not even a sidewalk where he could claim to be on public soil, or on the "King's highway." Every inch of soil belonged to the town and the proprietors. When undesirable persons, therefore, were present and refused to go away when warned, it was easy and altogether too natural for those in authority to begin with threats and then proceed to force, which became at last cruel much beyond the original intention. When Massachusetts decreed that Quakers remaining within her bounds must die, it was hoped and believed that the threat of death would be effectual. When it was discovered that martyrdom had its charms, and that for every Quaker hung there would be five more ready for hanging, the brief madness of the magistrates yielded to the excited protests of all tender-hearted people, and the shameful law was repealed, but not until it had caused such deeds of cruelty in the colony, especially in Boston, as no good man can now contemplate without horror. The only plea to be offered in mitigation is that the magistrates feared overmuch a popular revolution and were driven to excess by overplus of official zeal. Still, we must remember that it was a century of perils and of fears. Safety lay in concert of action. The Jesuits, the Anabaptists, the Quakers, if permitted to come and proselyte, might bring in all kinds of political trouble and danger from foreign nations. The Dutch and Indians were near and dangerous, and the whole community lived in such fear of unseen perils as we can scarcely imagine. For all that, we cannot be reconciled to the whipping of women at the cart-tail nor the offering to sell Quakers to be taken as slaves to the Barbadoes.

But the latter days of the century approach with many fears, some prosperity and great distraction of mind and purpose. John Endicott had moved to Boston and died there in 1665. The race of great merchants had begun with Hollingworth and others. Philip English, the famous Episcopalian, was dazzling the eyes of his neighbors with his enterprise and the magnificent style of his living. His house and offices were full of "bound servants," and he evidently paid little attention to the strait ways of Puritanism. The "founders" who came to old age all died before the century was out. There were among them Major Hathorne and Captain Curwen, the Hon. W. Browne, who, coming over before 1638, lived half a century in Salem, and were regarded as "distinguished townsmen" when they died. There was much wealth accumulating already and life began to go on with considerable stateliness and dignity. Even those who did not for themselves expect to arrive at any station of especial honor still easily lent themselves to the general mode of life and assisted in creating a public sentiment favorable to the production of men of grave manners, weighty ideas and comprehensive plans of public and private advancement. With this outward gravity, and not altogether consistent with it, there were many grotesque and extravagant notions concerning both nature and the supernatural. At a time when men knew so little of the world and its natural products as to expect to find lions in the American wilderness, and when the loadstone was supposed to have some magical power of indicating the place of the precious metals, when devils and demons, both in their own form and as possessing human beings, were supposed to be as common as bats and owls, at any time events might happen which would break the outward calm and throw the community into a fever of curiosity or of apprehension.

At the end of the seventeenth century the town was, in many ways, in an unnatural condition. There had been numerous alarms and the real dangers were many. At any time enemies at home might trouble them, and against an irruption of foreign enemies there was no protection which was trustworthy. The more wealthy the community became the greater the danger that the ships of an enemy might sail into the ill-defended harbor and lay waste the town. Many losses had been incurred and the people were sore with apprehension, restless and ready for a panic of any sort. The occasion came, and Salem won an unpleasant and ill-deserved fame as the scene of the "Witchcraft Delusion." The sad tale will be honestly told in the narrative to follow. It is only necessary to say here that in our time men forget the multitudes who have been burned in Europe as witches and remember the score who went to an unhappy death on the scaffold in Salem, as if there were something peculiar in Salem witchcraft to distinguish it from the common experience in such

matters of the rest of the civilized world. When the Zuni Indians came to Salem, a few years since, one of them, speaking in Plummer Hall, told the people that he heard that they put their witches to death. He told them that they did right; the Zunis did the same. It was the only way to deal with them. The Indian had a face like Dante's, and his opinions were only the same as were held by all the civilized world down to the time when in Salem the long delusion of the ages finally gave way to the humaneness of modern feeling. In Northern Europe, as Topelius testifies, witches were slain by the hundred. This eruption in Salem was the last infamous outbreak of Puritan fanaticism, and it cleared the air for all the generations since.

To do anything like justice to the people of those days we must remember that they were at the same time more happy and, in many ways, more cheerful than we are apt to think, and that they also were more hard and insensible to certain forms of human suffering than we are, and that, moreover, great sensibility could be a trait of the character in which were qualities which, to us, seem quite incompatible with it. We must also remember that many things which to us seem like acts of their free will did not seem so to them. To be obliged to whip an Anabaptist or a Quaker seemed to many a tender-hearted Puritan as necessary and as grievous as to us seem the unavoidable sufferings which come by "act of God." That a certain brutality was cultivated by such theories is certain. The best argument against the whipping-post is that whatever the crimes of the culprit who suffers at one end of the whip, there will always be a brute at the other end of it—probably the worse brute of the two. When Hugh Peter died in England for his political offenses we have a picture of the times which it is now difficult to contemplate without a shudder. As he waited for his turn at the gallows he was compelled to see his friend Cooke cut down and quartered. "How like you this?" asked the executioner, rubbing his bloody hands. When such things were going on it is hard for us to remember that the sun shone as brightly then as now over the lovely shores and bays of Salem; that in summer the east wind was fresh and cool as it swept over the sparkling water, where the fisher boats floated and the fisher boys sang their ancient ballads or shouted to each other in careless jollity; that there was a merry sound from the herdsmen's horns as the kine came in fresh from the pastures in June, and that for any one life was easy and careless and happy. But it was so, and many a legend, tradition and reminiscence of those early days show that sailors danced and were jolly, that rustics were as light-hearted at times, and even more content and satisfied than now. Society went on, as society must, with love-making and marriage, the love of children and the association of friends; and what men could not prevent, or thought they

could not, that they contrived to shut out and forget. In the days of the witchcraft excitement, however, there was no possibility of shutting out or forgetting the grizzly horror which might look in at any window and claim any victim. Whether one believed in all the possibilities of demoniacal possession or only feared the passion of enemies and the mania of the populace, the danger and the fear were inevitable and oppressive.

But those unhappy days passed. The common sense and good feeling of the community reasserted themselves, and the humanness which had never been able to justify itself assumed an authority it had never had before. The modern period may be said to begin with the eighteenth century, although many a lapse and "many a backward streaming curve" show that progress then, as now, was not a regular progression from evil to good or from good to better things in public and private life.

The eighteenth century opened with renewed prosperity. Commerce was establishing itself, and with many and wide relations with the foreign world, Salem was becoming what it has always been since that time—remarkable for the number of its inhabitants who were cosmopolitan in their tastes and habits. The influence of a few men fostered a habit which, in time, produced a very peculiar and remarkable race of sailors and traders. Abandoning the ponderous methods of the older merchants, who built huge ships and founded permanent colonies, or occupied posts in foreign lands and carried on operations involving great expense and requiring to be protected by costly convoys and garrisons, the fishermen and traders of Salem learned to skirmish all along the border-lines of the civilized world, and prepared themselves for the brilliant exploits of later years. But it took a hundred years to train the whole population and compact it so that when the time came, whether for privateering or commerce, every varied need could be quickly, naturally and cheaply provided for at home. For these purposes there were needed on the spot men of universal knowledge of the known world, able also to make a shrewd guess as to what lay out of sight in the undiscovered parts of the world. They needed trusty agents as intelligent, if not as far-seeing, as themselves—men who could obey orders of a comprehensive character, with wit enough to modify them when new conditions arose. With them must go sailors who were bold, trusty, enterprising and intelligent, coming out of families whose interests were identical with those of the merchants and traders. About these there must be a homogeneous and interested population ready and skillful in all the trades and handicrafts needed by the main business of the place. We shall see, by and by, how all these conditions were prepared and what a mark Salem made on the business of the world. For the present we only note the fact that the process was beginning. The

fishing-boats and coasters, the trading smacks and larger craft plying between the West Indies and Salem, and the ships which were slowly extending the European commerce of the colony, were training such a hardy, brave and intelligent seafaring population as can now be found in no city or town of any size anywhere in the world.

From this time on religious matters are less engrossing and less distracting. Education, business and politics claim an increasing share of their attention, and a town is slowly built up of a homogeneous population, prosperous, well educated, capable of taking an intelligent interest in all the affairs of the town and the Commonwealth. But the colonies, provinces now under royal Governors who are inclined to haughty ways and the exercise of irresponsible authority, are still small, isolated and feeble. The settlements are still scattered. Communication is infrequent. Horses are few, and, until the beginning of the seventeenth century, carriages were almost unknown, while turnpikes and stage-coaches were yet to be introduced as the novel appliances of a new civilization. Roads everywhere were bad, bridges were few, and the obstruction to public travel, except by a very few main highways, was so great that each separate community was nearly reduced to dependence upon its own resources, excepting such supplies as might come by water, the great common highway of commerce. The water-ways were still used for most kinds of transportation, even among neighbors in Salem. For, as the town grew along the water's edge, with the front doors of the houses opening towards the harbor or the various rivers, while the lanes, out-houses and swine pens were behind, where the principal streets now are, it was more easy to convey all bulky articles a long distance by water than to carry them but a little way on land. The settlements spread along the bays and rivers, and even little creeks were useful to the farmer who sought a market for his surplus produce in exchange for needed supplies. With all their increased wealth and comfort, we must still think of them as a "feeble folk," scattered and few, too few to live up to the independent ideas they have now been nourishing for a century. Money was scarce, even when comfort abounded, and stores could be provided at any time in a given place only by transporting them in kind. Virginia could not give a thousand bushels of wheat to Boston by sending a bill of exchange, as we might do to-day if a famine occurred in Asia Minor, but must laboriously collect the grain from her own scattered wheat-fields and transport it from Virginia to Boston.

With the fall of the colonial government and the coming of the royal Governors, new problems of the most perplexing kinds rolled in upon them. From the beginning of the century the American Revolution was preparing itself. It took seventy-five years to breed the ideas, train the men and make it possi-

sible to provide the supplies which were at last to come to their highest uses and expression in the republic. During these years attention was more and more called to what were to become national problems. Provincial governors, however bad, served an excellent purpose when they turned the attention of the colonists away from the idiosyncrasies of religionists (good and bad alike), and concentrated the energies of the people in defense of their common rights and privileges. From the time that Sir Edmund Andros said to Mr. Higginson, in Salem, "Either you are subjects or you are rebels" it was certain that rebellion would come. It was already prepared for in the mind of every Salem householder who believed that his tenure was independent of the King. Even then it was claimed by Mr. Higginson that the lands of New England belonged not to the King, but to the people who occupied and paid for them. There might be doubt as to who were the rightful proprietors of the town lots and "common lands" of Salem, but there was no doubt that the King was not one of them. In the "great pastures" even the "swineherds" would have resisted his claim to the feeding of a pig so long as he was not a "householder" in Salem.

The reaction from the intolerance and over-religiousness of the preceding century was largely brought about by the enforced practice of the toleration which they had feared and abhorred. Being obliged to live in peace with Anabaptists, Episcopalians and Quakers, they learned, if not to like them, at least to do business with them, and at last to respect them as valuable members of the community. Wearied with long strife which had proved to be so profitless, the peace which followed the establishment of public worship after the manner of the Friends and the "Churchmen" must have been a grateful surprise even to those who had predicted dire evils to follow the toleration of Episcopacy or heresy. The minds of men were now somewhat released from the contemplation of insoluble theological problems, and the fears which had hung over the colony for a hundred years began to drift away or to dissolve before the splendor of the rising sun. Religion began to be regarded as the beneficent guide of life to be privately followed and not publicly enjoined upon others.

Many now living remember Dr. Holyoke, whose one hundredth birth-day was celebrated by a dinner at the Essex Coffee-House, in 1828, which he attended and at which he spoke. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1746, and therefore knew all of the men and women of the last half of the eighteenth century in Salem, and those older men and women also whose memories went back to the lifetime of the *conditores* themselves. To men now living he may have told the stories related to him by men who heard them from the lips of John Endicott. His own memory must have held some wonderful reminiscences of the hundred years in which the feeble provinces were

growing to be a great nation, able twice within his knowledge successfully to meet the mother-country in arms, and on sea and land to prove herself invincible to any foreign foe. As a boy, in 1736, he may have ridden over from Marblehead on a pillion behind his father, or have sailed around Naugus Head in a fishing boat to see the funeral procession of Philip English, and have listened that day to the tales of the grandams and goodies who remembered when he and his wife were arrested as witches. Perhaps he heard some of them slyly remind each other of having had a hand in the sport when the mob stripped and plundered his house. Some of them were in that procession which marched out to the edge of the wilderness at Gallows Hill, or stood near enough to hear the dying groans of Giles Corey. The older men that day would be sure to recall that other funeral when John Endicott was followed to his grave, in 1665, by his old companions, "the founders of the Colony." There would be several there who remembered seeing Robert Wilson's wife tied to the tail of a cart, and whipped from "Mr. Gedney's house to her own door in '61." As Dr. Holyoke in later years recalled these things, and contrasted the hardships and perils of his own century and theirs, he must have remarked the fact that the hard and perilous experiences of his time were memories to be proud of and to rejoice over as their anniversaries came, while the most exciting and perilous experiences of the preceding century left shameful memories and bitter regrets. Being born in Marblehead in 1728, Dr. Holyoke could not remember that in that year Gov. Burnet, finding it impossible in Boston to obtain an appropriation from the General Court for his salary, called a session in Salem, where he found the members still intractable and unwilling to provide supplies for a "royal Governor." He would quite naturally have been one of that crowd of six thousand people who assembled on Salem Common to hear George Whitefield preach, and he certainly heard much of the heated controversy which began at that time and continued until the Congregational Church of New England was divided, three-quarters of a century later. Those who sympathized with George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards at the time of the "great revival" then formed one party; those who disapproved of their methods and doctrines formed another, and the lineal descendants or natural inheritors of the ideas and moral sympathies of these two parties are to-day in Salem, respectively called Orthodox and Unitarian Congregationalists. George Whitefield, loved, admired and praised by one party, was by the other distrusted and condemned. But to all he was an object of exceeding interest and curiosity. Holyoke felt the earthquake shock in '55, the year that Lisbon went down. He saw Timothy Pickering as a boy in the streets and saw the children growing up who were to march with him to Winter Hill, when the British

were retreating from Lexington, and get for a hard day's march, with none of the fighting which they went for, only curses because they did not get there sooner and capture the whole force. He must have stood at the North Bridge when Colonel Leslie marched that way and was met by the "proprietors of the North Fields," who assured him that the way beyond the bridge was not the "King's Highway," which he claimed it to be, but a private way where passing was "dangerous" for those who were forbidden by the lawful owners. He was a man in middle life when the great events of the Revolution were coming to pass. He might have seen Lafayette in Salem in 1784, and Washington in 1789, and may have owned one of the numerous beds occupied on that memorable occasion by the "Father of his country." No doubt he stood on the wharf when the "Grand Turk" sailed on her famous voyage to India and China, and went down to see her when she came in, the first to bring a cargo direct from Canton to New England. Some writers describe those days as provincial, dull and uninteresting to any but traders and sailors. But the man must have been curiously made who could stand in the distinguished company certain to assemble at such a time and see the treasures of the oriental world begin to pour into that little old Puritan town and not have sensations which would stir his blood and cause his nerves to tingle as scarcely anything would but war. These men, whose ancestors would not willingly associate with Anabaptists, Episcopalians or Quakers, were now ready to trade with Catholics, Buddhists, Mohammedans, Parsees, and idolaters of every hue and creed. Trading with them, they learned to respect them, and sometimes they even formed life-long friendships with men of the most diverse religious opinions. During his own lifetime Dr. Holyoke had seen revolutionary changes of many kinds. He saw the little provinces become a powerful nation. He saw religion cast off its gloom and severity, while in social life austerity gave place to animation and a joyous activity. He saw also in their cradles, or playing in the streets, the boys who were to bring literary renown to the old town when her commercial laurels faded. Perhaps the boys are now growing up who, by the fame of their scientific achievements, will take up the succession and make Salem as illustrious in science as she is now for the fame of her children,—Prescott and Hawthorne.

Of the last century Timothy Pickering was perhaps the most distinguished man born or living in Salem after 1750. He was conspicuous for the force and dignity of his character, for his many attainments and for his notable public services. Born in 1745, and dying in 1828, a descendant of one of the "founders," graduated at Harvard College, in his later years an officer of the First Church, a Unitarian before Channing had begun to preach, his life was almost an epit-

ome of Puritan history in all its phases. From the time, in 1774, when the Colonial Legislature assembled in Salem and took measures to call a General Provincial Congress in Philadelphia, Pickering was at the centre of events. A mere catalogue of the offices he held in that half century will suggest the many services he rendered and his eminent fitness for public life. He was adjutant-general and quartermaster of Washington's army; delegate to the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia; Postmaster-General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State under Washington and Adams; United States Senator; Representative in Congress; and president of the Essex Agricultural Society. But, eminent as he was, he was but one in a group of professional and business men of rare ability and great attainments. Many of the educated people of that time, as in the next generation, were familiar, not only with public affairs in their own country, but also were at home in foreign lands, and had much of the culture which is gained by travel after the usual course of education is finished. They were not provincial in any narrow sense. Those merchants who had no academic training acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the world, which gave them great influence as advisers, and a large number of them were eminent outside of their counting-rooms. Such names as those of Benjamin Goodhue, Nathaniel Silsbee, the two brothers Jacob and Benjamin Crowninshield, Benjamin Pickman and William Gray suggest to those who are familiar with the history of the country the great services rendered by merchants in the early days of the republic. Goodhue and Silsbee were United States Senators. One of the Crowninshields was Secretary of the Navy, and one declined the same position some years before. Mr. Pickman was Representative in Congress after holding many posts of honor in Massachusetts, as did the other merchants named. Nathan Reed was well known, not only as member of Congress, but as jurist and inventor. He made a steamboat with paddle-wheels as early as 1789. B. Lynde Oliver was a learned and famous physician of that time, being well versed in such knowledge as was then current in scientific circles, and an authority in optics. Nathaniel Bowditch everybody has heard of who ever smelled salt-water. He was famous both on sea and shore. His fame was so extensive and stable that even his contemporaries who used his "Navigator" and worked out their problems by use of his tables, often thought of him as being as ancient and famous as Sir Isaac Newton. After his marine experience was over he lived as a quiet business man in Salem, not especially conspicuous in a place and at a time when first-rate attainments and achievements were expected of many men in many modes of action.

As merchants at that time, no men were more conspicuous in Salem, or elsewhere, than Elias Haskett

Derby, Joseph Peabody and William Gray. The story of the commercial fortunes of the town will be told elsewhere. They were at their brightest in the period between the two wars with England and were the direct result and continuation of one of the most interesting and exciting episodes in the varied history of Salem. America had no navy when the Revolutionary War began. Exposed along all her line of coast to a descent of the enemy, but one defense was possible. Instant submission must have followed had not the whole merchant service of every kind offered itself with ships and men trained to enterprise and eager for adventure. It was to Salem, Beverly and Marblehead that Washington looked at once for an armed fleet, without awaiting the slow action of a loosely organized Congress or taxing the inadequate resources of scattered and half-appointed ship-yards, and these old sea-ports did not fail him in his necessity. They furnished, ready-made, the first navy of the war. Ship-building of every kind was pushed with all speed. Vessels of all kinds, large and small, were commissioned to sweep the seas and make lawful prize of war whatever could be captured belonging to the enemy. Salem entered into this form of war with great enthusiasm. It suited the adventurous spirit of her boys. Jonathan Haraden was a sea-dog of the approved pattern. Bold, persevering and indomitable, he made himself a terror to the enemy, and, with others of like temper and spirit, soon made Salem a magazine of supplies of every kind, taken from the merchantmen of Great Britain. At one time a famine was averted by the timely arrival of a prize laden with flour and dry goods. More than one hundred and fifty privateers sailed from this port during the Revolution. The extraordinary activity of the marine forces of the town left few to take part in the war on land, although when Colonel Pickering marched after a drum through the aisles of the First Church, calling for volunteers, the full quota of the town fell in behind him and followed him into the street. Privateering had all the charm of piracy without its crime and outlawry. It furnished adventure to match the desires of the most inflamed youthful imagination. The town was full of well-educated young fellows who were eager for excitement. The people were of a homogeneous breed, mostly the descendants of the English yeomanry. Every one knew his neighbor, and each one had a reputation to make or to maintain. Every sailor boy expected some day to be admiral of a fleet or master of a vessel at least. All were intelligent, and sailed with a purpose. The result was the training of a merchant marine of unexampled intelligence, enterprise and experience. When the war was over it was easy to see that the little town of five or six thousand inhabitants was swarming with sailors and privateersmen, rough, boisterous, impatient of the plodding ways of business, spoiled for

anything but a life of adventure. With the harbor crowded with swift-sailing vessels and the streets filled with idle sailors, with ship-owners not averse to the life of enterprise and adventure made familiar by war, all the conditions were prepared for the sudden enlargement of the mercantile resources of the town which followed. Many volumes would be required to hold the record of the times, the adventures in foreign lands, the hunt for new markets, the unexpected discovery of obscure corners of the world, where salable products of the earth, rare in Europe and America, were common, and to the natives of little value, the conflicts with natives often murderous in disposition and cannibals to boot, the rivalries of fellow merchants, and the dangers from foreign nations, both on sea and shore. These, often told in part, familiar to many, have as yet never been presented to the public in the fullness which the great interest of the subject would justify.

In this place it is possible only to call attention to the features of society at that time which are often overlooked, the dash and excitement of the common life and the brilliant cosmopolitanism of the rich, enterprising and educated men who conducted these enterprises. The sudden quiet which fell upon the town when the foreign commerce departed, the grave demeanor of the elders, who, their business being done, and their sons having gone to conduct other enterprises, quietly settled down to the enjoyment of wealth and leisure, have given the impression that it was always so in Salem. When those who are in middle life now came upon the stage the play was over, the curtain was falling and the lights were going out. But when everything was fresh and all enterprises in full operation, when the store-houses were full, the wharves scenes of busy activity, and the young men of the town were coming and going on their travels and voyages, there was nothing dull or sluggish in the movements of society. Youth was predominant and hopefulness characteristic of the times. The unexampled opportunities for young men drew them from all the neighborhood, and in those days the increase of population was largely of this class. An impression of gravity and severity is given by pictures of the men and women of that time, who, in dress and manner, seem ancient and stiff. At that time it was customary to mark distinction of age and standing by the fashion of the garments. Old men did not affect the sprightliness of youth either in gait or garment. In middle life one's coat was a little longer, his waistcoat a little more voluminous, his shoe buckles a little broader, and there was an air of repose and a suggestion of solidity which was regarded as not inappropriate to one who might be supposed to have done something and had passed the need of hurrying overmuch. It was a gravity not altogether without the compensations and quiet cheerfulness which come with well-filled pockets, and a heavy

balance at the bank. The young men as they prospered were not averse to a little of the dignity which began to indicate that they were men of weight. All social distinctions were still marked by etiquette and dress in a way now quite unknown. Until just before the Revolution names of students were printed in the catalogue of Harvard College in the order of the social rank of their parents. Something is to be said for customs which mark off society into classes according to age and merit, and make it easier to grow old and more desirable to succeed in lawful enterprises, because of the increased respect paid to the aged and the honorable. Old age in some ways began earlier than now. It is difficult for us to realize what an extension of the working capacity of the race has followed the great improvement of optical instruments since the beginning of this century. Timothy Pickering was near-sighted and wore glasses. A soldier has left on record the emotions with which he saw him ride along a line of camp-fires in the evening, his eyes blazing at intervals like balls of fire. He had never seen such a sight before. Many near-sighted people, having no glasses, were accounted queer, because they could not join with others in sports or many occupations, and the middle-aged, who were not rich enough or enterprising enough to provide themselves with the costly and ugly spectacles then made, were early victims of old age and were laid on the shelf prematurely because they could not see.

The intellectual excitements of the last part of the eighteenth century were many and strong. Intercourse with the whole world brought freight of many kinds besides that which paid duty at the custom-house. Puritanism had lost its hold upon the leading classes and English Unitarianism was coming in to make Salem a "peculiar place." But this, though influential, was as yet a silent force, working persuasively, but not noisily. French Democracy, working in some ways to the same end, was a disturbing force of which more account was taken. France had been the friend of America in her well-nigh hopeless struggle. Lafayette was loved there next to Washington, and it was natural that French ideas should be popular. But in the admixture of French ideas with Puritanism it is easy to see there were difficulties not easily overcome. "Infidelity" was a word of ominous meaning, and the atrocities of the French Revolution made it hard to keep one's balance when attempting to take from the French philosophers the good there undoubtedly was in their theories, and to avoid the evil which was only too apparent. Dr. Bentley was a Democrat and a sturdy fighter. He did not hesitate to avow his liberal opinions as to church and state and to take the consequences, and the consequences were sometimes unpleasant. He stood almost alone because of his opinions, a Roger Williams of later date, not doomed to banishment because the

times had changed. Even so early as 1787 he was a leader in the ways which were by many accounted destructive. The story of the theological contests of the time belong in the ecclesiastical history of Salem, and will be told in its proper place. But the struggle was not wholly, perhaps not at this time mainly, theological. The questions in dispute were by all parties supposed to relate to the very foundations of social institutions and civil government. The new world of modern life was in process of discovery. New ideas were pouring into minds both trained and untrained in a tumultuous profusion which was bewildering. Everybody knew that the old familiar forms into which society had been shaped by Puritanism were shifting and changing. To some the changes were welcome; to some they were alarming. Few were indifferent to them, and no one knew what would come next, nor exactly what was desirable. The descendants of the Puritans, then as now, were conservative in action and slow to change the outward habit of their lives. The intellectual tumult, however, was none the less because veiled by the decent garb and weighty manners of the "respectable citizen." The peculiarities of Salem life cannot be understood by those who do not take into account the stress and tension of the minds of the men and women of those days, and the great activity of intellectual faculties exercised on numerous questions which had no relation to business and no concern with the traditional religious beliefs. It is not possible to account for the outburst of literary expression in the generation following this on the supposition that the best society of the last days of the eighteenth century was a "purse-proud" aristocracy, of which the most conspicuous members were those who, by patient and unscrupulous dealings in New England rum, negroes, tobacco and salt codfish, had amassed wealth and were enjoying it in an atmosphere of dignified and exclusive dullness. The evil and the stupid elements of a commercial town were there, and no doubt in their full proportion. But there was that other something, the intellectual unrest and voiceless activity which came to expression a little later in sons and daughters trained to think, accustomed from childhood to familiar intercourse with the masters of thought and literature, and able themselves to contribute to the world's slowly accumulating treasure of immortal books. The literature of a generation springs out of nothing but a previous generation prepared to nourish thoughtful sons and daughters. In the generation to come upon the stage as the great merchants pass away we shall see how the brilliant literary history of Salem was prepared for in these busy and laborious days after the Revolution. There was, in general society, at that time great formality and exclusiveness, due in part to the perilous strength of thought, out of which may come new dispensations of peace, or, with unfavorable conditions, contentions and disaster. Many of

the more "aristocratic" families had maintained their loyalty to the royal government, and were perhaps all the more attached to their King because at a distance from their "old home" they idealized him. They had found Salem too hot for "tories," and at the beginning of the war had gone to England or the British provinces. Among the "patriots" who remained the lines were strictly drawn between Federalists on the one side and Republicans on the other. The principles which were approved on either side were illustrated in many ways, and social life took its tone largely from the color of the political party to which a family belonged. The one would give society something of the stateliness of aristocratic society abroad, while the other would abandon all formal etiquette and return to the unconventional ways "of nature." To the Federalist, Thomas Jefferson riding unattended on horseback to take the oath of office as President of the United States was simply demeaning himself and degrading his office. To the Republicans he seemed to be setting an example of glorious republican simplicity. The two social ideals created social distinctions and produced rivalries which seem now incredible and foolish. But we must remember that nothing is of small value when it illustrates a principle, and that by outward signs a community is educated to loyalty or dislike for a theory of social order upon which the safety or prosperity of all may depend. The men of these times were at the head of the streams out of which were flowing the main currents of the national life. They knew it and they felt their responsibility.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Salem was still a small town. The century was well on its way before fifteen thousand people gathered there. But it was the home of a vigorous race,—the product and flowering of the Puritan stock, enriched by culture, made wise by many experiences of adversity and polished by travel and a wide experience with men of many creeds and customs. In a letter written at the time, Haskett Derby is described as "a fine, majestic-looking man." "He says little, yet does not appear absent; has traveled much, and in his manners has an easy, unassuming politeness that is not the acquirement of a day." Such a description may be taken as almost typical of the society of that time in its best aspects. There was no doubt pride, pretension and folly, such as always come and go with rapid changes of fortune. There was no doubt a class whose arrogance was not justified by any service rendered to the public by themselves or their ancestors. Others were unworthy heirs of great names, and unfit custodians of family renown. There were the purse-proud who were ignorant, and the exclusive who, in order to be so, were obliged to forget their ancestry and exclude their kindred. But after making all the allowances which could be suggested by envy, by the ill-natured rivalry of other towns, or by jealous rivals

at home, granting all that reason and the democratic sentiment of America claims for the rank and file of citizenship, still it remains true, and after making all deductions, fair and unfair, only the more conspicuously true, that in those days the little town of Salem was the home to a remarkable degree of intellect, culture and high-bred character; that it was not merely the dwelling-place of traders and speculators, but was an exceptional centre of attraction for a large number of men of comprehensive ideas, broad culture and a certain largeness of life not common then or now. In the chapters which follow on commerce and on literature the story of the achievements of the men of Salem will show in what ways the energy which had been stored up and the knowledge which had been accumulating were put to use both in enriching the world and making it wiser,—two processes not always carried on together. Aside from this history of activity on the sea and the gathering up of literary power there is little to tell of these times before the War of 1812. What there is to be noted shows that a settled prosperity has begun. The common is laid out, two banks are incorporated, the turnpike was opened, making rapid travel possible, two new banks were incorporated, two military companies held their first parade, a ship came in from a voyage round the world and another made the first voyage for trade at the Fiji Islands, Nathaniel Hawthorne was born, the Athenæum was incorporated, and Messrs. Judson, Newell, Nott, Hall and Rice were, in the Tabernacle Church, consecrated the first missionaries to India. This latter event, to many the most notable of the century, was one of the remarkable modern illustrations of the earnestness of the Puritan spirit in matters of religion, and it was a direct result of the meeting of two phases of the Puritan character. The spirit of enterprise opened the heathen world to commerce and the pious zeal of the church which had maintained the Puritan creed sent the gospel to complete the work of civilization. The two purposes which united at the founding of Salem made the third century of its life illustrious with the double triumphs of commerce and religion. The record of the Christian missionaries of New England shines with all the traits of heroism. In all the years which have followed since the sailing of the first missionaries in the brig "Caravan" in 1812, the Orthodox people of Salem have retained their interest in their work, and have been able with both money and advice to assist in generous measure.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the large amount of liberal "leaven" in the ecclesiastical life of Salem was the result of any easy-going optimism on the part of the people, or that the changes which have passed over the Puritan spirit indicate any wholesale lapse of the people from the standards of their fathers. The change was the result of a battle fiercely but fairly fought, and it has left all parties in possession of an inheritance directly derived from their

forefathers. The strife which followed the division of the Congregational body of Salem was probably the last one of its kind in Puritan history, and it would be an instructive exhibition if one could put the symbols of ecclesiastical discipline in chronological order, marking the two hundred years, with the gallows at one end and a "union Thanksgiving service" at the other. Tolerance in all matters of religion has become common-place in Salem. But all parties who date their ecclesiastical ancestry from the beginning are equally proud of their fathers and all claim, whatever their modern differences, to illustrate in important particulars the principles of the founders. Even the Episcopalians and the Quakers now live in peace with the descendants of those who persecuted them, and claim their share of the common inheritance, while not a few of the children of the persecutors have accepted the tenets of the men and women who suffered as disturbers of the peace and rebels against the church of God. Of no portion of her population is Salem more proud than of her "Friends." It is hard for her to forgive herself that in her borders they suffered violence. Their love of peace and their zeal for human liberty have conquered. Left to themselves, they have proved themselves to be not disturbers, but keepers of the peace, and as others adopt their rule of conduct their protest dies away and they are no longer to be distinguished from their friendly neighbors.

The founding of the Andover Theological School and the oath imposed upon its professors, with its list of things to be opposed, are part of the ecclesiastical history of Salem, and show some of the influences at work in shaping her religious and social life. John Norris, of Salem, gave ten thousand dollars of the original endowment. The school was intended to offset the "latitudinarianism" of Harvard College. The heresies mentioned were those which in Salem were, or had been, regarded with more or less sympathy and toleration. It is a list which could never have been made in a western town. The professors were sworn to opposition, "not only to Atheists and infidels, but to Jews, Papists, Mohammedans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Sabelians, Unitarians and Universalists." Now every one of these words stood for that which had been a belief held by men of Salem or their friends and business correspondents at some time in their troubled history.

The war with England in 1812 was a disaster to Salem which her merchants dreaded and would have avoided. Their ships were abroad on all seas, and they protested against the peril and loss which they saw to be inevitable. But the war being declared, they turned their attention with characteristic vigor to the prosecution of it to a victorious conclusion. As in the Revolution, an efficient navy being wanted and not being available, an extemporaneous navy was

speedily organized, and, as usual, the privateering fleet of Salem was greatly out of proportion to her small population. Ships and seamen were abundant, and the boys were natural sailors and sea-fighters. Of the enemy much spoil was taken and many prisoners. But of the forty privateers, twenty-six fell into the hands of the British, and their crews lay in prison at Barbadoes and elsewhere. Dartmoor was filled with them, and until within a few years the survivors of captivity in that gloomy place recited the stories of their sufferings and release to admiring listeners.

As commerce culminated and passed away, the intellectual vigor which had been evolved or educated by its enterprise and wide experience of the world began to manifest itself in other ways. The life of professional men in the town was attractive and their work lucrative, according to the modest standard of the time. Ministers, lawyers and doctors, of learning and ability abounded. Scholars were numerous and well equipped. The men of native mental power, who had not been highly educated, sent their boys to Harvard College, and young men of wealth, education and the habit of foreign travel were in many families where culture was accounted at least as good as wealth. At that time all classes lived the year round in Salem. They might have outlying farms, and were in the habit of traveling much abroad, but the principal interests of the rich and educated families were at home. The influence of this concentration of interest, and the maintenance of a permanent domestic life in one place was favorable to the cultivation of the whole community. Men of exceptional gifts were not isolated from their townsmen. Those who were conspicuous for their wisdom were held in honor at home, and served the community like other citizens. For illustration every institution of the town might furnish an example,—Timothy Pickering was president of the Essex Agricultural Society; Nathaniel Bowditch was president of the Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company; Daniel A. White was president of the Athenæum and of the Essex Institute; Leverett Saltonstall held similar offices; Colonel Francis Peabody founded the Lyceum; and in the school committee for 1821 we find the names of Tim. Pickering, Joseph Story, Nat. Silsbee, Gid. Barstow, Leverett Saltonstall, John Pickering and others. In the list we have one who had been a cabinet officer under two Presidents, a member of Congress, an United States Senator, a justice of the Supreme Court, with others almost equally eminent, together with two physicians of fine attainments, and business men of prominence. Not one of the whole list is insignificant. John Pickering made the first Greek lexicon with definitions in English, and not Latin, while among the teachers with whom the committee had to deal with then or a little later were such men as the author of "Worcester's Dictionary" and Henry K. Oliver. Rufus Choate was practicing law; Nathaniel

Hawthorne was just going to college at Brunswick; the sculptor and poet, W. W. Story, was not quite old enough to enter school; Jones Very, the poet, was a shy and modest lad of eight years; Samuel Johnson, the eminent historian of the "Oriental Religions," was getting the first impressions of the East which were to turn his attention to its literature, and make him the first American scholar in that department of learning; and many boys were fitting themselves in the public schools to become what they have been ever since—most important factors in the evolution of American society. Education was a "hobby" at this time, and money was at rapid rate being turned into brains and brain culture. Between 1815 and 1832 seventy-nine Salem boys were graduated at Harvard College alone. In 1828 seventeen boys entered Harvard College, and seven the same year went to other colleges. In those days young men, their travels being over, returned to live at home, and a proportion of the men to be met on Essex Street, unusually large for a town of its size, were college bred. The intense mental energy directed by the fathers into the channels of commerce could not be limited to them, and their sons, inheriting their ability with a wider range of experience and a greater knowledge of the world of books, became lawyers, judges, theologians, physicians, men of science and men of letters, and exponents in all New England and the Northern States of the intellectual and "gentle" life. It was a period of wonderful intellectual stimulus and fertility. Within a radius of twenty miles from the custom-house, from which the "Scarlet Letter" was dated, the stock being homogeneous and the conditions similar, there were produced in the early part of the century in Boston, Cambridge, Salem and other towns, Story, the two Danas, Sparks, Everett, Ticknor, Prescott, Norton, Ripley, Emerson, Parker, Hawthorne, Rantoul, Holmes, Whittier, Motley, Lowell and many another of equal or lesser light, and they drew into their fellowship such men as Channing, Bancroft, Longfellow, Agassiz, Choate and Webster. The common family life out of which they came was, to a great extent, the common life of an ordinary social circle in Salem. Henry R. Cleveland, son of a ship-master, was one of the "five of clubs," and brought his companions, Sumner, Longfellow, Hillard and Felton, to enjoy the gay and witty society to be found about his home. Many a visitor from Cambridge and Boston sought the company of the accomplished men and beautiful women who constituted a genuine "society," and many of the daughters of Salem were taken away to grace the homes of other cities.

Certain writers have much to say about the "provincialism" of Salem in the first half of this century. It is not necessary to deny any charge they may make, for no doubt it was provincial. But it was less so than any sea-port town of England at the same

time, and was behind few English towns in the knowledge the people had of English literature of the better sort. Dr. Kirwan's philosophical library, made a prize of war in the Irish Channel, became the basis of the present Athenæum Library, a rare collection of good books both new and old. But it is safe to say that there was in that library no book so abstruse, so philosophical, or printed in language so uncommon as to be unfit for the use of numerous men and women in Salem. Rummage the closets of any old gambrel-roofed house to-day, and along with crackle-ware teapots and old silver porringers you will find some rare volume of "Seneca," the "Spectator," the "Dial," the common reading of Hawthorne and his playmates of seventy years ago or later.

Salem became a city about the time when its most famous days were over. With the transference of its trade to the larger cities and more accessible markets its local prominence was greatly reduced. The building of railroads and the multiplication of modern inventions reduced, instead of increasing, its relative importance. Great efforts were made, and hopes were entertained, that the port of Salem might again become the centre of a great inland trade. Stephen C. Phillips lost his life in a burning steamer on the St. Lawrence River, while making an effort to open new provinces to the enterprise of Salem. His sons were prominent in the movement which resulted in the provision made by the city for an abundant supply of pure water. When the city charter was procured, most of the wealth won by enterprise in all quarters of the globe was still held by citizens at home, or so invested as to swell the general resources of the city. But the inviting fields for enterprise opened in the Western States have caused the transference of a large part of it to other places, and with it have gone many of those who have inherited it. Some of them are to be found in most of the large cities of the Eastern States and in Europe. The sons of Salem are officers of many western railways, and the money won in oriental trade now facilitates the transport of the grain which feeds the millions of Europe.

The old Salem is gone. The men, the commerce, the Puritan spirit, the high-bred courtesy, the stately ways, the great men and women with strong local attachments,—these are gone. Nothing remains of the most stirring epoch in the life of the town but names, places, and a decreasing number of the families who trace their ancestry back of the nineteenth century, in Salem.

A new Salem has taken the place of the old. A city stands where the old town won its renown,—a city with railroads, horse-cars, electric lights and cotton-mills, and a large foreign population. The mansions built by merchants of English descent and training are inhabited by operatives in the mills or laborers, who have no interest in the old ways or the

former inhabitants. The Irish brogue and the French language are heard now where pure English was once the rule. The old wharves are rotting; the ancient warehouses are silently falling to decay, and the beautiful shores of streams and harbors, which once delighted the eyes of their owners, are becoming an offense to the poor who dwell along their borders. The custom-house, always too large for any reasonable expectations of prosperity, is much too vast for the diminishing commerce in dutiable goods. The old Salem is dead and gone. Most of it does not even exist as a relic of a fast-fading antiquity.

But a new Salem is rising. The points of activity and interest are no longer on her shores, which, for the present, are abandoned to chance and fate until, with renewed life and a more abundant leisure, measures shall be taken to make them once more as beautiful and attractive as they were when "Lover's Lane" and clean beaches were the resorts of the youth. The centres of life and business activity are now within the town, along that highway which, once a lane and then a street, took its curves from the line of the shores where the merchants lived and business was done. Two hundred years ago what is now Essex Street was a shady lane, where the goats and swine and cattle passed on their way to and from their pastures, and where, in the dewy freshness of a summer morning, the horns of the herdsmen summoned their flocks and herds, to be driven away to fields now inhabited by prosperous citizens. The shores are now deserted by commerce, and the shaded lanes of the old time are now the paved and lighted highways through which begins to move, with increasing energy, the business which is to repair and rebuild the fallen fortunes of the city. Home industries, domestic commerce, manufactures, science, literature, music, art and education are now restoring the vanishing wealth, renewing the ancient renown, and making the city a centre of enterprises which are already enriching the national life.

Since the nineteenth century began there have been three distinct periods in the progress of the city. First, there was the commercial and intellectual energy of the first thirty years. They were supposed to be without limit. But they were appropriated by the larger life of New England. Then came the slowly diminishing prosperity of the thirty years before the War of the Rebellion, in which, in spite of costly endeavors to prevent it, the city lost its ancient importance as a centre of business. The war ended the career of "Old Salem," and the new Salem began to be. The city lives no longer on its memories alone, and is not distinguished solely for its antiquity. Business activity and scientific enterprise are rapidly preparing the conditions for a new career of progress, on new lines. The history of Old Salem is closed; but in the new city, which is rising on its ancient foundations, its memories will be cherished, its annals will be preserved with care and enriched

with fresh discovery. The historic places where the good and evil passions of men were displayed in conflict, and where great virtues made the contest illustrious, will be visited, as the years pass, by an increasing number of pilgrims from all the newer parts of the country. The ideals of character which were the Puritan's finest contribution to the resources of modern civilization, honored and revered on the spot which gave them birth, will be constant sources of virtue and intelligence.

The people of Salem are proud of their ancestry and history, and a diligent band of local antiquarians is working out the story of the past, with results of more than local fame. But the city is entering upon a new career, and may become as notable for its achievements in the years to come as it was justly famous in the past.

The Athenæum, the Essex Institute, the Peabody Academy of Science and the societies and individuals that are attending to music and art are yet to be heard from in a way not unworthy of Salem. The idea is being cultivated that wealth is not the sole foundation of good society, and that the money made in the old times was not the principal gain. That money is now flowing in other channels, but it has, in flowing away from the place where it was accumulated, made it only the more evident that it was one of the least of the treasures gained in the enterprising days of foreign commerce. Now attention is turned to the other things which are seen to be permanent and of staple value in good society. The new Salem will be rich, but its cultivation will be not incidental. It will be held to be of primary importance, and, with religion, good morals and wisdom, will enrich the national life far beyond any material contributions which it may make to the national prosperity.

CHAPTER II.

SALEM—(Continued).

ECCLIESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY REV. EDMUND B. WILLSON.

THIS history lays no claim to completeness. It deals but slightly with the interior, the unorganized religious life of the first settlers of Salem, or of the later inhabitants of the place. It is little more than a historical sketch of the church-life of its people.

Nor is it for the most part history now written for the first time. The main facts relating to nearly every church in the town have been already collected and printed—those of earlier date than the present century by the very competent hand of Rev. Mr. Bentley, minister of the East Church; those falling

within the present century by Charles S. Osgood and Henry M. Batchelder, in their historical sketch of Salem, published in 1879, whose contents were manifestly verified with painstaking care so far as the authority for them could be had and the scope of that work permitted them to be included.

The settlement of New England, it is to be borne in mind, was an enterprise in the interest of religion. "Civilized New England," says Palfrey, "is the child of English Puritanism." To know the child, therefore, we should know something of its ancestry. Only briefest notices of the ante-migration period of English Puritanism, however, can find room here.

When it is said that the colonizing of New England was in the interest of religion, it is not meant that secular interests had no voice in the councils that directed it. Hopes of advantageous trade and prospects of opening new fishing-grounds were not wanting. Philanthropic plans for converting and civilizing the Indians mingled with schemes for reaping solid gains from exchanging English goods for land, peltry, fish, whatever products might turn to account in a commerce between the Old World and the New. The sleepless love of adventure, thirst for roving and change, sure to be dreaming its fascinating dream of voyage and exploration in every tenth young Englishman's brain, of course played its part. The never failing, restless, religious adventurer—source of constant danger to the peace of the new settlement—would also be ready to embark in the first ship that sailed. It remains true that a religious purpose was predominant and controlling in the Puritan company that settled Salem.

Up to the time of its leaving its English home for the West, the history of Puritanism is to be studied chiefly as the history of a national religious movement, of the rooting, spread and final prevailing of the ideas of the Reformation on English soil. It is our province to trace it more particularly after its landing in America, and more particularly still in the planting, growth and shaping of the institutions which it founded and fostered in this town. It lost nothing of its intensity of religious purpose when it left its native land. It became even a larger element in the life of the settlers of New England after their removal than it had been before, in that here they led a life of narrowed and simplified conditions. It had a more undivided supremacy. It had deeply colored and characterized their life and history before they came; now it was the very life of their life. It imbedded itself in their social and domestic customs, and took control of their political aims and plans.

Lines of minor divergence naturally came to be drawn among the English reformers themselves, and that a good while before they sailed for these shores, as they found they were not agreed as to the extent to which church reform should go, or what were the methods most hopeful for effecting it. Some counseled separation from the established church as

the only way to realize a pure worship, with entire freedom of mind and conscience, seeing no other sure way to obtain relief from the despotism of the Church of Rome, whose spirit was still present and ruling, and whose methods still lingered in the Church of Episcopal England. Those who took this view were the Separatists, Brownists, Independents of their time, avowed advocates of democracy in church government, for which Robert Brown of Norwich was a strenuous contestant, and in which he led a considerable following. Others regarding the national church as a true church still, even in its degeneracy, and having an invincible antipathy to the least semblance of schism, firmly resisted the secession movement, and sought rather to purify the church of its formalism by the leaven of a more sincere and fervent piety. These were the Puritans.

From the former class came the Plymouth colonists,—by the way of Holland, where they tarried a few years, and contemplated for a time making a permanent religious home under the tolerant laws, the Protestant leanings and the comparatively hospitable public sentiment of that country.

The Puritans continued for a while their experiment of staying in the national church and there working out its reformation. They never formally abandoned it. But practically they did. They confessed to themselves after a time that they were not succeeding. Reluctantly they became more and more accustomed to turn their eyes to the sea and to think of the shores beyond. English trading companies were sending their ventures meanwhile to the wild and little-known bays and rivers of Virginia and their ships were ranging the whole long Eastern coast of the new continent. They might try their experiment there, they thought, under a less close and jealous scrutiny, and possibly pursue there, unmolested by savage neighbors, as they could not at home, unmolested by priests and prelates, the better religious life they craved.

The reports that came from Plymouth were, to be sure, of hunger, cold, sickness, death and of returning malcontents, but also of an undaunted faith, a peaceful following of their own way in religion, and a fixed purpose to stay on the part of the conductors and earliest members of that community. A schismatic the Puritan would never be, but a non-conformist he could be. But at length non-conformity came to be no longer permitted in England. He looked now, then, oftener toward the sea, and thought more of a home and a church in the wilderness.

John White, of the English Dorchester, "a famous Puritan divine," perhaps not thinking of a possible Puritan church at all, but only of a plantation combined with a fishing and trading-post,—John White, of whatever thinking, interested himself, at any rate, to induce some faithful men among the number of those who made voyages from his town for the purpose of fishing in these neighboring waters and bar-

tering along these neighboring American coasts, and who were often for months together detained about these parts, to make a station at Cape Ann, "where the mariners might have a home when not at sea, where supplies might be provided for them by farming and hunting, and where they might be brought under religious influences."

In 1623 a plant was made, with this view, under Thomas Gardner as overseer. For some cause it failed. Two years later Mr. Roger Conant, who had left the Plymouth colony from disaffection, and had come up the coast as far as Nantasket, being reported to the Dorchester associates as a "religious, sober and prudent gentleman," was invited by them to come to Cape Ann and to take charge of the plantation there. Though this confidence in the newly-installed director was not misplaced, the plantation still languished, and a year or two after, those engaged in it sold what remained of their vessels and supplies, disbanded, and, as a company, quit their joint proceedings. But a few, of better stuff than the rest, and of more staying qualities of character, remained behind, and kept charge of the last importation of cattle. Mr. White was not one to accept defeat. He kept up communication with Conant, who meantime had removed to Nahumkeike, as a preferable seat for the general purposes of colonization, and pleaded with him not to be discouraged nor to desist from the undertaking to which he had set his hand. If Conant and three others whom he named would engage to stay at Naumkeag, he promised to obtain a patent for them and send them recruits, with provisions and goods suitable for trade with the Indians. The drooping spirits of the settlers were with some difficulty roused again, the faith of the English merchants was reinforced by the energetic representations of the Dorchester patron, so that they became willing to risk a portion of their wealth in another attempt. Not only Dorchester fishermen, but London merchants and gentlemen and others, were brought to put some capital at stake here. And it fell out that John Endicott, "a man well known to divers persons of good note," "manifested much willingness" to accept the leadership of the new effort proposed, and came in the summer of 1628, at the head of a not large party, to take the management, which, after some objection from those already on the ground, was finally yielded to him, and the name of Salem, which has since come to honor, commemorates, it is said, the pacification of the dispute between the newcomers and the old, which for a while threatened to wreck the project.

So Salem began in 1628. With its beginning began its worship. Probably under some tree, or if a shelter had been reared before the first Sabbath day came round, under its roof, it might be the roof of Conant's house, or of some original "planter's house" at first designed for common use. Their worship followed the prayer-book of the English Church, in part, it is

likely, but they easily loosened themselves from its ritual, and their worship became informal and spontaneous—exposition, free prayer, mutual exhortations,—largely modifying the traditional forms of their Old World church-life, all parts recognizing the peculiarity of their situation as they supplicated for patience, faith and constancy in the way of duty and self-sacrifice.

Let us pause for a moment to observe this type of man who stands for the Salem founder. His portrait has often been drawn, but it differs pretty widely in the hands of different delineators. The differences, however, will turn out to be mainly in the strength of the lines and the depth of the coloring. Under them all the same man is easily recognized. He is of firm make, and his figure, face and spirit always hold their place and are to be identified at a glance. It is thus that the author of the "History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty,"¹ has sketched his features. "The Puritan was a Scripturist—a Scripturist with all his heart, if, as yet with imperfect intelligence. . . . He cherished the scheme of looking to the word of God as his sole and universal directory. . . . The Puritan searched the Bible, not only for principles and rules, but for mandates—and when he could find none of these, for analogies—to guide him in precise arrangements of public administration and in the minutest points of individual conduct. . . . His objections to the government of the church by bishops were founded, not so much on any bad working of that polity, as on the defect of authority for it in the New Testament; and he preferred his plain hierarchy of pastors, teachers, elders and deacons, not primarily because it tended more to edification, but because Paul had specified their offices by name. . . . The opposing party in the State was associated in his mind with the Philistine and Amorite foes of the ancient chosen people, and he read the doom of the King and his wanton courtiers in the Psalm which put the 'high praises of God' in the mouth of God's people 'and a two-edged sword in their hand, to bind their King with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron.' . . . He would have witchcraft, Sabbath-breaking and filial disobedience weighed in the judicial scales of a Hebrew Sanhedrim. His forms of speech were influenced by this fond reverence for the Bible. . . . He named his children after the Christian graces, still oftener after the worthies of Palestine, or, with yet more singularity, after some significant clause of holy writ.

"The Puritan was a strict moralist. He might be ridiculed for being over-scrupulous, but never reproached for laxity. Most wisely, by precept, influence and example—unwisely by too severe law, when he obtained the power—he endeavored to repress prevailing vice and organize a Christian people. His error was not that of interfering without reason, or

¹ John Gorham Palfrey, vol. I, pp. 274-277.

too soon. When he insisted on a hearing, villainous men and shameless women, whose abominations were a foul offense in the sight of God and of all who reverence God, were flaunting in the royal dressing-rooms. The foundations of public honor and prosperity were sapped.

"In politics, the Puritan was the Liberal of his day. If he construed his duties to God in the spirit of a narrow interpretation, that punctilious sense of religious responsibility impelled him to limit the assumption of human government. In no stress, in no delirium of politics, could a Puritan have been brought to teach that, for either public or private conduct, there is some law of man above the law of God."

The Puritan came to New England, as before stated, as a non-conformist, not as a separatist, with not less definite conceptions of what he did not want in church forms and institutions than of what he did want. The ideal of the true church, which he had derived from the Scriptures, was of a brotherhood—a church of equals. The elder, the bishop, was but a minister. In him was no official superiority or authority, but such as he had been invested with by his brethren. To be rid altogether of the false claims and assumptions of authority which the English, as well as the Romish hierarchy asserted, and sought to enforce, was what the Puritan saw clearly as his right; it was one of the promised advantages dearest to his heart, to be gained by his removal to some distant and obscure retreat, that there he would be less subject to jealous observation and easy interference, than under the immediate eye of the Lords Spiritual of England. Seeing his way so far, plainly, he set about modeling his church order accordingly, when he arrived in his new home. The church brotherhood was sufficient unto itself. The local group of Christian people acquainted with one another, and assembling together, were competent to proceed with their worship in their own preferred way and to maintain their Christian fellowship on such grounds and conditions as seemed to them Scriptural and fitting, always under a common acknowledged responsibility to their consciences and their God. This was practically "separatism," or "independency," but as yet they did not call it by that name.

This state of things was favorable to the growth of a free and natural church life, such as would develop spontaneously under the existing conditions. There was no preconceived form to which all intellectual conclusions, spiritual aspirations and prophetic visions must mold their expression. Precedents sat loosely upon them. They asked themselves what they wanted, and what best satisfied their religious hunger and need, with the consciousness of a liberty of choice to which they had not been accustomed. So they felt their way along tentatively into the adoption of a church life such as suited their case as they found it then and there existing, regarding it at the same time as subject to modification as they should find it

thereafter to require. If they made mistakes, they were free to repair them. They did make mistakes. They could not help it. They were made up in their individuality of the old traditions and the new longings. They put their free principles on trial, and when they ran against some rock of rare and exceptional individualism like Roger Williams, or some apprehended social outcome of the largest liberality, like the familism or antinomianism, as they regarded it, of Ann Hutchinson, they felt a strain upon their before unquestioned postulates, and studied out the problem as they best could, to arrive sooner or later at some practical conclusion as to the next step necessary to be taken. They made their church polity, as has been happily said, as they went along. The churches of New England had this opportunity to grow up without an excess of swathing prescriptions, and profited by it as a child in an out-door life, and with not too much sheltering, dictation and repression of its activity, often derives strength from its freedom.

This little Puritan colony was yet a child—in the principles and art of constructing society, framing government and learning how to live together in a self-controlling community, how to draw the line between what might be safely conceded to individual choice and what must be enacted for the general good; it was a child, it thought as a child, it understood as a child, in this new learning. In finding out how to use its newly-acquired liberty without abusing it, it could not leap to the highest wisdom at a bound. It must sometimes stumble and fall. If it rose again and went on to better things, taught by experience to avoid its earlier mistakes, its experiment was to be accounted a success. Man's idealism and his hard, practical wisdom for daily use in every-day life never walk together with even feet. The one hastens, the other lags; the one sees forward, the other is half-blind, and only trusts in experience looking backward. Each corrects the other with much confidence that, both as to speed and direction, it is entitled to govern. It was as inevitable as it was human that the Puritan should sometimes push on with a daring that, to his old associates, seemed rashness, and sometimes manifest what posterity, with the teachings and experience of centuries behind it, to assure and reassure its judgment, loftily pronounces timidity and inexcusable inconsistency. A sufferer for his own dissent, how could he be so inconsistent as to turn and excommunicate, exile and crush out the dissenter from his own creed and church order? It was simply because it fell to him to pass upon the questions that came to him for judgment two and a-half centuries ago, and not now. Where to draw the line between the liberty that is permissible and safe and the license that is reckless of consequences and destructive and must be checked—this is the question that is always up, with the individual and with society, lasting on from age to age, but with applications new and difficult perpetually arising in practice. It is as much our predicament as

it was that of Endicott and Winthrop, of Cotton and Higginson and Williams centuries back. Have we not to decide to-day whether men who, for aught we know, are as honest and sincere as we are, shall be allowed openly and enthusiastically to teach any crowd it can gather, in the streets of any city, that the laws that they live under are oppressive, were enacted in the interest of the strong and rich and overbearing, and may be cast off, and the very foundations of society upturned and overthrown without scruple, whenever the power can be obtained for the purpose? Add to this, that a problem more delicate and difficult still was before the Puritan mind, viz., how to steer clear of offense to the jealous and watchful home government, and at the same time preserve the liberties they had come here to enjoy, and were fully determined to maintain, and the hard conditions under which this Puritan child community was taking its tutelage may be the better appreciated, and a too free criticism of the inhabitants of New England in the first half of the seventeenth century will be likely to be postponed.

Another condition in the circumstances under which the first settlers of New England organized their church system must not be overlooked, for it had a constant influence in giving a cast to the thought as well as a shape to the covenants, the discipline, the teachings and the whole institutional life of the people. This was the fact that the same community was regarded as both a church and a state. It was working out a double problem. Half consciously and half unconsciously, its citizens were striving, in the dual capacity of citizens and Christian disciples, to realize at once, and in one, an ideal commonwealth and a true church. So, half consciously and half unconsciously, each of them, the church and the commonwealth, was tending to usurp at any time the functions of the other, and for a considerable period these New England communities were in the process of finding out whether or not the one could stand for the other; if not, how far the union was possible, and the identification could be made to hold. Though to the mind of the Puritan the problem inclined always to state itself in the form of the question, whether, in the last result, the church, as representing more nearly the divine government, must not of right absorb to itself, as the higher and as sole heir of both, all inferior authorities, and take the ordering of human society in all its interests and relations under its own direction, and whether thus the ancient dream of a theocratic rule was not to come to realization in the earth, and that here, first, upon these American shores. The spell of this great hope was upon him alike when he set up tribunals for the trial and punishment of offenders against the peace of society, and when he fixed upon the true order of proceeding in church affairs. Qualifications for citizenship and for church membership constantly threatened with him to run into each other, get mixed and to become one and the same thing.

And in the civil and the spiritual sphere alike he was free to enter on experiments which should test the practicability of his long-cherished theories. He made laws, and instituted courts, and prescribed magistracies, and called into being agencies of government, a step at a time, as exigencies arose and as new conditions pushed him to decisions, which he had been willing to leave till some necessity drove him to judgment and action.

As a fact going to show in strong relief the predominance of religious motive and purpose in the settlement of New England, the very leading part taken by the ministers in the administration of public affairs is to be noted. For a considerable period they were but little less conspicuous as counselors and founders in the establishment of civil government and in its conduct, than in constituting churches, settling what should be done in ecclesiastical matters and directing both worship and religious instruction. And these ministers of the earlier times of New England possessed high qualifications for the duties they were called to perform. Belonging to that class of persons whose original force of character and independence of thought and action had caused their exclusion from church dignities and chances of preferment in the Church of England, they had had the best training which the universities of Cambridge and Oxford afforded. "By the practice in the colony," it has been said, "the General Court, from time to time, propounded questions to the ministers or elders which they answered in writing. The proceeding was similar to that under a provision of the Constitution requiring the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court to give to either branch of the Legislature, or the Governor and Council, upon request, opinions upon important questions of law and upon solemn occasions. The opinions given by the ministers, which have been preserved, are very able, and will, in logic and sound reasoning, bear a not unfavorable comparison with opinions of justices given under the provision of our Constitution."¹

Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D., whose large information respecting early American history justly gives great weight to his statements, while discrediting the common notion that the early ministers of Massachusetts exercised the controlling or leading influence in affairs of civil government which history and tradition have ascribed to them, nevertheless says this of them: "There can be little doubt that John Cotton, minister of the First Church [in Boston], had very great authority here, while he lived, of a social or political character. There can be no doubt, humanly speaking, but that Boston is Boston, because he came and lived here, be it observed, because Winthrop and Dudley wanted him to, and begged him to. . . . And probably few affairs of importance were decided

¹ Hon. William D. Northend: Address before Essex Bar Association, p. 7. (N.)

in which Cotton did not take part, and in which his advice was not respected." It is difficult to see upon what grounds Cotton is thus assigned a weight of influence wholly exceptional, so that it could be said that "no trace of any such power appeared afterward." If "there were countless instances," as Dr. Hale says there were, "when the ministers met with the court, advised with them and were consulted as any other intelligent gentlemen might be consulted," we read between these lines that many ministers were found to be "intelligent gentlemen," whom the court deemed it important to consult. Official respect purely, and authority as ecclesiastics it is not claimed that they received. Quite otherwise. In the first church organized in Massachusetts—that in Salem—those who had been ministers in the English Church were first "reduced to the ranks" among the Salem brethren, and then *by those brethren* raised or set apart to the position of ministers. "There were present, at the time, and on the spot," says Upham, "at least four persons who had borne the ministerial office in distinguished positions, men of talent, learning and reputation, and eminent in worth as well as station."¹ If they had great influence afterward, it was because by their solid intelligence and their consistent Christian carriage they entitled themselves to a leading influence. "The leaders led as they always will," says Dr. Hale, words emphatically applicable to men like Higginson, Williams and Peters, as well as to Cotton. "The clergy," says Palfrey, in a *résumé* of the state of the Massachusetts colony in 1634, "now thirteen or fourteen in number, constituted in some sort a separate estate of special dignity. Though they were excluded from secular office, the relation of their functions to the spirit and aim of the community which had been founded, as well as their personal weight of ability and character, gave great authority to their advice. Nearly all were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and had held livings in the Established Church of England. Several had been eminent among their fellows for all professional endowments."

The theology of the Salem colonists, as of the settlers of New England generally, was Calvinistic. The formularies emanating from the Westminster Assembly of divines embody it with virtual accuracy. It was held with no half indifference, no mental reservations; not merely for substance of doctrine. Face to face, with a will to blink nothing of the terrible inferences involved, as before God, the sombre creed was confessed. And though, with Robinson, these confessors believed that more light would break forth from the word of God, they anticipated no such light as would soften the rigors of the divine government or lift the crushing doom of eternal pains from the non-elect—from the unbeliever and the impenitent who remained hardened to the hour of death. This was the Puritan's creed. His human feeling of com-

passion and justice was too strong against it in many a genial hour, and in many a sympathetic temperament, and he took refuge, as often as occasion required, from unbearable thoughts of the fate of the wretched lost, and unbearable thoughts of God, in the comforting sentences of Scripture that reminded him that God would have mercy and not sacrifice.

The first church in New England was that at Plymouth. It landed a completed church. The next, the first gathered upon the soil, was that at Salem. Its beginning possesses a curious interest and throws invaluable light upon the principles and aims that guided the founders of the earlier colonial churches. At every point in the proceedings it may be seen that it was a natural and gradual growth, rather than an artificial construction, built upon precedents. It appears that seventeen days intervened between the first step taken in the business of organization and the final one. The 6th of August, 1629, has usually been assumed as the date of its institution. We should rather assign it to the 20th of July. On that day it exercised the highest functions of a corporate body, viz., held an election—voting in the choice of its most important officers, viz., those of pastor and teacher. True, it had no written constitution yet. Its covenant was not adopted till more than two weeks afterwards. So far as appears, it had not yet a list of enrolled members. "Every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher." But nothing indicates how it was determined who were to be deemed "fit members." Perhaps it was by general assent of the assembly, any ballot being received if no objection was made. Perhaps each one was put upon his own conscience to decide for himself whether he ought to participate in the vote. At least the result was accepted without question or dispute. The day had been appointed as a "solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher." It was a public assembly, meeting in response to this appointment which took action. "The former part of the day being spent in praise and teaching, the latter part was spent about the election."

We are forbidden to suppose that this was a mere preliminary and informal selection, intended to be ratified later, by the fact that the church then and there proceeded to set apart the pastor and teacher-elect with solemn and formal ceremony of official investiture. "So the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor and Mr. Higginson to be teacher; and they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson." Here are all the circumstances indicative of a completed installation of these two chief officers of the church; and this was on the 20th of July. When the church or assembly proceeded to its

¹ Address at rededication of the church, 1867, p. 12.

next action, which was the choice of elders and deacons, it did leave *that* business uncompleted, at that time, to be finished at a later day. After going so far as to designate the persons of its choice—perhaps by what we might call an informal ballot—it is quaintly added by Mr. Charles Gott, in his letter to Governor Bradford, that “they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over.” It is true that at the meeting which followed, August 6th, “appointed for another solemn day of humiliation for the full choice of elders and deacons, and ordaining them,” not only were the elders and deacons chosen and set apart to their respective offices in a formal and solemn manner, but some ceremony of ordination took place also, in seeming repetition of that by which, on the 20th of July, the pastor and teacher had been ordained. In looking for the reasons for this we are left largely to conjecture. Whatever may have occurred in the consultations held by those interested between July 20th and August 6th, the *election*, which had taken place on the former day, must have been deemed valid, for it was left undisturbed, and no like form was gone through with again. But the church at Plymouth had been notified of the occasion, and representatives of that church had been invited and were expected to be present on August 6th. Their approval and assurance of fellowship were also expected to be given, and were valued, though especial care was taken that it should be understood beforehand that this proffered fellowship would be welcomed on the part of the Salem Church simply as an act of Christian courtesy and brotherly communion, and not as implying any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in one church over another. There had been correspondence previously between them of Plymouth and these of Salem in regard to the true principles and right method of church foundation and organization, in which there had appeared to be a general harmony of views and the utmost good feeling, though not entire concurrence in all points.

On the 6th of August a covenant was to be presented for adoption, and a more definite recognition and enrollment of the members of the church was to be made by signing and accepting the covenant. In the absence of any definite testimony going to show the motive for the renewal of the act of ordination—the laying on of hands—upon the pastor and teacher-elect, we venture to think that it may have been partly that, upon review of the proceedings of July 20th, it was thought that the adoption and signing of the covenant would more properly have preceded the ordaining of the ministers; partly, perhaps, that the contemplated full constitution of the church designed to go into effect on the later day, together with the expected presence on that day of the Governor and others, messengers from the Plymouth Church, as guests of the Salem brethren, and appointed to bring greetings from the older sister church, made it seem to those who arranged the proceedings, fitting that

the induction of the chosen ministers of the church into office should form a part of the observances of the time, as essential to their completeness. Governor Bradford and his associates from Plymouth, “coming by sea and hindered by cross-winds,” did not arrive till late in the day; but though not present at the beginning, “they came into the assembly afterwards, and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success unto such good beginnings.”

To assist us in determining—if that is possible—what was the form of the covenant adopted by the Salem Church in 1629, and to explain some of the controversies which have arisen over this question, it is necessary to present here certain facts in regard to the history of the records of this church.

No records made contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the events and facts which they record are now in existence of an earlier period than 1660, the time when the ministry of John Higginson began. John Higginson was the son of Francis, who was chosen the first teacher in the Salem Church July 20, 1629, and who drew up the covenant adopted August 6th of the same year. There was a book of records purporting to cover the period from 1629 to 1660 in existence when John Higginson was ordained, or at least from 1636 to 1660; when and how it began is obscure. It appears to have borne upon its pages some things which it seemed to the most considerate and exemplary members of the church not well to hand down to posterity. A committee was appointed accordingly “to review the church book and to report such things to the church as they conceive worthy of consideration.” In their report the committee say that: “They conceived the book itself and paper of it being old, not well bound, and in some places having been wet and torn, and not legible, is not like to last long to be of use to posterity; therefore they thought it best if it were kept in a place of safety by the Elders—*by that means it will be of use so long as it will last*. Only some few passages in it, which do reflect upon particular persons, or upon the whole church, without any church vote, and without the proof, they did mark in the book as thinking they should be struck out.” At the same time, “some of the brethren propounded, which was readily consented to, that there might be liberty, to such as desired it, to see those passages mentioned in the former book for a month’s time.” This recommendation appears to have been satisfactory to the church, and to have been adopted and carried into effect. It accomplished all that was expected of it—perhaps more. Not only were the objectionable parts withdrawn from sight, but the book itself disappeared, and except some portions of it which were transcribed into the new book of records, begun by John Higginson in 1660, its contents are unknown. It has been assumed that all that was important in it would be likely to be preserved, and to be contained in the record of the second Hig-

ginson. Very likely. We shall probably never know. Some will never cease to regret that they cannot know. If not important in any other sense, some will always think that even the expunged records are important to the completeness of history, and wish that it had been permitted them also to judge for themselves the wisdom of suppressing them. It would be interesting, no doubt, to see what picture the stormy time of Roger Williams' ministry left of itself on the old record-book. At least, as to the faithfulness and accuracy of the copy of those portions, purporting to be transcribed from the first book into the second, as far as they go, there should be no valid ground of doubt. But just here a new question, and an important one, precipitates itself upon us as to this very point—namely, the accuracy of the copy. The old book, the first book of records, appears to have been begun no earlier than 1636, with the beginning of the ministry of Rev. Hugh Peters;¹ consequently its record of events at the organization of the church, in 1629, was not strictly contemporaneous with the events. When we read there the covenant of 1629, as renewed in 1636, what confidence may we rightly have that the renewed covenant was the same that Francis Higginson wrote, and the church in Salem adopted August 6, 1629? Was it the same in substance only, or likewise in form? Over this question a spirited controversy has arisen within the last fifty years.

John Higginson, minister of the church from 1660 to 1708, and son of the framer of the covenant, himself, as a youth of thirteen, having joined the church in 1629, solemnly renewing this covenant with the church in 1660, records it as having been already "renewed" by the church in 1636, and he is our authority for saying that it is the covenant adopted in 1629, as he indorses it as such, the record in the margin running thus: "6 of 6th month, 1629, this covenant was publicly Signed and Declared, as may appear from page 85, in this book." To this, as renewed in 1660, is prefixed a preamble adopted with it in 1636, which states the fact and shows the motive of the renewal at that time, 1636, and an additional article is appended to it at the end, which was adopted with it at the renewal, in 1660, as applicable to the relation of the church to the Quakers at that time, the fact and the motive of the addendum being likewise plainly stated. Mr. Higginson's intention seems clearly and unmistakably to have been to present the covenant of 1629 in its original and unaltered form, and to distinguish from it carefully the prefix and suffix above referred to as no part of it. We introduce it here as it stood, unquestioned, for more than two hundred years. And to make evident the parts added in 1636 and in 1660, it is given as it stands in the record of Mr. John Higginson in 1660,—

¹ He wrote his own name *Peter*. It has been the modern usage to write it *Peters*. Dr. Palfrey, in his "History of New England," writes it *Peter*.

Further my Saints together unto me that have made a Covenant with me by scriptures. Ps. 80 : 5 :

6. of 6th Month. 1660.
This Covenant was
publicly Signed and
Declared, as may
appear from page 85,
in this Book.

Woe whose names are here under writing, members of the present Church of Christ in Salem, having found by sad experience how dangerous it is to sit loose to the Covenant we make with our God : And how Apt we are to wander into by paths, even to the loosening of our first loves in entering into Church fellowship :

Doe therefore solemnly in the presence of the Eternal God, both for our own comfort, and those which shall or maye be joyned unto us, renewe that Church Covenant we find this Church bound unto at their first beginning, viz : That

We covenant with the Lord, and one with an other ; and doe bynd our selves in the presence of God, to walke together in all his waies, according as he is pleased to reveale himself unto us in his blessed word of truth. And doe more explicitly in the name and feare of God, profess and protest to walke as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus.

1 first wee avowe the Lord to be our God, and our selves his people in the truth and simplicitie of our Spirits.

2 Wee give our selves to the Lord Jesus Christ and the word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling and sanctifying of us in matters of worship, and Conversation, resolving to cleave to him alone for life and glorie ; and oppose all contrarie wayes, canons and constitutions of men in his worship.

3 Wee promise to walke with our brethren and sisters in this Congregation with all watchfulness and tendernes, avoyding all jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirits against them ; but in all offences to follow the rule of the Lord Jesus, and to beare and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.

4 In publick or in private, we will willingly doe nothing to the shame of the Church but will be willing to take advice for our selves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

5 Wee will not in the Congregation be forward either to show our own gifts or parts in speaking or scrupling, or there discover the flying of our brethren or sisters butt stand an orderly one there unto ; knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his Gospell, in the profession of it, slighted, by our distemper, and weakness in publicly.

6 We bynd our selves to study the advancement of the Gospell in all truth and peace, both in regard of them that are within, or without, noe way slighting our sister Churches, but using their Counsell as need shalbe : nor laying a stumbling block before any, noe, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and see to converse, as we may avoyd the verrye appearance of evill.

7 Wee hereby promise to carrie our selves in all lawfull obedience, to those that are over us, in Church or Commonweale, knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have Incongruement in their places, by our not grieveling theyre spirites through our Irregularities.

8 Wee resolve to approve our selves to the Lord, in our particular callings, shunning ydlenesse as the bane of any state, nor will wee deale hardly, or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards :

9 alsoe promising to our best abilltie to teach our children and servants the knowledg of God and his will, that they may serve him also ; and all this, not by any strength of our owne, but by the Lord Christ ; whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant made in his name.

This Covenant was renewed by the Church on a sollemne day of Humiliation 6 of 1 month 1660. When also considering the power of Temptation amongst us by reason of ye Quakers doctrine to the loosening of some in the place where we are and endangering of others, doe see causes to remember the Admonition of our Saviour Christ to his disciples Math. 16.

Take heed and beware of ye leaven of the doctrine of the Pharisees and doe just so ferre as we understand it yt ye Quakers doctrine is as bad or worse than that of ye Pharisees ; Therefore we doe Covenant by the help of Jesus Christ to take heed and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the Quakers.

The preamble, postscript and marginal note we have italicized.

Until about fifty years ago, no doubt is known to have been publicly expressed or privately entertained

that the covenant, as renewed in 1636, was, with a near approach to verbal accuracy, the same that was adopted in 1629. In connection with a "discourse delivered on the First Centennial Anniversary of the Tabernacle Church," in 1835, by Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, pastor of that church, and published, the author places the covenant of 1636—the foregoing covenant of these pages—in an appendix, with the following passage taken from its first paragraph in quotation marks, namely: "That we covenant with the Lord, and one with another, and do bind ourselves, in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth:" and follows the quotation with this explanatory observation, "I have seen fit to throw into the form of a quotation that part of the Preamble of the foregoing Covenant, which I suspect was, in substance at least, THE COVENANT 'which the church was bound unto at their first beginning.'" [The italics are ours.] This conclusion, though couched at first in the form of a suspicion, was fortified with sundry reasons to support it, and affirmed later in more confident terms: "The conclusion is to my mind irresistible from the internal evidence alone, that the covenant printed in the Magnalia of Mather [that of 1636 as given above], and often cited as the covenant of the First Church at its beginning, could not have been the first Covenant of that church."

Again, in a discourse delivered at Plymouth December 22, 1848, and published the following year, Dr. Worcester reiterates the same opinion with greater emphasis, and qualified by no doubts: "What has been generally printed, for a hundred and fifty years, as the First Covenant of that church, and adopted August 6, 1629, is not that covenant. It was adopted as a special covenant in 1636" is his confident decision, which he proceeded to support with the asserted facts and resulting reasonings which had brought his mind to this conviction. And yet, again in 1854, in discussion of the same subject before the Essex Institute, the same ground was firmly maintained by him. In the next year, 1855, two publications appeared, both issued by the Congregational Board of Publication, which gave their sanction to this later view of the first covenant. One was "The Ecclesiastical History of New England," etc., by Joseph B. Felt, Vol. I., and the other a new edition of Morton's "New England's Memorial," in the appendix to which the editor, or editors, indorse the same conclusion. Mr. Felt says,¹ that "this covenant [of 1629] differs from the second, formed 1636, which has long been supposed to be the first, and from the hand of Higginson, when it was probably drawn up by Peters at the later date." He appears to have relied, as Dr. Worcester had done, mainly on internal evidence as his warrant for this belief.²

¹ Page 115.

² Page 267.

In the new edition of "Morton's New England's Memorial," Appendix A, under the heading "The Articles of Faith and Covenant of 1629," there is attributed to the editor of an earlier edition of the work, the learned Judge John Davis, an important oversight in not discovering that with the covenant of 1629 was adopted a separate confession of faith, and in misinterpreting history, in that he omitted to connect this confession of faith with the covenant of 1629 as a virtual part of the constitution of the church at its beginning.

The foregoing authorities,—Worcester, Felt and the editors of "Morton's Memorial," edition of 1855, witnessing to the strong probability, if not moral certainty of considerable and important differences between the covenant of 1629 and the renewed covenant of 1636 (*if they be not reducible to one authority, viz.: the Rev. Dr. Worcester, followed by the others*), lay especial stress upon the indications, or proofs, that the covenant of 1629 was adopted jointly with a creed, or confession of articles of belief. The covenant proper of 1629 they believe to have been materially shorter than that of 1636, but to have had this credal adjunct, which made the church constitution of 1629 to differ greatly from the renewed covenant of 1636 in being distinctly and emphatically doctrinal in its aspect.

An arraignment so weighty as this of what had passed for verified history for many generations, though sustained by a support so considerable, and by names of repute, was not likely to go long unchallenged. Nor did it. Taking only the time necessary to subject the evidence in the case to a rigid re-examination, the Hon. Daniel A. White, judge of probate of Essex County, and a leading member of the First Church for many years, replied to the published statements of Rev. Dr. Worcester, in which the traditions current for a couple of centuries as undisputed truth were set aside as we have seen with great assurance as founded in misconception—as sanctioning "an egregious and singular error." Point by point the champion of the long accredited opinion,—namely, that *the covenant of 1636 was, with no material difference, the covenant of 1629*,—stoutly contended for the trustworthiness of the ancient and long unquestioned opinion. The testimony of John Higginson was held to be explicit. His knowledge of the facts was not to be impeached. What Cotton Mather said of the first covenant was also to be accepted, he contended, with as much confidence as if it had been said by Higginson himself, for he, Higginson, wrote that, having "known the beginning and progress of these (New England) churches unto this day, and having read over much of this history (in the Magnalia), I cannot but in the love and fear of God bear witness to the truth of it." The first covenant is given by Mather as agreeing with that of 1636, only differing from it in lacking its preamble. The important testimony of Rev. John Fiske is also

cited by Mr. White—only lately brought to light, but dating almost from the renewal of the Covenant in 1636, as Mr. Fiske came to Salem, from England, in 1637, and was for some time an assistant of Rev. Mr. Peters. In Mr. Fiske's private book of records "we find recorded," says Judge White, "in the handwriting of Mr. Fiske, the First Covenant of the Salem Church, with the preamble to its renewal, . . . Mr. Fiske's record of the Covenant being essentially the same as that which we have taken from the Salem Church book" (that already presented in this writing).

The "confession of faith," which Dr. Worcester supposes was adopted by the church in 1629, in connection with the first covenant, Mr. White believes—and believes he has proved—was of much later date, probably 1680, and was expressly declared not to be intended, even at that date, to be imposed as a rigid test upon all candidates for admission to the church. He produces much evidence to show that the imposition of doctrinal tests as a uniform and indispensable condition of admission to church membership was expressly disavowed by the church at the beginning, and that for a long time at least it consistently adhered in practice to the position thus taken. Not denying that Mr. Francis Higginson was commissioned "to draw up a confession of faith and covenant in Scripture language," or that he did so, he finds all that these terms describe and define in the single instrument commonly known and spoken of as the first covenant; "covenant," or "confession of faith and Covenant," he finds it called, the terms being used interchangeably, and when designated as "the confession of faith and covenant," the pronoun referring to it is in the singular number, indicating but one instrument or writing. Morton, having full knowledge of things from the beginning, writes, in his "New England's Memorial:" "The confession of faith and covenant fore-mentioned was acknowledged only as a direction, pointing unto that faith and covenant contained in the holy Scripture, and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words, but only to the substance, end and scope of the matter contained therein. . . . Some were admitted by expressing their consent to that written confession of faith and covenant; others did answer to questions about the principles of religion that were publicly propounded to them; some did present their confession in writing, which was read for them, and some that were able and willing, did make their confession in their own words and way. A due respect was also had unto the conversations of men, viz.: that they were without scandal."¹

Besides much other external and historical evidence, too voluminous to be introduced here, but pre-

sented as bearing upon the writer's main conclusion and fortifying it, Judge White comments also carefully upon the internal evidence in the alleged anachronisms contained in the covenant of 1636, much relied upon to prove that it could not have been the same as that of 1629. On this point he dissents from the judgment expressed by Dr. Worcester, Mr. Felt and the editors of "Morton's Memorial," edition of 1855, and at the same time equally forecloses, it may be here observed, by unconscious anticipations, so far as the weight of his name goes, a similar opinion from another source presently to be noticed,—an opinion not expressed till after Judge White's death,—by his former pastor, Rev. Charles W. Upham.

This opinion of Rev. Mr. Upham is remarkable, not only for the weight that justly attaches to any opinion of his upon matters to which he had given many years of study, and to which he brought a trained mind and habits of research, but still more for the reason that it is a direct reversal of an earlier opinion of his own on a point since strenuously controverted, without so much as an allusion on his part to any change of opinion, or to any judgment previously entertained and expressed, and now abandoned or modified; remarkable, moreover, as being in direct opposition to the well-known and elaborately-maintained opinion of his able and candid parishioner, Judge White, with whom he had been in life-long associations of intimacy, and the worth of whose deliberate judgment he knew so well how to estimate, and yet to his dissent from whose judgment he makes no reference whatever that we have been able to discover. Mr. Upham's last conclusion, in regard to the identity of the covenant of 1629 with that renewed in 1636, is against it, and agrees with that of Dr. Worcester—that there were two covenants; that of 1629 very short, that of 1636 quite long. But on Dr. Worcester's more important position, that there were articles of belief required to be adopted as a confession of faith, distinct from the covenant, but in force in connection with it, in 1629,—against this opinion Mr. Upham expresses himself on all occasions distinctly and emphatically.

It is to be remembered that Rev. Charles W. Upham, whom we now cite, was for twenty years pastor of the First Church (from 1824 to 1844), conversant with its records and with early Salem history, and the author of important historical discourses of commemoration, delineating with great fullness of detail the story of the early days of the Salem Church. Mr. Upham delivered a "*Second Century Lecture of the First Church*" in 1829 of a historical character, and gives in an appendix, as the "first covenant of the First Church," the covenant already given on a preceding page of this work, it being the same as that which was renewed in 1636, he holding—that is, at that time—to the long-established and settled opinion upon the question in hand. Mr. Upham remarks at the end of the covenant that "at a very early period

¹ "New England's Memorial," Davis' edition, pp. 146-147. See also a tract, without date (in Boston Athenaeum Library. "B. 76: Sermons"), entitled "A Direction," etc. Referred to by both Dr. Worcester and Judge White as bearing upon this question.

this covenant was displaced by another. It was restored and renewed at the ordination of John Higginson in 1660. In the course of time it was again superseded, and for many years has not been used in the church." How much he may have meant by the expression, "at a very early period this covenant was displaced by another," we cannot tell. He does not specify as to the time or the extent of the displacement. He may have had in mind the preamble of 1636; if more than that, we cannot interpret his language, since no other changes are known to us previous to 1660.

On the 8th of December, 1867, Mr. Upham delivered an address at the re-dedication of the First Church building. Without intimating an abandonment of a former judgment, he incidentally shows that his judgment upon the matter in question was quite different in 1867 from that he had expressed nearly forty years before, thus: "This renewed covenant of 1636 bears the impress of the style of thought and expression of Hugh Peters, whose name heads the list as from that date. . . . In most of the clauses the language and forms of thought were, as plainly appears, suggested by circumstances that had disturbed the peace and harmony of the church during the stormy agitations and conflicts of Roger Williams' period, and are therefore of temporary and retrospective interest. The passages that have no such special reference, but express sentiments of universal and perpetual obligation, are inscribed on the opposite wall. It will be noticed that it begins by quoting from the covenant at the 'first beginning' of the church. From the aspect of the document in the church book, and its entire construction and import, it is highly probable that what is inscribed on that tablet in German text is *all that was taken from the first covenant*. It is so complete in itself that *the inference* which the form of the document and the bearings of the contents seem to suggest, *that it was the whole of that document, is almost unavoidable*."

What was "inscribed on that tablet in German text" was this,—

"We covenant with the Lord, and one with another, and do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself unto us, in His blessed word of truth."

And this, says Mr. Upham, "it is highly probable is all that was taken from the first covenant."

Perhaps no expression of our own opinion is called for, as to who is right in this controversy. If we have fairly placed the facts before the reader, and especially if we refer him to the authorities in which he may find the merits of the question exhaustively treated (as we propose to do at the end of this article), we shall put him in the way to form his own opinion for himself, if he cares to do so. We dismiss the interesting inquiry by simply calling attention, further, to the fact that those who have sought to invalidate the long-settled opinion that the covenant "re-

newed" in 1636 is the same that was adopted at the founding of the church in 1629, appear to rest their argument and conclusion mainly upon the internal evidence afforded by the document itself. In resting their case upon that, they give it, as it seems to us, its best support, the weight of the historical evidence alone being insufficient to sustain their position. Both Mr. Upham and Dr. Worcester think they find in the covenant, as renewed in 1636, traces of the church agitations, and of the special controversies intervening between 1629 and 1636. Mr. White does not. Mr. Upham, moreover, finds that "this renewed covenant of 1636 bears the impress of the style of thought and expression of Hugh Peters." Mr. White could not discover this.

It should be borne in mind that this kind of evidence, while it may be strong and convincing in some cases, is peculiarly liable to take a more marked or a slighter coloring, or even an opposite hue, according to the interpreter's direction of approach and resulting point of view. It needs a judicial impartiality, a very complete knowledge of the religious history of the time, and a keen and much practiced literary perception, to pass intelligently and convincingly upon such points. The difficulty is heightened by the circumstance that the very power of the recreative imagination, so necessary to reproduce vividly the life and thought of a past period, is itself often a snare and becomes an easy and frequent cause of the misconstruction of language. We follow with caution, and not without a measure of distrust, a line of argument which grounds important inferences upon what are at best only inferences from premises incapable of verification, therefore not compelling assent.

No fact comes out more conspicuously in the early history of the Salem Church than that it intended to guard well its own independence. It was conscious of a new departure. It trod its untried way with caution, but with a firm foot. It was determined to make sure of this, namely, that the unit of human authority in matters ecclesiastical should be the body of members congregating and covenanting together in church fellowship, in any one appointed place which should give it local habitation and name. Each such congregation was competent and commissioned to manage its own affairs. It need acknowledge no earthly superior. The Scriptures were its law-book. In them it would seek to find out the mind of Christ, the Head of the Church, in whom resided, for it, the ultimate sovereignty in spiritual things. It was glad to exchange assurances of mutual good-will and fellowship with the elder sister church at Plymouth. It had no intention of cutting itself off from Christian fraternal relations with the churches of the mother-country, and stood with an anticipating hand of welcome stretched forth in brotherly recognition to all the New-World congregations of Christian people which it foresaw planting themselves in a long succession by its side, and all around. But each church

within its own borders constituted, under the Divine Head, a dominion of its own. It was in pursuance of this principle that the First Church in Salem had unmade the before-ordained ministers found within its own fold at the beginning, that it might make them ministers of its own creation and invest them with right and title to their office from itself.

In other ways, it availed of every opportunity that offered to reassert this principle. It looked with distrust upon a proposed affiliation of its ministers with the ministers of other churches in pastoral associations, fearing that these associations would come in time to claim some power of direction and control within the churches, or would invent some form of ecclesiastical bondage, into which the churches of the colony might be drawn unconsciously, to the loss of their complete self-government. It was not long after its foundation before it conceived its independence to be seriously threatened. Other churches which had sprung up around it, and such as had an honorable and weighty constituency, showed a disposition to meddle in its affairs by taking cognizance of teachings by the Salem ministers, which they regarded as not agreeing with the Scriptures, nor as being consistent with the peace and welfare of the community of new settlements in the colony. As often as there appeared to be occasion for it, this church reaffirmed, in clear and strenuous language, its purpose not to suffer its fellowship,—which it extended freely and gladly as a sympathetic, helpful, brotherly communion, to all churches and all Christians,—not to suffer it to become an entangling alliance, which might endanger its own freedom and autonomy. There was abundant justification for these precautions in the usurpation of ecclesiastical authority with which these Salem Christians had been lately only too familiar in England, and which warned them to keep a jealous guard against the forging of new fetters of spiritual domination and oppression this side the sea, under the guise of better symbols of church order and of Christian living.

The officers of the church as first organized in Salem were, besides the pastor and teacher, one or more ruling elders, deacons and deaconesses. Between pastor and teacher no distinction of precedence appears to have been observed. It is probable that in the performance of their respective duties it was found that the work of each naturally overlapped that of the other to a considerable extent, and that experience showed before long that it was better to combine the two offices in one, as was done.

The duties belonging to the office of the ruling elder were not very distinctly defined. He was an assistant to the pastor and teacher, but while under their general direction, he had an independent voice also as adviser and administrator in church affairs. The office came to Plymouth from Holland with the Pilgrim Church. That church found it in the Reformed Churches of the Continent and referred to the

French Reformed Churches as its own precedent for establishing it, though in the French Churches the ability to teach was not held to be a necessary qualification for a ruling elder, as it was in the Dutch-English and American Churches.¹ For a hundred and fifty years, at least, ruling elders were chosen by some churches in Massachusetts as necessary to their complete organization, although Mr. Bentley says, "the office never existed but in name, and did not survive the first generation."² Mr. Bentley regards the office as having been designed to represent the power of the church itself on the part of its general membership, the elder standing as a permanent watchman and makeweight against all assumptions of special authority on the part of the ministers. After his brusque and vigorous fashion he indicates how far short of answering its end was the device, by his brief and contemptuous notice of those who were elected to the place. "In the choice of an elder to rule the church, care was taken not to accept a civil officer, and Elder Houghton was appointed. He was a man of inoffensive ambition, and died in the next year after his appointment. Mr. Samuel Sharpe succeeded him, but he was frequently absent, and never possessed even the shadow of power. He died in 1658. The independence of Mr. Williams and the sovereignty of Mr. Peters rendered the office useless in their time, and it never obtained its influence. When Mr. John Higginson, the son of Francis, in 1660, returned to Salem and attempted to revive the form of government which his father had adopted, Mr. John Browne was elected elder, but we find no other services but of attending, for a short time, the private instructions of the pastor, who had secured all the power." We have said that the office did not cease to be known with the first generation, or for a century and a half after, and it is true that the men called to the office even in the later years of its existence were not all colorless and valueless ciphers. But the fear of ministerial usurpation had very much died away, and the ruling elder was, in time, without functions, and disappeared. Mr. Bentley's assertion that it soon came to stand for little more than a name seems to be borne out by the history of the churches of the Massachusetts Colony.

Deacons, but not deaconesses, are mentioned as officers chosen at the organization of the Salem Church. They received the contributions of the church and distributed them, and made provision for the table of communion, serving also in the dispensation of the bread and wine in the observance. Deaconesses, if not chosen at once by the church at Salem, were, according to custom, regularly selected in the churches of the earliest colonial period. As at Plymouth, so at Salem. They were widows by preference, of at least three-score years, without carefully prescribed duties

¹ Felt's Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. p. 34.

² The North Church in Salem chose a ruling elder as late as 1826—pronounced by Felt "the only continuation of an ancient custom here."

as to details, but were appointed to carry on a general ministry of visiting and comforting among the sick, poor and distressed.

We have been more minute and explicit in specifying some of these forms of church-life and organization first adopted here, because this was the pioneer church. Offices, titles and usages now long familiar to every New England village were then new, or known only as existing in the English churches under other conditions, and where they had a different significance; here, under an old name, went a new thing. New methods were on trial, and were carefully observed and studied, and sought to be adjusted to the circumstances of the time and people, and were not immediately and once for all fixed in an unalterable form.

Francis Higginson lived but a year after the founding of the church. On the 6th of August, 1630, just a year from the day when its organization was completed, a day in whose doings he bore the leading part, he closed his earthly labors. He was born in 1588, and was, therefore, a little more than forty years of age when he came to Salem. He was a graduate of the famous English University of Cambridge—of Emanuel College, according to Mr. Upham; of Jesus, says Judge White; of St. John's, says F. S. Drake (American biography); and Mr. Savage (General Dict.), seemingly warranting and reconciling all these assignments, has it: "Bred at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his A.B., 1609, but was of St. John's when his A.M. was given, 1613, though Mather asserts he was of Emanuel." He was first settled in Leicester, England, where he had so high a reputation as a preacher that "the people flocked to hear him from the neighboring towns." Neal, historian of the Puritans, says, "he was a good scholar, of a sweet and affable behavior, and having a most charming voice, was one of the most acceptable and popular preachers of the country." Becoming a non-conformist he was ejected from his living and forbidden to preach in England. After this he resorted to teaching for a livelihood. He is characterized by Mr. Bentley as "grave in his deportment and pure in his morals. In his person he was slender, not tall; not easily changed from his purposes, but not rash in declaring them. His influence in giving form and direction to the first church polity in America was second to none." Mr. Bentley, by a few strokes, pictures some of the results of Mr. Higginson's brief ministry in the social customs of the newly-gathered community at Salem, and shows in what spirit and along what lines of influence he wrought: "He lived to secure the foundation of his church, to deserve the esteem of the colony and provide himself a name among the worthies of New England. When he died, he left in the colony the most sacred guards upon the public manners. Cards, dice, and all such amusements, had no share of favour. Family devotions were inculcated and established, and the most

constant attendance on public worship. The ministers visited families to assist in their devotions. Constant care of the poor was required; the Indians were not permitted to trade in private houses; all the inhabitants were instructed to unite in the labours which promoted their common interest; and the greatest confidence was required in all who were appointed in civil trusts." (Pp. 244-245.)

Rev. Samuel Skelton, ordained the first pastor of the church, in association with Mr. Higginson as teacher, on the 20th of July, 1629, survived his colleague four years. He had been the minister of Governor Endicott, in England, and was held by him in especial affection and esteem, as one to whom he had reason to look up as his spiritual father. His name is less conspicuous in the early annals of the Massachusetts churches than that of Higginson. He seems to have been a modest and retiring man, and is described by a contemporary as "of gracious speech, full of faith, and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above." He was content to yield precedence to others, nor soured with jealousy when to them went the harvest of fame. "As he never acted alone," says Mr. Bentley, "he yielded to others all the praise of his best actions." The scant recognition accorded to him among those who led in church affairs in the earliest days is further explained by his biographer by the fact that "there was a want of friendship between the ministers of Boston and its neighborhood and the ministers of Salem. Everything which one party did was found fault with by the other." That he was a man of positive convictions and not lacking in courage would appear from his standing forward in defense of his colleague, Roger Williams, when the latter was assailed and in danger of being overborne by those who uttered the sentence of popular condemnation against him. Mr. Skelton was probably of about the same age as Mr. Higginson, having taken his first degree in 1611, two years later than Mr. Higginson. He was of Lincolnshire, educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and died August 2, 1634.

Francis Higginson had been dead six months, and Mr. Skelton was carrying on his ministry alone in the Salem Church, when Roger Williams arrived in Boston, early in February, 1631. Rev. John Wilson, minister of the First Church in Boston, was contemplating a visit to England, and Mr. Williams was invited to supply his place during his absence, but declined on the ground that the members of that church were "an unseparated people."

April 22d, following, he was invited to Salem as an assistant to Rev. Mr. Skelton. Having already promulgated some novel and unacceptable notions deemed subversive of the just authority of the magistrates, the Massachusetts Court interposed a remonstrance against the action of the Salem Church, and succeeded in preventing Mr. Williams' coming to Salem. He soon went to Plymouth, and even there, though the teachings of the separatists were more in

favor in Plymouth than in Boston, and his personal qualities gained him a large influence, his "singular opinions" were not welcome to all, and after serving a while as assistant to Rev. Ralph Smith, he applied himself to manual labors and to trade for a livelihood, devoting much time also to acquiring the language of the Indians, though meanwhile never losing sight of the then agitating questions of church government, and of individual responsibility in civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

In 1633 Mr. Williams obtained, not without some difficulty, a dismissal from the church in Plymouth, and returned to Salem; returned accompanied by several members of the Plymouth Church, who preferred to give up their home and church relations to severing the tie that bound them to their pastor. Arrived in Salem, he became an assistant to Mr. Skelton, though without formal ordination. And notwithstanding that he had come again under the censure of the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts for offensive writings and publications, in some of which he had denied the validity of the title of the Massachusetts Company to its territory, in that they had not the assent of the natives of the soil, yet he was invited and ordained, upon the death of Mr. Skelton, in August, 1634, to succeed him in the pastoral charge of the church. In this office he continued till October 19, 1635, when the opposition which his vigorous assertion of his views had aroused culminated in a sentence pronounced by the General Court that he should depart out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts within six weeks, on account of having "broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches." "The colonial records," says Arnold, the historian of Rhode Island, "fix the date November 3d." Consent was given afterwards to the postponement of his removal till spring, upon condition of his refraining from promulgating his objectionable doctrines. It was withdrawn subsequently, upon the allegation that the conditions had been violated. Learning that he was to be sent at once to England, he anticipated the plans of his judges, escaping early in January to the South, through the wintry snows and storms, and finding a refuge on the banks of the Seekonk River, where he founded the State of Rhode Island.

The teachings of Mr. Williams which gave offense, to be fully understood, must be sought for and examined in the history of the time, at greater length than it is possible to consider them here. They dealt largely with definitions and distinctions bearing on the relations of the civil and spiritual authorities to each other, showing their respective limits, constantly raising questions of much nicety and difficulty, and yet questions immediately and vitally practical, as affecting issues at the moment pressing upon the people. The whole field of discussion

being at the same time complicated with that larger problem which had exercised the minds of the colonists from the first, namely: the possibility of constructing a civil order on a Biblical foundation. The severity of the course pursued by the magistrates and ministers has been ascribed in part, and probably not unjustly, to a feeling in the churches of Boston and the neighborhood not friendly to the Salem Church, which church had shown, from the first, a commendable jealousy of interference by other churches, and a determination to maintain strictly its independence. It has been mentioned as a noteworthy fact that "in this court [for the trial of Mr. Williams], composed of magistrates and clergy, while some of the laymen opposed the decree [of exile], every minister, save one, approved it."¹

If it be conceded "that there were faults on both sides, and that they were faults of the age rather than of the heart," it must be conceded, too, that this marked man was before his time in the discernment and announcement of some principles ecclesiastico-political, destined to stand the test of after-trial, since, in his transmitted ideas, as well as his character and bearing during those troublous days which he spent in Salem, he grows more illustrious under the light of experience, while the proceedings of those who drove him out from their company become more difficult of apology. Roger Williams has had the credit of being the promoter, if not the cause, of the act of Governor Endicott in cutting the cross from the English colors. It is not clear what part he had in it, if any. If any, he was not the man to disavow it; if any, he but represented a feeling dominant in many a Puritan's breast at the time, who, perhaps, more prudent than he, would not have counseled it, though pleased to see it done. Such was Roger Williams. "Open, bold and ardently conscientious, as well as eloquent and highly gifted, it cannot be surprising that he should have disturbed the magistrates by divulging such opinions, while he charmed the people by his powerful preaching, and his amiable, generous and disinterested spirit."

Mr. Williams was born in Wales in 1599, resided in London during his youth, was elected a scholar of Sutton's Hospital (now the Charter House), July 5, 1621, admitted to Pembroke College, Cambridge, Feb. 8, 1623, graduated B. A. January, 1627, took orders in the Church of England, obtained a benefice in Lincolnshire, became a non-conformist, or "Separatist," and embarked at Bristol, Dec. 11, 1630, for New England. He died at Providence, R. I., in April, 1683.²

¹ "Arnold, History of Rhode Island," p. 38.

² Porter C. Bliss, in Johnson's Cyclopaedia.—Since this notice of Roger Williams was prepared, intimations have come to us that new light may be expected to be let in soon, upon the origin and early days of this striking figure in the history of primitive New England. The new matter found claims to be not only additional to the old and hitherto accepted story, but corrective also. For example: It is said that "the Roger Williams who was a foundation scholar at the Charter House in

The infant church, already served by three ministers in half a dozen years, found its fourth in one born to lead, Rev. Hugh Peters, who, after filling the pastoral office for five busy and fruitful years, in which he governed and shaped with the decision of a master, was summoned away from this humbler field of labor to a broader theatre and a more famous career, in which his life assumed historical importance, and set him among the conspicuous actors of his age, ending tragically at the executioner's block. Mr. Peters was born at Fowey, in Cornwall, in 1599, the same year as Roger Williams, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, taking the degree of A. M. in 1622. Appointed to a London lectureship while still very young, he drew a large following by his forcible and eloquent preaching. In 1629, it having become not only uncomfortable but dangerous for such as he, a Puritan and a popular preacher, to stay in England, he withdrew to Holland and became the pastor of a church at Rotterdam, whence he came to New England, Oct. 6, 1635. He was invited to take charge of the church in Salem after the departure of Mr. Williams, and was settled Dec. 21, 1636. He was an able minister and something more, a clear-sighted administrator in civil-political and politico-economical affairs. Without neglecting his duties as pastor, which he discharged with rare energy and faithfulness, he set himself diligently to improving all the social regulations and habits of the place, on which the welfare of the new community depended. In the controversies, which he inherited from Mr. Williams, he showed no sympathy with the adherents of the latter, nor toleration for the opinions which had brought on him the condemnation of the ministers and the General Court. He spent little time over the comprehensive principles and enlightened distinctions laid down by his predecessor as to the relative authorities of the secular and ecclesiastical governments, and the rights of the individual soul under each, while he plunged with assiduous zeal into studies which he deemed of a more immediate and pressing importance. He gave his attention to projecting measures for promoting the business prosperity, the orderly living, the growth in population of the town; he devised measures for the better execution of the laws, for the preservation of peace and the establishment of beneficial industries.

Respecting no man, says Mr. Bentley, has the public opinion been more divided than respecting Mr. Hugh Peters. This division of opinion he ascribes to the part he took in the commonwealth of England and in the death of King Charles, though intimating that "unkind reports" had been connected also with

the early part of his life, which reports, however, either never reached New England or were unheeded there. The Rev. Charles W. Upham, in his Second Century lecture, has vindicated his fame with a generous and warm enthusiasm. But there is no difference of opinion as to the great benefits which his life and labors in Salem, from 1636 to 1641, conferred upon its people and its forming social habits and institutions. He objected to the devotion of so much time as had been given to the numerous weekly and occasional lectures, to the neglect of the daily industries, which he fostered as being nearest in the line of evident and pressing duties. His church greatly increased, showing that there had been no lack of faithful tillage therein. New and valued citizens were attracted to the place. He interested himself in reforming the police system, encouraged commerce, caused new arts and employments to be introduced, a water-mill was erected, a glass-house, salt works, the planting of hemp was advised, and a regular market was set up. He formed a plan of carrying on fishery, and of coasting and foreign voyages. Amid all his activities, it is repeated, "he did not forget his church." In Synod and Salem pulpit alike, he made his power constantly and beneficently felt. Clear-headed and wise, he was a check upon the invasion of superstition, and in the excitement caused by Mrs. Ann Hutchinson's doctrine and influence, kept his church in the main free from its disturbing effects, and went, Mr. Bentley thinks, full far in the opposite direction of repression. The Massachusetts Colony, having occasion to find suitable persons to represent their interests in England with reference to the laws of excise and trade, it was not strange that Mr. Peters should be selected to be one for this commission. His qualifications for it were evident. His people resisted his acceptance of the appointment and remonstrated against it; they could not spare him. But they were overborne by the urgency with which the claim for his services was pressed, and finally a reluctant assent was yielded, and on the 3d of August, 1641, he left with his colleagues for England. There he became involved in the revolution which brought Cromwell to supreme power. Peters was his counselor and favored friend, and when the restoration gave back power to Cromwell's enemies, the lives of all his friends were held forfeited. Hugh Peters was a selected victim, and as such was beheaded in the Tower Oct. 16, 1660.

Mr. Peters was assisted in his pulpit duties between 1637 and 1640 by Rev. John Fiske, who taught a school in Salem about that time. Mr. Fiske was settled afterwards over a church in Wenham and still later in Chelmsford, Massachusetts. It was he—before alluded to in these pages—who copied from the earliest record-book of the church the covenant contained therein, with some other minutes, which have lately come to light, and have furnished important evidence as to the form of the first covenant.

1621, and who was sent to the University in July, 1624, being a good scholar, was not the Roger Williams of Rhode Island." So much, Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is reported—in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of March 11, 1887—to consider proven by the investigations of the Librarian of Brown University, Mr. Rouben A. Guild.

The Rev. Edward Norris was settled as a colleague with Mr. Peters March 18, 1640. Mr. Bentley says his was the first ordination which was performed with great public ceremonies in Salem. He had come from England the year before, and joined the church here in December of that year; had been a teacher and minister in Gloucestershire; was distinguished for learning, was of a tolerant spirit, and had a large and well-balanced mind. He was a man to wield a wide and strong influence, and that for good. He fell upon troubled times, inheriting in his turn the unsettled controversies of his predecessor's ministry. A Mrs. Oliver, a follower of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, had claimed, in the time of public service, the right of communion, without a covenant, and was sent to prison for disturbing the congregation, though soon set at liberty. During Mr. Norris' ministry she again openly asserted the same right, and was publicly disgraced.

The Anabaptists were busy. Mr. Endicott set his face against them as disturbers of the peace of the church and of the community; a few were subjected to punishment, some confined to the town, or laid under other humiliating and annoying prohibitions. Mr. Norris took no active part in these proceedings, and seems rather to have endeavored to quiet and repress the public excitement than to promote it, and succeeded in keeping the town in comparative tranquillity during his life. He died December 23, 1659, in time to escape the full force of the still greater distraction caused by the Quakers who had appeared in Salem in 1657. His abilities, attainments and high character were recognized throughout the colony. He wrote upon affairs of public interest temperately, yet forcibly. He assisted in constructing the system of ecclesiastical discipline "substantially contained in the Cambridge Platform," and yet he refused to substitute in his own church the platform of 1648, which he had helped to shape, for the one already in use, resolutely insisting on the maintenance of his church's independence. At the same time, with a rare consistency, he successfully restrained his own church from meddling in the controversies and the management of other churches.

Mr. Norris was the last of the ministers of the first generation. "The consistent politicks, the religious moderation, and the ardent patriotism of Mr. Norris," says Mr. Bentley, "entitle him to the grateful memory of Salem. He diverted the fury of fanaticism by industry, he quieted alarms by inspiring a military courage, and in the public morals, and a well-directed charity, with a timely consent to the incorporation of towns around him, he finished in peace the longest life in the ministry which had been enjoyed in Salem, and died in his charge."¹

Mr. Norris' ministry of nearly twenty years seemed long as measured by the average term of service of

those who had preceded him. But it was short as compared with that of his successor. John Higginson, the son of the Rev. Francis, the first minister—"Teacher"—of Salem, was born at Claybrook, England, August 6, 1616, and accompanied his parents when they came to New England, in 1629, and was thirteen years old, therefore, when he arrived; and at that age he joined the church. After his father's death he was assisted by the magistrates and ministers, who could not forget what the young church owed to the father, in continuing his education. At the age of twenty, and for four years after, he was chaplain at Fort Saybrook, Connecticut. In 1641 he taught a school in Hartford, and studied divinity with the Rev. Thomas Hooker; in 1643 became an assistant to Rev. Henry Whitfield, of Guilford, whose daughter he married. From 1651 to 1659 he was in sole charge of the church in Guilford. In that year, 1659, he took passage for his native land. The vessel in which he sailed was obliged by stress of weather to put into Salem harbor. The church in Salem had recently lost its minister. A negotiation with Mr. Higginson was entered into which issued in an engagement on his part to remain and preach for one year. At the end of the year he was invited to become the pastor, accepted the invitation, and was ordained in August, 1660. Already forty-four years old, he continued in the ministry in Salem forty-eight years, till his death, December 9, 1708, at the age of ninety-two years. He was sole minister for twenty-three years, till 1683,—except that for four years, from 1672 to 1676, he had a so-called "assistant,"² who did not assist, as is explained farther on. In 1683, he being then sixty-seven years of age, Rev. Nicholas Noyes became his colleague. The settlement of Mr. Higginson was signalized by an addition to the covenant of the church, as a solemn declaration against the teachings and practices of the Quakers, as has been mentioned. It had been the custom of the church, from time to time, to "renew" the covenant, as has been noticed before, an act equivalent to a solemn re-affirmation of loyalty to its vows, and which was accompanied, in two instances at least, by an addition to its original form, for the purpose of putting on record the church's sentiment or verdict upon special dangers and evils existing at the time. Thus, at the settlement of Rev. Mr. Peters, the church prefaced a "renewal of the covenant" with a preamble which has already been given on a previous page, it being of the nature of a penitent confession that they had experienced the danger of coming to "sit loose to the covenant made with God," and found how apt they were "to wander into by-paths, even to the losing of their first aims in entering into church fellowship." So, now, in 1660, we come upon another tide-mark, showing how high had arisen the feeling against the Quaker invasion, the following being

¹ Col. Mass. Hist. Soc. for 1799: p. 259.

² Charles Nicolet.

appended to the covenant: "When also considering the power of temptation amongst us by reason of the Quakers' doctrine to the leavening of some in the place where we are, and endangering of others, [We] do see cause to remember the admonition of our Savior Christ to his disciples. Math. 16: Take heed and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the Pharisees, and do judge so far as we understand it that the Quakers' doctrine is as bad or worse than that of the Pharisees; therefore we do covenant by the help of Jesus Christ to take heed and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the Quakers." "This appendix to the covenant sufficiently shows the stand taken by Mr. Higginson towards the Quakers. It is difficult in our time to conceive the excitement which the arrival of a shipload of Quakers from England in 1660, the year of Mr. Higginson's ordination, caused in the Massachusetts colony. A vigorous persecution had been in progress for some time before, with the usual result of increasing the boldness and multiplying the number of the new sect. They were not altogether an inoffensive people. For, though they disclaimed the use of physical violence even in protection of themselves, among them were those who knew the irritating power of arrogant and exasperating speech, and did not spare the use of it, accusing the magistrates, ministers and the members of the churches of ignorance of the true religion, and of being unacquainted with its spirit. Their interruption of public worship, their open denunciations of time-serving and hireling ministers, and their fanatical violations of good order and the public quiet in some cases, were calculated to inflame the popular mind to the highest pitch of anger; and while this does not excuse the heavy hand of persecution raised upon them, it explains and palliates the disgust and antipathy felt by many reasonable and worthy persons towards such intemperate revilers of men and women, who were, at least, as good as themselves, and were held in honor—deservedly or not—as appointed chiefs in church and state. "The wildest fanaticism on their part was met by a frenzied bigotry on the other." Mr. Higginson was active in turning upon them an unrelenting harrying, for which Mr. Bentley says he was sorry afterwards. Eighteen of these unhappy persons are said to have been publicly punished in Salem in the year 1661. And, as is always the case when men suffer for their opinions, the most blameless met with the same fate as the most turbulent and aggressive. After the restoration of King Charles II., he took their case into consideration and put a stop to the persecution. It had lasted about five years. The excitement soon died away when the persecution ceased.

A "Direction" for a public profession of faith was prepared by Mr. Higginson, and printed in a dateless tract, already referred to, probably, says Judge White, in 1680, which, however, was "to be looked upon as a fit means whereby to express that their common

faith and salvation, and not to be made use of as an imposition upon any." This "Direction" became famous in the friendly but controversial discussion, already alluded to as having occurred thirty to forty years ago, between Rev. Dr. Worcester and Judge White, as to the form of the first covenant, it being regarded by the former as substantially identical with a confession of faith adopted by the church in 1629, along with the covenant, a position earnestly contended against by the latter as wholly untenable.

In 1672 there came a man to Salem from Virginia, who, for a few years, filled quite a large place in the town and church—Mr. Charles Nicholet. He was invited to be the assistant of Mr. Higginson for a year, "for trial." At the end of the year the engagement was renewed upon the same terms for another year, one condition of which being that he should have for his maintenance "a free voluntary contribution every Lord's day." When, at the end of the second year, he was offered again the same terms, they were probably not accepted, as, a little later, it was voted that, "it is agreed by a hand and free vote of the town for Mr. Nicholet's continuance amongst us during his life." At the same time (that is, early in 1674) the town voted a grant of as much land on the common as should be needed "for to build a new meeting-house for the worship of God."¹ This meeting-house was begun and its frame erected, but was never finished. The invitation to Mr. Nicholet, extended by the town instead of by the church—an unusual, if not an unprecedented proceeding—and the building of another meeting-house at some distance from the established place of worship, were painful proofs to the elder minister that there were restless and disaffected persons in his congregation not unwilling to show their discontent. "His enemies," says Mr. Bentley, "made by persecution, now had power to distress him." His support had been partly withheld. Some who were not unfriendly thought it time that a portion of his burden of varied duties and wearing responsibilities should be transferred to an assistant. But the church had taken offense and exception at the manner in which the assistant was called—that is, in the town's having acted by itself. A remonstrance was sent to the General Court, which tribunal answered by declaring its disapprobation of such a departure from established usages, characterizing it as not only very irregular, but as "expressly contrary to the known wholesome laws of this jurisdiction." Mr. Higginson disapproved the course pursued by his assistant and the town. Mr. Nicholet explained and promised to be on his guard, but apparently continued his ministry and drew to himself a following of malcontents, and kept up the discord till, happily for the town, "after many farewell sermons," he "departed from America forever," in 1676.

As time healed or softened the dissensions that

¹Town Records, pp. 170, 206, 217, 222.

attended Mr. Nicholet's ministry, it also made the burdens carried by the senior pastor, now without an assistant, to be felt more oppressively as he advanced in years. The way was thus prepared for another trial of the experiment of a colleague. In 1682 Mr. Higginson recommended it; and on the 14th of November, 1683, Mr. Nicholas Noyes was ordained. It was a choice fortunate for the church. Mr. Noyes' character, as drawn in the record-book of the church when he died, on the 13th of December, 1717, at the age of nearly seventy years, and at the end of a ministry of thirty-five years, has been accepted as a just portraiture of the man—a portraiture the more entitled to be preserved and reproduced on suitable occasions, in that it is a calm after-judgment respecting one who bore a prominent part in the ever-memorable and mournful proceedings of the dark days of the witchcraft trials. It is the testimony of his contemporaries; of those who should be presumed to know him best; who knew his mistakes and the sincerity of his lamentation on their account. "He was extraordinarily accomplished for the work of the ministry, whereunto he was called. . . . Considering his superior genius; his pregnant wit; strong memory; solid judgment; his great acquisition in human learning and knowledge; his conversation among men, especially with his friends, so very pleasant, entertaining and profitable; his uncommon attainments in the study of divinity; his eminent sanctity, gravity and virtue; his serious, learned and pious performances in the pulpit; his more than ordinary skill in the prophetic parts of Scripture; his wisdom and usefulness in human affairs; and his constant solicitude for the public good: it is no wonder that Salem and the adjacent part of the country, as also the Churches, University and people of New England, justly esteem him as a principal part of their glory." For one to have saved such a reputation as this, who had been a chief actor in bringing those accused of witchcraft to punishment, argues rare excellences of character. Mr. Bentley accords him exceptional honor as the one among all those ministers who were swept along by the storm, misled, silenced, non-protesting, accountable—the one who made all possible reparation afterwards; an open, confessing, self-sacrificing atonement for the evil he had done and caused, to the extent of his ability. "Noyes came out and publicly confessed his error; never concealed a circumstance; never excused himself; visited, loved and blessed the survivors whom he had injured; asked forgiveness always, and consecrated the residue of life to bless mankind. He never thought, in all these things, that he made the least compensation, but all the world believed him sincere." The glooms of the period of the witchcraft visitation have had no parallel, before or since, in the ancient town. It is not our province to depict its creeping horrors. It stands apart, a story of unrelieved tragedy. It was connected with the church-life of the people, but it was an epi-

demic mania, an outcropping nightmare of superstition, that swept like a sudden torrent over the region. "From March till August, 1692, . . . business was interrupted. The town deserted. Terror was in every countenance, and distress in every heart."¹ We thankfully leave the sombre task of telling the sad tale to another.

We introduce here the few remaining minutes to be noted respecting Rev. Mr. Noyes. He was born in Newbury December 22, 1647, and was the nephew of the first minister of Newbury, Rev. James Noyes. For thirteen years before coming to Salem he had been settled in the ministry at Haddam, Conn. He was never married.

During the witchcraft storm Mr. Higginson held himself aloof. "His only fault was his silent consent." He had gone too far with the Quakers, and learned the lesson of caution. But it was not in him to be strong enough, old man that he was, where all were stricken with the madness, to sound an alarm and call a halt. It was what all were waiting and praying for, from some one. But probably if any had been brave enough and far-sighted enough to cry aloud in protest, it would only have availed when the tempest was subsiding and far-spent; earlier it would only have added another victim, possibly, to the popular frenzy. Such a panic-stricken community could only come to its senses slowly, and when the fury of the blast was passed. Mr. Bentley's just reflections are in place here, and in the history of the church should not be omitted: "As soon as the judges ceased to condemn, the people ceased to accuse. Just as after a storm, the people were astonished to see the light at once break out bright again. Terror at the violence and the guilt of the proceedings succeeded instantly to the conviction of blind zeal, and what every man had encouraged all professed to abhor. Few dared to blame other men, because few were innocent. They who had been most active remembered that they had been applauded. The guilt and the shame became the portion of the country, while Salem had the infamy of being the place of the transactions. Every expression of sorrow was found in Salem. And after the death of Mr. Higginson, whose only fault was his silent consent, the church, before the choice of another minister, publicly erased all the ignominy they had attached to the dead, by recording a most humble acknowledgment of their error. After the public mind became quiet, few things were done to disturb it. But a diminished population, the injury done to religion, and the distress of the aggrieved were seen and felt with the greatest sorrow."¹

For six years from the death of Mr. Higginson Mr. Noyes was the sole pastor of the church. He being then nearly sixty-seven years old, Mr. George Curwin, son of Hon. Jonathan Curwin, was ordained as his colleague. Mr. Bentley says that Mr. Curwin was

¹ Bentley, pp. 270-271.

proposed by Mr. Noyes in 1709, soon after the death of Mr. Higginson, and would have been immediately ordained if those living beyond the town bridge had not hoped to become a separate church. In 1713 another church was formed, which is the lower parish in Danvers. Mr. Curwin's settlement followed in May of the next year. The opening of his ministry was full of promise, and excited in his people high hopes of usefulness,—hopes destined to an early blight. He died Nov. 23, 1717, at the age of thirty-four years, only four and a half years from his ordination. He was born in Salem May 21, 1683, graduated from Harvard College in 1701, and ordained May 19, 1714. The entry made upon the church book of records, of date Nov. 23, 1717, after recording his death, adds: "He was highly esteemed in his life, and very deservedly lamented at his death, having been very eminent for his early improvements in learning and piety, his singular abilities and great labors, his remarkable zeal and faithfulness in the service of his Master. A great benefactor to our poor. The Rev. Mr. Noyes his life was much bound up in him." These last words read more as prophecy than as record of a past accomplished, when we look on to the next entry upon the book. It is but twenty days later. It records the death, Dec. 13th, of the Rev. Nicholas Noyes. Within three weeks the church is bereaved of both its pastors.

Mr. Samuel Fisk was called with great unanimity the next year to the church in Salem, and was ordained on the 8th of October, 1718. He was a grandson of Rev. John Fisk, herein before mentioned as sometime assistant to Rev. Hugh Peters, afterwards minister of Wenham and Chelmsford; was born April 6, 1689, in Braintree, where his father, Rev. Moses Fisk, was many years minister, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1708. He was a man of acknowledged abilities and of great energy, but the unanimity with which his ministry was welcomed at the beginning gave place in no very long time to a rising alienation on the part of a portion of his congregation, which grew to a protracted and bitter controversy,—protracted and bitter even in comparison with other church contentions, proverbial as such are for their tenacity and implacability,—many of his parishioners becoming hopelessly estranged from him, the division culminating at last in the expulsion of Mr. Fisk from his pulpit in 1735. Mr. Bentley ascribes his loss of usefulness to high thoughts of church authority. Pamphlets of more than four hundred pages of printed matter remain in a Salem library (Athenæum) to represent the course of the correspondence and criticisms which grew out of the long contest. The points involved were not chiefly theological or ecclesiastical, but consisted largely of charges brought by members of the church of misrepresentation and of a want of ingenuous, truthful and frank dealing on the part of Mr. Fisk as to an unwarranted interpolation in the church records in the matter of

maintaining or discontinuing the church "lecture," an institution which had long existed, the interest in which had fallen off greatly, and the responsibility for whose decay, and close, and resumption was mutually bandied back and forth between the minister and the dissatisfied brethren. Mr. Fisk was also accused of arbitrarily refusing to call church meetings except such as he pleased and when he pleased, and of asserting a right of control in church matters generally deemed by a very considerable part of his congregation to be unauthorized and inadmissible. As to one of the issues raised, Mr. Fisk and his followers seem to have planted themselves on unassailable ground. The aggrieved brethren seem to have been a confessed minority of the church. When, therefore, this aggrieved minority,—supposing it to be such,—first called on a neighboring church,—the second in Boston,—to come in, by its representatives, and endeavor to compose the existing difficulties, the majority declined to submit their case to this commission for a hearing and decision. So, when a council of four churches made a similar attempt, and again, when a yet larger and more imposing council was summoned, they simply denied the jurisdiction of each and all such ecclesiastical courts, in steadfast adherence to that original principle laid down at the founding of the church, in 1629, of the independence of each church, and they denied the authority of any other church or churches to interfere in its concerns. Unless by some formal vote it had surrendered this claim of autonomy in favor of some other paramount authority as does not seem to have been claimed, or the voice of the majority was arbitrarily suppressed by the pastor, which is perhaps charged by implication, it is difficult to see by what right the majority of this church and congregation were dispossessed of their meeting-house or any of their church rights, as was done, and sanctioned by the General Court.

After the exclusion of Mr. Fisk from the pulpit, a majority of the members of the church withdrew and built another meeting-house near at hand.¹ The withdrawing members continued to use the title of "The First Church," their right to which could hardly be gainsaid, perhaps, except upon the ground taken by the courts of Massachusetts a hundred years later, viz.: that the church derives its designation from the parish out of which it has grown, and upon which its identification depends. Mr. Fisk took away with him the church book of records, retaining it through the period of his ministry. In 1762 Rev. Dudley Leavitt, the minister of the church which Mr. Fisk had led out in 1735 to a new home, died, much beloved and lamented. That church soon after opened a gracious and conciliatory correspondence with the church of the First Parish, proposing to relinquish to it the title

¹ They first placed it too near,—“only twelve perches and eleven feet from the First parish meeting-house.” The General Court interfered, and ordered that it should not stand “nearer to the other than forty perches.” It was removed accordingly.

of the First Church from that time, and took for itself the title of "The Church of which Rev. Dudley Leavitt was late Pastor,"—known since, and now for many years, as the Tabernacle Church. These overtures were met in a like spirit. An amicable division of plate and other church property accompanied and attested the healing of the old wounds of dissension.

Leaving, for the present, the notices of other churches formed in the town from time to time, we follow out first the sketch of the First Church. During the years from 1735 to 1762 the old First Church and Society was called, and called itself the Church and Parish of the Confederate Society, or, for a shorter title and common use, the Confederate Church. Dr. Worcester says the seceders gave them the title. The effect of the division by which the society was cleft in 1735 was depressing for a while, undoubtedly. But on the 5th of August, 1736, Mr. John Sparhawk was called by "the brethren adhering to the ancient principles of the First Church in Salem," with substantial unanimity, to the ministry among them, and was ordained on the 8th of December following. He was the son of Rev. John Sparhawk, of Bristol, R. I., and was born in that town in September, 1713, and graduated at Harvard College in 1731. He died April 30, 1755, in the forty-second year of his age. He was described by his parishioner, Dr. Edward Holyoke, as "large in person, a man of dignity and an excellent preacher." If that people is to be accounted happy whose history affords few incidents or experiences deemed worthy to be recited, the same evidence may be taken as ground for the belief that a church is happy, its life one of peace, of silent, healthful, spiritual growth, when it affords little material for the historian to record. The First Church entered upon such a period after the close of the rather tempestuous ministry of Mr. Fisk. The usefulness of Mr. Sparhawk's labors, and the affection in which he was held, is shown by the sincere sorrow caused by his death. The ministries which followed were of a like character, and, even down to this day, have generally abounded in quiet and diligent service on the part of the ministers, and been characterized by general harmony and co-operation on the part of the church and congregation in maintaining the institutions of religion and cultivating the spirit of the Christian gospel.

Rev. Thomas Barnard succeeded Mr. Sparhawk. He was the son of Rev. John Barnard, of Andover, and was born in that place August 16, 1716, graduated from Harvard College in 1732, ordained at Newbury January 31, 1738, left his people there on account of "difficulties about Mr. Whitfield's preaching," and turned to the study and practice of law for a time. Re-entering the ministry, he was installed minister of the First Church in Salem September 17, 1755. He was a man of solid excellencies, both of mind and character, not brilliant, but strong and rightly balanced, "much beloved by his society and

esteemed by the public." He was disabled by paralysis in 1770, and a colleague was settled in 1772. Mr. Barnard died August 5, 1776. The colleague just referred to was Mr. Asa Dunbar. There had been a division of feeling in the choice of a colleague, some desiring Mr. Barnard's son, Thomas Barnard, Jr., to be invited to take the place, while a bare majority were for Mr. Dunbar. The organization of the North Church, with Mr. Thomas Barnard, Jr., for its minister, was the result of the disagreement. But the parting between the brethren who went out and those who stayed behind was friendly, and characterized by an affectionate reluctance to take the decisive step, and by a generous surrender of some of the vessels and sacred things belonging to the church, because they had come to it by gift from those who were now departing or from members of their families. Rev. Asa Dunbar was born in Bridgewater May 26, 1745, graduated at Harvard College in 1767, and ordained in Salem July, 22, 1772. His health before long became broken, and compelled him first to seek its restoration in rest, and finally to resign his office, which he did April 23, 1779, his society consenting with reluctance, and not until convinced that it was a necessity. Honorable and delicate testimonials of the mutual affection and confidence subsisting between the pastor and people were exchanged at parting. Mr. Dunbar studied law after leaving his ministry in Salem, and settled in Keene, N. H., where he practiced his profession and lived greatly respected till June 22, 1787, the time of his death. He appears to have lived in Weston before coming to Salem; he married there Mary Jones, in 1772, and had a child born there in 1776. After leaving Salem, and before settling in Keene, he probably lived in Harvard for a time, as he had children born there in 1780 and 1781. Mr. Bentley, a competent judge, and not given to unmeaning praise, characterized him as a man of genius.

Rev. John Prince, who succeeded Mr. Dunbar, and whose ministry covered a period of fifty-seven years—for forty-five of which he had no assistance—was born in Boston July 22, 1751, graduated at Harvard College in 1776, and ordained minister of the First Church in Salem November 10, 1779.¹ Dr. Prince was a faithful and devoted minister and lived in the sincere affection and respect of his people during his long pastorate. But he had greater fame as a devotee of natural science and an ardent philosophical investigator than as a preacher. His parishioner, the late Hon. Daniel A. White, says of him that "he possessed the spirit of a true philosopher and a true Christian, and was alike distinguished for his mechanical ingenuity, his attainments in natural, in theological and general

¹The ministry of Dr. Prince has had no parallel for length in Salem, except in that of Rev. Dr. Emerson, of the South Church, which extended over more than sixty-seven years, though for the first nine and the last thirty-two of the years of his ministry he was associated with colleagues, and for many years before his death he performed almost no professional duties.

learning, and for his various genius and taste, his ardent love of nature and of art, his single-heartedness and truly Christian temper, and for his amiable and generous disposition, especially as manifested in the gratuitous diffusion of his scientific discoveries and improvements, and in imparting his rare knowledge at all times for the gratification and entertainment of others. His character will long be remembered with sincere admiration." He bequeathed to his society a library of nearly four hundred and fifty volumes. He was an honored member of various societies organized for the study of science, art and history, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Brown University. His death took place on June 7, 1836.

During the ministry of Dr. Prince the parish received valuable legacies from Charles Henry Orne, a merchant, and from Miss Mehitable Higginson, a descendant in the sixth generation from the first minister, and widely known as "a teacher of successive generations of children," and "a blessing to the church and the town." More recently the permanent funds of the society were increased by a liberal bequest from Hannah Haraden Ropes, and in 1867 amounted to about ten thousand five hundred dollars. In the year 1817 the society became incorporated as the First Congregational Society in Salem.

In 1824 Mr. Charles W. Upham was ordained as a colleague pastor with Dr. Prince. He was born in St. John, New Brunswick, May 4, 1802, graduated from Harvard College in 1821, and from the Divinity School in Cambridge in 1824. He was ordained in Salem the same year, December 8th, and filled a ministry of twenty years, when impaired health caused him to resign, and he closed his ministry in December, 1844. Mr. Upham was held in high esteem as an acceptable preacher and a man of scholarly attainments. He received, on retiring from his ministry, substantial tokens of the generous appreciation of the people whom he had served, and which he acknowledged with a warm recognition. He died in Salem June, 15, 1875, more than thirty years after his ministry ended, having filled in the course of that time several important civil and political offices. He was mayor of Salem in 1852; elected to both Houses of the Legislature of the State at different times, and president of the Senate in 1857-58; member of the National House of Representatives in 1853-55; and of the State Convention of Massachusetts in 1853. In various sermons and addresses he sketched and illustrated the history of the Salem Church, and contributed for publication much historical and biographical material, relating to the men and times of early New England. During his ministry he published a small work upon the "Logos," another upon "Prophecy as an Evidence of Christianity;" "Lectures upon Witchcraft," which, in 1867, he expanded into an elaborate work of two volumes of nearly one thousand duodecimo pages. "A Life of Sir Henry Vane," in *Sparks' American Biography*, was from his pen. In 1856 he

wrote the "Life, Letters and Public Services of John Charles Fremont," one of the Presidential candidates of that year. His last published literary work was a "Memoir of Timothy Pickering," in three volumes. He edited the *Christian Register* in 1845-46, and was a frequent contributor to periodical publications, both religious and secular.

Rev. Thomas Treadwell Stone was called to the vacant pastorate in June, 1846, and on the 12th of July following was installed in that office, with the simplicity of form observed in the primitive Salem Church, the entire service being carried on and completed by the congregation through its appointed representative and the pastor-elect. Mr. Stone was born in Waterford, Me., February 9, 1801, and graduated at Bowdoin College in 1820. He was ordained in Andover, Me., September 8, 1824, and continued to be pastor of that church till September, 1830, when he became preceptor of Bridgton Academy. After two years he resumed the ministry, and was settled in East Machias May 15, 1833. The anti-slavery agitation which came to its crisis after a quarter of a century in civil war in 1861, and which had been long straining threateningly the civil institutions and the political integrity of the nation, had also deeply disturbed the peace of a large proportion of the churches of the free States. Some ministers caused discontent in their folds by preaching upon the country's responsibility and duty in regard to the institution of slavery, some gave equal offense by wholly refraining from the theme, and still others displeased their hearers by what they said or their manner of saying it. The public feeling was extremely sensitive. The congregations were divided in sentiment. Expressions used in the pulpit, which in ordinary times might not have produced a ripple of commotion, in the inflammable state of popular feeling then existing, broke friendships, and sundered in many instances the bond that held pastor and church together. Mr. Stone, incapable of giving offense by any breach of Christian charity or courtesy, yet felt himself constrained to utter an earnest testimony against slavery as subversive of the plainest principles of justice and humanity, and as equally condemned by the fundamental teachings and the essential spirit of Christianity. While his personal and professional character was unassailable and unimpeached, as it respected the purity and disinterestedness of his motives and the singleness of mind and the high ability with which he discharged the duties of the ministerial office, some of his society became dissatisfied, and he was dismissed in February, 1852. He was afterwards settled in Bolton, and is now passing a serene and studious old age, dividing his time between his home in Bolton and the homes of his children.

January 6, 1853, the vacancy caused by the dismissal of Dr. Stone was filled by the installation of Rev. George Ware Briggs. Mr. Briggs was born at

Little Compton, R. I., April 8, 1810, graduated from Brown University in 1825, and from the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1834, and was ordained in Fall River September 24, 1834, and installed in Plymouth, January 3, 1838, as colleague pastor with Rev. James Kendall, D.D. Dr. Briggs resigned his ministry in Salem April 1, 1867, and the same year was settled over the Third Congregational Society in Cambridge (Cambridgeport), where he still ministers, his society having refused not long since to accept his resignation. During Dr. Briggs' ministry in Salem the "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom reached the stage of open war, and the attempted secession of the slave States brought the conflict to a termination in the emancipation of the slaves, the victory of the northern armies and the restoration of peace between the North and the South. Dr. Briggs was a strenuous and able champion of the cause of freedom and of the maintenance of the nation's integrity during the war.

Rev. James T. Hewes succeeded Dr. Briggs, September 27, 1868. Mr. Hewes was born in Saco, Me., March 23, 1836; was ordained in South Boston, February 19, 1862; resigned June 4, 1864; settled over the Second Unitarian Parish, in Portland, Me., June 23, 1864. He resigned his Salem charge August 31, 1875. With health already impaired before leaving Salem, he was installed in Fitchburg September 26, 1875. After a ministry there of five years, seriously interrupted by ill health, he resigned, sincerely respected and beloved by his society, and after a year and a half spent in California, removed to Cambridge, where he died November 21, 1882.

Rev. Fielder Israel, now in pastoral charge of the First Church, was installed March 8, 1877. He was born in Baltimore, Md., June 29, 1825, was in the Methodist ministry for some years, and later had been pastor of the Unitarian Church in Wilmington, Del., and of that in Taunton, Mass., before his settlement in Salem.

The First Church has occupied successively four houses of worship on or near the same spot, Essex, corner of Washington Street. The first is still standing—so much of it as to make its size, shape and general aspect visible and certain. The main timbers of its frame are preserved and are in their original places, the clothing of the skeleton only—that is, the boarding and plaster—having been from time to time renewed. "An unfinished building of one story," says Rev. Mr. Upham, "was temporarily used at the beginning for the purposes of the congregation." Houses had been provided at once, by order of the company in London, for dwellings for the two ministers,—Rev. Mr. Higginson's "directly south of and about fifty feet distant from the eastern part of the site of the present meeting-house" (ground covered at present by the southeastern corner of the Asiatic Block, now the rear room of the Salem Savings Bank, in which the corporation and its trustees hold their meetings).

Mr. Skelton's house was farther south and to the east, on the southern side of the present Front Street. Neither of these two ministers lived to preach in the first meeting-house, which was contracted for in 1634, the year of Mr. Skelton's death, and which stood, it will be recalled, quite near the sites of their dwellings as just given. Mr. Norton was the builder of that first meeting-house. The trees for it were not felled till the beginning of 1635, and the house was erected the summer after. Its dimensions were twenty feet in length by seventeen feet in width, and twelve feet in the height of the posts. A gallery extended across the northern end, or side, whose front supporting beam rests now in its original position, the floor of the gallery rising towards the rear by a sharp pitch. The main floor of the house is supposed to have been of clay. The door opened on Essex Street when the building stood on its original foundation; the gallery ran across the same end; the preacher's place—and the pulpit's, when one was built—was opposite, that is, on the southern end. The windows were not glazed till 1637. In 1639 the house was elongated southward by more than its original length, viz.: twenty-five feet. When a new house of worship was to be built, in 1670, the town voted to appropriate the old house to the town's use for a school-house and watch-house. In the course of the next ninety years it was put to various uses by the town. It was in 1760, it is probable, that it was sold to Thorndike Proctor, and by him removed to a spot now in the field a few rods south of Boston Street, near the foot of Gallows (or Witch) Hill, a public road at that time running past it, and there it was occupied as a tavern, after which it stood awhile as a neglected and nearly empty stable and disused store-house. In 1864 it was presented to the Essex Institute by Mrs. David Nichols, its owner at the time, and removed to the rear of Plummer Hall, where it now stands restored to its primitive form by the liberality of the late Francis Peabody, Esq., then president of the Essex Institute, in such a way that the original parts and the renewed portions, respectively, are easily to be distinguished from each other. The second meeting-house was built in 1670, on the western side of the site of the first. It was sixty feet long on Essex Street, fifty feet wide and twenty feet stud; "cost one thousand pounds," says Rev. Mr. Upham, "had galleries, and was called by Cotton Mather 'the great and spacious meeting-house.'" This house served the congregation nearly sixty years. In 1718 it was found to have become so decrepit as not to be worthy of repairing, and it was voted to build a new one to take its place on the same ground.

This third meeting-house was seventy-two feet long on Essex Street, and fifty feet wide, with two tiers of gallery and a spire. "The steeple," says Mr. Upham, "was probably like that still preserved in the venerable meeting-house of the First Church of Hingham, built in 1681, rising directly over the centre of the

roof, the bell-rope coming down to the broad aisle, half-way between the pulpit and the main entrance." Great changes were afterwards made in the interior arrangement and in the external appearance of the building. A picture of it, as it appeared in its latest form, may be seen among the collections of the Essex Institute, and is also preserved in the appendix to the sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Upham at the dedication of the church edifice at present occupied by the society. The old house was taken down in 1826, and the new was built and dedicated November 16th of the same year. There are a few still living who remember the former, with its three tiers of windows, its tower and spire on its western end, and its front entrance upon its Essex Street side.

The meeting-house built in 1826, and now in use, was materially changed in appearance both within and without in 1875. Without, it was originally a plain brick structure, cruciform in general outline, the central and main portion, that containing the auditorium, being nearly square, and in appearance much the same as now on its northern front; high porches projecting from the middle of the eastern and western sides made the arms of the cross; the building stood above a lower story devoted to business purposes,—stores, etc., as now. On the Essex Street side of either porch were doors of entrance to the auditorium and the gallery; the ascent from the pavement to the entrances was made by a short flight of steps, an iron fence with gates inclosing the recesses between the street and the steps. Within, a gallery extended along the Essex Street front, in which was the choir and organ, and some space for sittings besides; on the opposite, the southern side, was the rather high pulpit. In 1867 considerable changes were made from its first interior appearance; a smaller organ was substituted for the one which had been in use, and was placed with the choir, in an alcove or gallery, within the upper part of the eastern porch; the front gallery was removed, and appropriate inscriptions were placed upon the northern wall, against which it had stood. In 1875 the whole interior was changed to its present form, the pulpit or preacher's desk being carried to the western side, and a large new organ built in its rear. At the same time the two porches upon the eastern and western sides were replaced by extended additions on those sides reaching the entire length of the building, providing not only stairways of access to the audience-room, but rooms adjoining for the minister's use and his library, for the Sunday-school library and for other convenient purposes.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—We now turn back to find and trace the offshoots from this parent stem of ecclesiastical growth in the Salem settlement. The earliest of these was a gathering of Quakers. Mention is made of the appearance of these people in Salem first in 1656 or '57, only about ten years after George Fox began his itineracy and public preaching in

England. The peculiar tenets and practices of the Quakers exhibit one of the numerous phases taken on by the new and freer spirit to which the Reformation of the sixteenth century had given birth. It was an emancipation from bondage to legalism, ecclesiasticism and hierarchies. It was usually characterized by more or less spiritual exaltation and religious enthusiasm. In some sanguine, imaginative and emotional temperaments, this new spirit burst forth, like new wine from old bottles, into effervescent prophesyings and extravagant claims of illumination. Sincere and pure in motive as most of these people were, they were yet protestants of the protestants, and in many instances boldly arraigned the existing churches as needing a new baptism of the Spirit; as leaning without warrant wholly on the letter of the Bible. They affirmed that each human soul might have its own immediate communication with God, its own interpretation of Christ, and its own revelation of truth, not to be superseded by any external authority. Very innocent and even commendable affirmations these would perhaps be pronounced to-day; and were Endicott, Higginson and Wilson here now, they would, it is likely, assent to them; while we who are to-day sitting complacently in judgment upon their conduct and upon that of the Southwicks and Maules, if we had been among them in their time, should have been Quakers and denouncers of Quakers in just about the same numerical proportions as they were. We need not be unjust to those who fined, sold and hanged Quakers, in order to do justice to the Quakers. The members of the churches of Salem and Boston could not know just the nature, conditions and the probable outcome of the problem which they had to deal with in Quakerism in 1656, as we now know it, viewing it in the light of history. When they first heard announced the peculiar views of these people, they recognized in them something like and yet unlike the teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson and of the Anabaptists, which they deprecated with genuine dread. To what would the new doctrines disseminated by these preachers, of which they had some not reassuring reports from England, lead, and where would they end? Did the preachers themselves know? Or were they on a drift whose tendency they were quite unable to forecast? Now it is but common-place wisdom to say that it was not right to judge the whole body or the great majority by the vagaries of a few unbalanced spirits. But the judgment had to be made then and there, by the contemporaries of Robinson, Stevenson and Mary Dyer, and they could not tell at once who were the typical disciples of the new school and who were the exceptional zealots whose ways would be eventually repudiated by the majority,—nor indeed whether the few might not yet become the majority, which was what they feared. They could not tell, nobody could, to what pitch this excitement might rise. Alarming possibilities loomed up to their apprehen-

sive imaginations. The ways and doctrines of these Quakers appeared to them to lead out to the unfenced wilderness of antinomianism [no-law-ism]; so their propagators were honestly, if mistakenly, held to be dangerous to the security of the new communities struggling to set up here law and order in commonwealth and church. The latter were contending with teachings and influences sincerely believed to be disorganizing and hostile to the peace, if not to the existence, of the newly-planted colony. It is asking too much to require that magistrates and ministers, church-members and citizens, in the infancy of a great and critical experiment in the conduct of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, acting under circumstances of frequent perplexity and serious embarrassment making their own precedents as they went, and daily treading paths of uncertain ending, should have been exempt from the limitations of their age, and should have made the discovery, at once and on the spot, that the extreme of tolerance towards dissent and contradiction was a discreet and safe policy, to be fearlessly followed out in practice without any restrictions and under whatever provocation—a discovery which, after two hundred years of social progress, hardly commands an unqualified and universal acceptance. It would be disingenuous not to allow, however, that personal feelings, wounded pride and narrow and bitter prejudices doubtless mingled with considerations of public policy, however unconsciously, in promoting the persecution of the Quakers,

Persecutors and persecuted were alike human. Grant that the doctrines of the Quakers had much truth to justify their earnest proclamation. They had too often, as uttered, the implication, if not the tone, of the Pharisee's "I am holier than thou," to the members of the New England Churches. Their authors were not sparing in the terms of self-humiliation, it is true, and this made the assumption of superior insight, and nearer communion with God, the more irritating and offensive. The very truths and half-truths that were couched in many of the allegations made against the Christianity of the day,—allegations of undue devotion to letter and form, and of lack of true religious experience and life, which, if they had come from brethren within the church, or from supposed friends, might have been welcomed by the more spiritually-minded and conscientious of the fold,—were not to be borne when regarded as the false accusations of meddling, censorious and aggressive pretenders to superior piety. The cruelties visited upon the Quakers were simply horrible, almost beyond belief. Yet we may not flatter ourselves that it is because we are so much better than our fathers that we are to-day unanimous in this verdict. It is, that we are nearly a quarter of a millenium later than the Puritans of 1656, and that between their time and ours a good deal has been learned. As to the aggravated sufferings to which the Quakers were subjected, however, this should be said: that in an age when all pains and

penalties for crime were immeasurably heavier and more cruel than now, if the Quakers must suffer punishment at all, the punishments inflicted upon them were not unusual, and therefore were such as should have been expected: fines, whippings, public disgrace, imprisonment, enslavement,¹ banishment and death. And furthermore it should be mentioned, though not as alleviating in the least the responsibility for the harsh treatment visited upon the Quakers, that some who suffered seemed rather to court martyrdom than to shrink from it. The disturbances growing out of the visits of Quakers to the places of public worship appear to have been less numerous and less violent in Salem than in some other places. As has been already mentioned, a Mrs. Oliver had, in Mrs. Hutchinson's time, and again afterwards, claimed in the open congregation the right to partake of the communion, though not a member of the church; had denied the right of the church or the magistrates to prevent her; and had suffered a brief imprisonment for the first offense, and was "publicly disgraced" after the second. One Christopher Holder, a Quaker, after being banished, returned and spoke a few words in the meeting here, September 21, 1657, "after the priest had done," but "was hauled back by the hair of his head, and a glove and a handkerchief were thrust into his mouth." On the Monday he was sent to Boston, received thirty stripes and was imprisoned nine weeks. Samuel Shattock, for trying to prevent the stopping of Holder's mouth, was carried to Boston and imprisoned there. Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, members of the church in Salem, for entertaining Holder and another of his sect, were sent to Boston and imprisoned. Some twenty persons are named by Felt [Annals] as having been among the persons punished, or indicted for attending a Quaker Meeting at Nicholas Phelps'. So serious was the apprehension of evil to the churches from this source, that when the covenant was "renewed," soon after the Rev. John Higginson's settlement, a special clause of warning *against the leaven of the doctrine of the Quakers* was added at the end, as has been noted already.

The Quakers in Salem had their meetings at first in private houses. Their first meeting-house stood on the south side of Essex Street, on the space between the houses numbered at present 373 and 377, and is said to have been built by Thomas Maule, in 1688. Maule had some years before been warned, as a Quaker, to quit the town, and two citizens, Samuel Robinson and Samuel Shaddocke, had been fined twenty shillings each for "entertaining" him in 1669. In 1716 Maule bought the meeting-house he had built in 1688, for twenty-five pounds, the society having then built their second meeting-house, a plain building, as all Quaker meeting-houses are, on the present site of

¹ Mr. Bentley mentioned that in 1659 "the heads of a family belonging to Salem were ordered to be sold." If, as is probable, the reference is to Daniel and Provident Southwick, son and daughter of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, the order was not carried into effect.

the Quaker burying-ground, at the corner of Essex and North Pine Streets, the latter street not having been opened. This second meeting-house is remembered by the older citizens of Salem, having been removed only about fifty-five years ago, that is in 1832.¹ The brick meeting-house, on the corner of Warren and South Pine Streets, now occupied by the society, was built in 1832, upon land given for the purpose by a *friend*, indeed, though not a Friend by sectarian designation, George S. Johnnot.

A difference as to discipline or doctrine, which arose among the New England Quakers towards the end of the first quarter of this century, led to earnest and protracted controversy, and finally to a practical division of the body into two sections, in 1843, sometimes popularly designated as "Gurneyites and Wilburites," from their adhesion, respectively, to John James Gurney, of England, and John Wilbur, of Rhode Island: each section claiming to be logically and spiritually in historical line with the founders of the sect. The latter conceived that the former "did not allow so full an agency to the Holy Spirit on the mind and heart as the primitive Friends did." These separation took effect in this region, at the New England Yearly Meeting, in June, 1845; and again at the Quarterly Meeting in August, and at the Monthly Meeting in September following, was ratified by the followers of the two representative men above named, and the two sections fell irreconcilably apart. The majority of the society in Salem held with Gurney, and those of the adverse views put up a small meeting-house at the corner of Essex and North Pine Streets, in 1847, which is now standing on the same spot, having been changed into a dwelling-house.

Though the Quakers have no fixed and salaried local ministers, the following persons are named in the "Historical Sketch of Salem," by Messrs. Osgood and Batchelder, as being "among the ministers acknowledged and recorded as such, from time to time, by the Salem Monthly Meeting of Friends (comprising the meetings of Salem and Lynn): Micajah Collins, Mary Newhall, Moses H. Bedee, Avis Keene, Elizabeth Breed, Jane Mansfield, Benjamin H. Jones, William O. Newhall, Abigail Bedee, Sophronia Page, Henry Chase, Hannah Hozier, Lydia Dean, Mary Chase, Daniel Page and Ruth Page." No records of the minority meeting in the house by the burial-ground, are known to have been preserved. Its numbers, not large at first, gradually diminished till the society became extinct. Among those who upheld that meeting, and were identified with it as ministers or well-known supporters, are remembered Nathan Page, David Buffum, Lois (Southwick) Ives and George F. Reed. Current rumor used to say that the

last-named, a fine scholar and an able teacher, a member of the class of 1831 in Harvard College,² remarkable as a linguist, in character simple and guileless as a child, was sometimes, in the last days of the society, the only attendant at the meeting-house, and that then he sat there alone in silent worship and meditation what time the Spirit detained him.

In 1671 the inhabitants of "the farms," or "Salem Village," as the lands now lying about "Danvers' Centre" were then called, regarding themselves as entitled by their numbers and their remoteness from the Salem Church to a nearer place of worship and the full services of a minister, began to hold religious services among themselves on the Lord's day, and constituted a church, the parent church assenting and regarding this church and congregation as a branch of itself. Rev. James Bailey was the first minister, settled in October, 1671, and Rev. George Burroughs, of unhappy memory (as a victim of the witchcraft madness), succeeded him, November 25, 1680. On the 10th of November, 1689, this church was formally separated from the mother church at Salem, and on the 15th of that month Samuel Parris was ordained its pastor.

Marblehead, taken from Salem, was incorporated in 1649, but no church was gathered there till 1684; meantime such of its people as had had or desired church fellowship continued to find it in connection with the church in Salem. On the other side of Bass River, in what is now Beverly, public worship was established in 1657, and Rev. John Hale was settled as the first minister in 1667. In 1713 a second church was formed in that part of Danvers, then called the lower parish, or "middle precinct," afterwards South Danvers, now Peabody.

EAST CHURCH.—The third church formed within the present territorial limits of Salem, regarding the Quaker "Meeting" as the second, was that commonly known by the title of the East Church. But as Quaker "meetings" were not held worthy to be counted as "churches" (members of Congregational Churches being judges), and as the Quakers themselves adopted another name for their assembly, this church styled itself the "Second" Church. It will be remembered that during the colleagueship of Mr. Nicholet with Rev. John Higginson (1672-76), efforts were made to establish a meeting, and that a meeting-house was partly built in the east part of the town, on the northeast border of the common. With the departure of Mr. Nicholet, the division in the society was virtually healed, and the meeting-house was not completed; but the idea of a church in that quarter did not wholly die out of the minds of the residents in those parts. When a committee of the First Parish reported "reasons for building a meeting-house" for the use of that parish early in the last century, it un-

¹ The frame of it is now standing in Peabody, on the Lynnfield road, having been purchased by the late Mr. Samuel Brown, taken down by him and set up again for a barn near his dwelling-house. An addition has been put to it, but its original size and form are easily to be made out.

² Mr. Reed completed his college course, and had a part assigned him for commencement, but neglected to prepare for it, and did not take his degree.

designedly gave strength to the project long entertained by the Eastern District of a separation from the parent church, and of building a meeting-house in the midst of the population to be accommodated thereabouts. As quoted by Dr. Flint in his sermon on leaving the old East Church, in 1846, this committee's report alleged that "the house [of the First Church] was not big enough to hold the people, and, for want of room, many of the eastern end of the town, and many others on other accounts, stayed away from public worship; and a great many, under pretence of being of the Church of England, went to Marblehead in boats, [so] that our harbor appeared more like a day of frolicking than anything else." The First Church resisted separation as long as it could, and more than hinted in its acquiescence at the last that the "proceedings of some of the said brethren" had been "irregular" and "contrary to good order;" but seeing a meeting-house already built, and knowing that a minister was selected and ready to be ordained, it finally, in 1718, made a virtue of necessity, ceased from further opposition, and gave the Second Church its benediction at parting.

The year 1718 was an eventful year to the First Church, made so by its having recently lost by death, both within three weeks, its two ministers (Rev. Mr. Noyes and Rev. Mr. Curwin), by the settling of another (Rev. Samuel Fisk), by the erection of a large, new church building for its own use, and by the completing of the new East Church building for the people living in that section, and the organization of a separate church and congregation there, over which Rev. Robert Stanton was ordained the minister on the 8th of April, 1719. The East Society's meeting-house was situated half a mile to the east of the First Church, on Essex Street, at the corner of what was then Grafton's Lane (now Hardy Street). In the sermon of Dr. Flint, just above quoted, it is thus described,—"The house was in dimensions originally forty by sixty feet, and what has been called tunnel-shaped, the belfry and spire ascending from the centre of the roof." In 1761 this meeting-house was new sashed and glazed; in 1766 clap-boarded; in 1770, "there not being room to accommodate the congregation," it was voted to enlarge it, which was done the following year by dividing it in the centre, carrying the western half fourteen feet farther west, and covering in this additional space. The seams, showing the lines of junction between the old part and the new, were visible in the plaster of the ceiling till the house was abandoned, in 1846. At the time of the enlargement a new steeple was built at the western end, and a porch was added at the eastern end. In 1846 the present church edifice was built and occupied.

The birth-place of Rev. Robert Stanton, the first minister of the East Church, is not known. Mr. Felt gives 1692 as the year of his birth. He graduated at Harvard College in 1712, and died May 30, 1727, after a ministry of eight years. Dr.

Flint, the fourth in the line of his successors, inters that his ministry was peaceful and happy, from the fact that nothing to the contrary has been recorded, and that his early death was regretted alike by his people and the community at large. Mr. William Jennison was ordained the year following Mr. Stanton's death; that is, in 1728, May 2d. He was born in Watertown in 1705, and died in the same town in April, 1750, having been dismissed from the East Church Sept. 13, 1736. He graduated at Harvard College in 1724. His letter of resignation is pathetic in its humility. A disaffection of his society towards him had become general, the cause of which is not now known. "Honored and Beloved," he wrote, "I esteem myself very unhappy that I have fallen under your displeasure. Glad would I be, if it lay in my power to fulfill the ministry I have received among you, [so] as to approve myself to God and to the consciences of all of us; but when I consider the great and long uneasiness and dissatisfaction you have labored under (for which I am heartily sorry), I despair of being re-instated in your love and affection, so as to answer the great ends of the sacred office among you. I am therefore willing to accept a dismission from the sacred office among you, which I write with fear and trembling, not knowing at present what will become of me and mine; but earnestly trusting to your favor and kindness towards us under the difficulties of my situation, and which you have encouraged me to hope for, upon my being freely and willingly dismissed. I heartily wish the best of blessings to your dear church and flock. . . ."

The long ministry of Rev. James Diman followed that of Mr. Jennison. Mr. Diman was born on Long Island, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1707, graduated at Harvard College in 1730, was librarian of the college two years, was ordained in Salem May 11, 1737, and died Oct. 8, 1788. His ministry was peaceful for the most part, and so successful that an enlargement of the meeting-house was required in his day and was made. Towards the end of his pastorate, however, his society became desirous of a colleague. A large portion of the people had fallen out of sympathy with their minister's opinions and teachings, which were rigidly Calvinistic, and, in this, at variance with their own. These divergencies led at length to an interruption of harmony; feelings of personal coldness and alienation set in. After a reluctant assent to the expressed wishes of the society for a colleague, in 1783, and the settlement, the same year, of one who held theological views not in accord with his own, the senior minister manifested an increasing estrangement and withdrawal from his society. Mr. Diman is described as "of grave aspect, invested with the imposing dignity—rather stern and awe-inspiring—peculiar to the ministers of the age of huge wigs, which were a symbol of the clerical authority and the orthodox theology of the day."

The colleague called to assist Mr. Diman was the

widely-known scholar, independent thinker, political writer and vigorous preacher, William Bentley, who "dispensed at once with the wig and creed of which it had been so long the symbol." Mr. Bentley was born in Boston June 22, 1759, graduated at Harvard College in 1777, was three years tutor there, ordained in Salem Sept. 24, 1783, died Dec. 19, 1819, the discourse at his funeral being preached by Professor Edward Everett, then connected with the college at Cambridge. The beginning of Mr. Bentley's ministry marked the transfer of the East Church from apparent allegiance to the theology of the Westminster Assembly to that of a liberalism not yet defined, but which later took the name of Unitarian. It cannot be said that the new minister brought about the change, since we have seen that the people of that church, in choosing a minister, showed a preference for one of a different type from that of their senior pastor, even while the latter was yet preaching to them—they having already departed from the doctrinal faith upheld by him. This more liberal theology, which proved to be the nascent New England Unitarianism, was, to a wide extent, "in the air," in the last quarter of the last century, in Eastern Massachusetts, though not yet developed into an open and systematized confession of faith, nor exciting yet the opposition and alarm which it caused in the early years of the present century, greatly disturbing all the Congregational Churches of New England, and dividing a considerable portion of them into two polemic camps. Of the Boston clergy, a considerable number had ceased to hold to the creed of the New England founders. Some were pronounced in their disaffection and dissent; some simply refrained from teaching important parts of the creed of Calvin and the Westminster divines. Mayhew and Howard, of the West Church; Chauncey and Clarke, of the First Church; and Lathrop, of the Second Church, who preached Mr. Bentley's ordination sermon, were well known for their liberal opinions. So were Mr. Barnard, of the North Church, and Mr. Prince of the First Church in Salem; while the pastors of two churches of the Episcopal order in Boston and Salem,—Rev. James Freeman, of the King's Chapel in Boston, a friend and classmate of Mr. Bentley, and born the same year, and Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, rector of St. Peter's in Salem—were by common repute of the same general way of thinking.

It was with men like these that Mr. Bentley was classed theologically, if, indeed, he was not more unorthodox than they; and this fact recommended him the more as an acceptable candidate to the worshippers in the East meeting-house. Chiefly on account of his political opinions, which were in accord with those of the Republicans of his day, as opposed to those of the Federalists, and on account of his frequent and strong enforcement of these opinions through the press, he was not in close and cordial professional fellowship with his clerical brethren of

the neighborhood, they being for the most part Federalists. Consequently his interchange of pulpit services with them was much more restricted than it would otherwise have been, being confined to a few. He was an ardent patriot. On the 22d of February, 1793, he delivered an oration commemorative of the birthday of George Washington to a very large assembly in the North meeting-house. Again, after the death of Washington, he was invited by the citizens of Salem to pronounce a funeral oration, which he did in the same place before a vast gathering of people. When the United States frigate "Constitution" was driven into Marblehead harbor by the British cruisers *Tenedos* and *Endymion*, on Sunday, April 3, 1814, and a messenger brought the news to the church, Dr. Bentley promptly dismissed the congregation and hastened, with many of his parishioners, to the scene of the expected attack.

Dr. Bentley was a man of broad culture, of a wide range of reading and research, and of a catholic mind. The deep and long-enduring influence which he exerted is attested by the traditions that still live among the people of Salem, showing the authority that went with his name and word. He did not write for posterity, but for his own time, caring little for fame. His fame reached beyond his immediate neighborhood and outlasted his time, not because he planned it to be so, but because of the powers of his large and many-sided personality and his wealth of resources. He had much and varied learning, had it at command, and possessed along with it that bracing, balanced, healthful "common sense" which is so uncommon. His heart was warm, his sympathies were quick, his hand was always in practice, both for giving and serving. "From all that I have learned of him," says his successor, Dr. Flint, "I have conceived of him as possessed of a vigorous and brilliant intellect,—rapid and exuberant in thought,—of great ease and fluency of speech,—untrammelled by the authority of names or systems in philosophy or theology,—interpreting the universe and the Bible fearlessly by the light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world,—the light of the soul, which is greater than the outward universe, or the mere letter of the Bible." Dr. Bentley never married. "Having no family ties to divide his cares and responsibilities with his people, he made them his family. And the affection he manifested for them he had the happiness to know was cordially reciprocated by them." Once he wrote for posterity—a "Historical Sketch of Salem," published in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society" (vol. vi.).

Dr. Bentley's successor, just above quoted, was Rev. James Flint, born in Reading December 10, 1779; graduated at Harvard College in 1802; ordained over the church in Bridgewater [East Parish] October 29, 1806; installed pastor of the East Church, in Salem, September 19, 1821; he died March 4, 1855. He was the sole minister of the East Church for thirty

years, till 1851, when Rev. Dexter Clapp became his colleague. The period of Dr. Flint's ministry was one of steady prosperity for the society. In 1846 the beautiful brick church, with front of free stone, was built on what is now Washington Square (then Brown Street), over against the southwest angle of the common. Dr. Flint was a man of scholarly tastes, had a poetic temperament, and his graceful and vivid writing, combined with an animated and warm delivery of his discourses, made him an attractive preacher, welcomed always in the pulpits of his denomination, as his presence was acceptable also on those more public occasions which brought him before his fellow-citizens at large.

Rev. Dexter Clapp, installed as colleague with Dr. Flint December 17, 1851, was born July 15, 1816, in Easthampton, Mass.; graduated at Amherst College, 1839, and at the Cambridge Divinity School in 1842; was ordained pastor of the Unitarian Church in Savannah, Ga., November 26, 1843, and continued in the ministry there for a few years, after which he was settled over the Second Church in Roxbury (First in West Roxbury) five years. He was minister of the East Church twelve years, till February, 1864, when he resigned on account of ill-health. He died July 26, 1868. During his ministry in Salem his society was united and strong. It was with sincere regret that his resignation was accepted. He was a spiritually-minded man, an earnest preacher, and a high ideal of ministerial duty made both his pulpit and his pastoral services acceptable and effective.

A few months after his resignation Rev. Samuel C. Beane was called by the society to succeed him. Mr. Beane was born December 19, 1835, in Candia, N. H.; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1858, and from the Cambridge Divinity School in 1861; ordained in Chicopee, Mass., January 15, 1862; installed in Salem January 1, 1865; resigned January 1, 1878; installed in Concord, N. H., January 9, 1878; resigned May 10, 1885, since which time he has been a missionary for Northern New England, appointed by the American Unitarian Association. Rev. George H. Hosmer was installed pastor of the East Church January 1, 1879, and resigned January 1, 1886. He was born in Buffalo, N. Y., May 14, 1839; graduated at the Meadville Theological School, 1866; ordained as an evangelist in 1867, and after preaching in Deerfield, Mass., some time, was installed in Bridgewater December 17, 1868, where he remained ten years. He was installed in Neponset February 20, 1887. Rev. William H. Ramsey, the present minister, was ordained October 15, 1886.

EPISCOPAL.—*St. Peter's*.—The great majority of the first settlers of Salem brought with them no love of Episcopacy from the Old World home. John Lyford, the well-known disturber of the peace of Plymouth, "came hither also," as an associate of Roger Conant, and held services for a time, before Endicott and his

company came, according to the usages of the English Church. He was here but a short time, however, as he went to Virginia in 1627, and died there the same year. Of Endicott's company there were a few—at least the two brothers Brown, John and Samuel—who did not fail in loyalty to the Church of England. They were leading men and councillors. When they saw in the organization of the First Church that a new departure, amounting to a virtual secession from the National Church, was determined on, they, with some others of like mind, set up a separate worship after the order of the Book of Common Prayer. When Governor Endicott summoned them to answer for their schismatic attitude towards the Salem Church, they persisted, "and therefore, finding those two brothers to be of high spirits and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the Governor told them that New England was no place for such as they, and therefore he sent them both back to England at the return of the ships the same year." "This proceeding," says Palfrey, "had first raised, and for the present issue had decided, a question of vast magnitude. The right of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay to exclude at their pleasure dangerous or disagreeable persons from their domain they never regarded as questionable, any more than a householder doubts his right to determine who shall be the inmates of his house."¹

The experiment of Episcopal worship was not tried again with a view to permanency for a long time. To Mr. George R. Curwen's valuable notes, which I am kindly permitted to use, I am indebted for many interesting and important facts in the history of St. Peter's Church. He says that in 1727 Rev. George Pigot, then rector of St. Michael's, in Marblehead, delivered monthly lectures and administered rites of the English Church in Salem, from which he infers that there was an organized parish of that order here at that time. In 1733 a church was built on "Prison Lane" (now St. Peter's Street), and was consecrated June 25, 1734, the land on which it stood having been given in part for the purpose by Philip English and his family, a pew in the church being set apart to them as an equivalent for the rest. The gift was estimated at nineteen-twenty-fourths of the value of the land, viz., ninety-five pounds, the other five-twenty-fourths representing the estimated value of the pew, viz., twenty-five pounds. This church had forty pews and a tower upon its western end. It gave place to the present Gothic stone building in 1833, which was enlarged in 1845 and further improved not many years since by the erection of the stone chapel annexed to it. Rev. Charles Brockwell, a graduate of Cambridge, England, was the first rector, entering upon his office, says Mr. Curwen, October 8, 1738. (Mr. Felt says May 9, 1739.) November 27, 1746, he left St. Peter's, having been appointed by the Bishop of London to

¹ "History of New England," vol. i., p. 289.

King's Chapel, in Boston. He died August 20, 1755, says Felt (April 20, 1755, say Osgood & Batchelder, in sketch of Salem), at the age of fifty-nine.

Mr. Brockwell was educated at St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, and was appointed by the Society (in England) for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, to St. Andrew's Church, in Scituate, Mass., but "finding neither the place nor the people to answer his expectations," he removed to Salem. The officers of the Salem Church, in applying to the Society in England for a clergyman to succeed him, in 1747, testify to his faithfulness, and speak of theirs as "this infant, though flourishing church."

Rev. William McGilchrist was appointed his successor. Mr. McGilchrist was born in Glasgow, Scotland, 1703; graduated at Baliol College, Oxford, in 1731; ordained priest in 1733, and sent by the above-mentioned missionary society, in 1741, to Charleston, South Carolina. After four years' service he was obliged, by the state of his health, to return to England. Recovering from his illness, he was appointed to succeed Mr. Brockwell in Salem, and entered on the duties of his office in 1747. He died in the ministry in Salem, April 19, 1780, aged seventy-three years. His services seem not to have been quite continuous, however, through the thirty-four years intervening between his settlement and his death. The opposition to the English Church establishment had not died out. The parish was not strong, though it gradually increased until 1761, when it was found necessary to add twenty feet to the length of the church building. It was not without difficulty, however, that, in the face of popular odium and legal ban, the small congregation upheld its standard. In 1777 the revolutionary spirit was impatient and intolerant. The Legislature passed a law prohibiting the reading of the Episcopal service under heavy penalties. Later, however, the service was reinstated by the rector. From 1771 to December, 1774, Rev. Robert B. Nichols, a native of the West Indies, educated at Queen's College, Oxford, was an assistant to Mr. McGilchrist. He was afterwards a chaplain in the British army, and became still later dean of Middleham, England.

Rev. Nathaniel Fisher was the next rector. He was born in Dedham July 8, 1742. The mother of Fisher Ames, the distinguished statesman and orator, was his sister. Mr. Fisher graduated at Harvard College in 1763, taught a school in Granville, near Annapolis, Nova Scotia, under the patronage of an English missionary society, soon after the Revolutionary War began. In 1777 he went to London, and was there ordained a priest by the celebrated Dr. Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, and was licensed on the 25th of September of that year as assistant to Rev. Mr. Wood, of Annapolis, and continued after the death of Mr. Wood, which occurred the following year, in charge of his mission in Annapolis and Granville, till the close of the year 1781. On his return to Mas-

sachusetts at that time he was invited to Saint Peter's Church, Salem, and entered upon his duties there, February 24, 1782. His ministry in Salem extended over a period of thirty years, and closed only with his life, on Sunday, December 20, 1812. Mr. Fisher became a man of leading influence in the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts, being active in the early years of his ministry in measures for the organization of that church in Massachusetts and parts adjacent, and was held in high respect by the clergy and laity. He was a man of independent mind and action, more than once casting a solitary vote in conventions of the Episcopal Church on important questions coming before them, when his voice alone broke the otherwise unanimous decision. He was a man of strongly-marked traits of character, "and very decided and fixed in his prejudices, which he took no pains to conceal." His demeanor, says his successor, Rev. Charles Mason, was somewhat stern, but he was a man of generous feelings and habits. In person he was strongly built and of a large frame. His constitution was vigorous, and remained firm till his death. In the preface to a volume of his sermons published several years after his death, it is observed that "to clearness of apprehension the author joined a sprightly imagination, which was exercised with care and modesty, and contributed equally to illustrate and enliven his sentiments. This, as well as the other faculties of his mind, was regulated and enlivened by a devoted study of the ancient classics, which, to the latest period of his life, he read with the ardor of a true scholar."

"In regard to these sermons," says Rev. Mr. Mason, "it may be proper to add that while they contain earnest and impressive appeals to the heart and conscience, especially those which the author last wrote,—we find in them no clear and distinctive instruction upon the great orthodox doctrines of the church. They convey, indeed, no positive doubt in regard to any of these doctrines, but are deficient in such definite statements as would show that the writer firmly and heartily maintained them. It is possible that they may not do entire justice to their author in this respect, and that the preferences of the editor, who is supposed to be a friend who afterwards joined the ranks of the Unitarian denomination, may have insensibly biased his judgment in the selection." The person referred to as having edited the volume of sermons was probably the late Joseph Story, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Judge Story was a devoted friend and parishioner of Mr. Fisher, and to his pen is attributed a highly appreciative obituary notice of his pastor, which appeared in the *Salem Gazette* of December 25, 1812.

At the time of Mr. Fisher's death the congregation worshipping in Saint Peter's Church was in a very feeble condition. The commercial misfortunes and restrictions that led the way to the War of 1812 had operated disastrously upon the town, and especially upon the

Episcopal Society. The clergy of the town, of various denominations, severally in turn, supplied the pulpit of the church through a series of Sundays succeeding Mr. Fisher's death. The ministry of Mr. Fisher was followed by that of Rev. Thomas Carlile, who first officiated as lay reader, and after ordination entered upon the duties of rector January 22, 1817. He was born in Providence, R. I., January 12, 1792, and graduated at Brown University, 1809. His ministry was eminently useful to the parish, raising it from the low condition in which he found it to a position of comparative prosperity. He resigned the rectorship October 6, 1822, and died in Providence March 28, 1824.

Rev. Henry W. Ducachet, who followed Mr. Carlile, was born February 7, 1797, in South Carolina. He was educated at Princeton, studied medicine and practiced as a physician some years in Baltimore and New York. Changing his profession for that of the ministry, he first served St. Peter's Parish, as lay reader, in 1823, and for a short time as rector, after ordination as a priest. He resigned December 5, 1825, and removed to Norfolk, Virginia.

Rev. Thomas W. Coit, the next rector, was born in New London, Conn., June 28, 1803, graduated at Yale College, 1821, was settled in Salem July 16, 1826, resigned March 22, 1829, and became rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass. He died in Middletown, Conn., June 21, 1885. His ministry in Salem, though short, was very useful to the parish. He was highly esteemed in the Episcopal Church, and wrote vigorously in defense of churchmen, as against the Puritans.

The St. Peter's Parish was much disheartened when Mr. Coit left them, but entered into a correspondence with Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, bishop of the Eastern Diocese, and then rector of St. Michael's Church, in Bristol, R. I., which resulted in his coming to Salem to take the pastoral charge of St. Peter's, which he did December 24, 1829. He continued in the office till June 26, 1834, when he removed to Boston. Mr. Griswold was born in Simsbury, Conn., April 22, 1766, and died February 15, 1843. He was widely known and universally esteemed through Eastern Massachusetts for his personal virtues and his exemplary simplicity, dignity and fidelity in the responsible office to whose duties he was devoted. During the ministry of Bishop Griswold the new stone church was built, his last official act being its consecration.

Rev. John A. Vaughan was Bishop Griswold's successor. He entered upon his duties June 26, 1834. Mr. Vaughan graduated at Bowdoin College in 1815, and resigned the Salem rectorship in 1836. Rev. Charles Mason followed him, being inducted into the ministry in Salem May 31, 1837. Mr. Mason was a son of Jeremiah Mason, the eminent lawyer; was born in Portsmouth, N. H., July 25, 1812; graduated at Harvard College, 1832. Dur-

ing his ministry the church was enlarged by a chancel and vestry-room. The congregation increased and there was growing strength and constant union in the parish. Mr. Mason resigned May 30, 1847, and became rector of Grace Church, Boston, in which office he continued until his death, March 23, 1862.

Rev. William R. Babcock came to the vacant rectorship April 30, 1848, and resigned April 18, 1853. He was born in Westerly, R. I., March 28, 1814; graduated at Brown University, 1837. From Salem he removed to Natchez, Miss. Rev. George Leeds succeeded him in the St. Peter's rectorship September 4, 1853, and resigned April 8, 1860. He was born in Dorchester, Mass., October 25, 1816. Mr. Leeds removed from Salem to Philadelphia, and died there April 15, 1885.

Rev. William Rawlins Pickman was the next rector. He took charge of the parish October 7, 1860, and left it in 1865. There was a serious interruption, in the course of his ministry, to the harmony which had existed before, and the agitation did not cease while he continued in office. Rev. James O. Scripture succeeded Mr. Pickman in November, 1865. He was born June 26, 1839; graduated at Dartmouth College, 1860, and died August 9, 1868, having officiated in all the usual services, including the communion, at St. Peter's Church, the Sunday next preceding his death. He died sincerely mourned by his warmly attached and suddenly bereaved congregation. From May 1, 1870, to March 28, 1875, Rev. Edward M. Gushee filled the rectorship of St. Peter's, having been previously settled over St. Paul's Church in Wallingford, Conn. From Salem he removed to Cambridge, Mass., and is in charge of a church in that city. In 1872, during the ministry of Rev. Mr. Gushee, the stone chapel was erected in rear of the church. The present rector of St. Peter's, Rev. Charles Arey, D.D., commenced his services in Salem September 26, 1875. He came to Salem from St. John's Church in Buffalo, N. Y. He was born in Wellfleet, Mass., August 22, 1822.

TABERNACLE CHURCH.—The Tabernacle Church is next in age among the churches of Salem. The causes of its origin have been already mentioned, in part, in the story of the First Church, to which the reader is referred. In 1735 the disaffection in the First Church towards Rev. Samuel Fisk, its minister, came to a crisis, as has been stated, in his exclusion from the pulpit of that church, and his withdrawal with a majority of its members: Dr. Worcester says, "three-fourths, at least, of the church and society;" the remaining members, in their petition calling for a meeting for reorganization, assert that the late minister "was dismissed by a major part of the brethren of the church of the First Parish, qualified by law to act in that matter." The preacher of the first Centennial Discourse says that neither the day nor the month can be ascertained when Mr. Fisk and his friends deter-

mined to establish themselves upon a separate foundation, or when they consummated their determination by any formal process. In inquiring for the birthday of this, the "Third," or Tabernacle Church, I incline to fix on May 4, 1735, as its probable date. This church conceived of itself as having had a continuous life and identity with the church of 1629. It was not till the 23d of May, 1763, that, by a formal vote, it relinquished the title of the First Church and assumed that of the Third Church. But its date of actual beginning may be assumed to be the first time it assembled after its expulsion from the meeting-house of the First Church. If the exclusion was, as the record says, on the 27th of April, 1735, there can be no doubt that the congregation met somewhere, probably enough at the house of Joseph Orne, the next Sunday, which would be May 4, 1735. They soon began the building of a new meeting-house, which was completed in 1736. It will be remembered that they first placed it too near the house of the old parish, "only twelve perches and eleven feet" from it, and that the General Court ordered it to be removed to a limit "not nearer to the other than forty perches." This house stood nearly upon the site of the Perley Block, and was completed early in 1736.

In 1744 Mr. Fisk asked for a colleague. The confidence felt at first in his leadership and in the wisdom of the step taken in separating from the mother church, had begun to wane. Some correspondence was had with that church relative to an accommodation. No agreement could be reached. Rev. Dudley Leavitt was called to be colleague with Mr. Fisk. He declined to take the office of colleague pastor, but, it was understood, might consider an invitation to become sole pastor. August 12, 1745, the congregation voted that Mr. Fisk be discharged from ecclesiastical relations with the society; the church had taken similar action two weeks before. The way being now considered open for Mr. Leavitt's settlement, the call to him was renewed and accepted, and he was ordained October 23, 1745, not, however, peacefully. Mr. Fisk's friends were present at the time and place appointed in sufficient force to interrupt the public services and prevent the orderly proceedings of the ceremony. Those who had come together to settle the new minister retired from the tumultuous scene to a neighboring garden, where, under the shelter of a tree, the service of ordination took place. Mr. Leavitt died, sincerely lamented, February 7, 1762. The society prospered during his ministry. The church, says Mr. Worcester, became "more Calvinistic" under his preaching. Mr. Leavitt was born in Stratham, N. H., in 1720, and graduated at Harvard College in 1739. That his influence was marked in calming the troubled waters of controversy, that his mind was large and his spirit catholic, and that the impression made by his labors was deep and lasting, is shown by the fact that the church which had been led by his counsels not only surrendered its claim to the title of

First Church, soon after his death, but voted to take, in affectionate commemoration of him, the title of "The Church of which Rev. Dudley Leavitt was late Pastor." It kept this name from August 2, 1762, to May 23, 1763, when it voted to assume the name of the "Third Church."

Mr. John Huntington was ordained successor of Mr. Leavitt September 28, 1763, but lived less than three years from his ordination, dying May 30, 1766, at the early age of thirty years. He was born in Norwich, Conn., in 1736, and graduated at Harvard College in 1763.

The next ministry was that of Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, D.D., which continued for fourteen or fifteen mostly stormy years. He was settled July 28, 1769, and his connection with the society was dissolved February 24, 1784. He made some unusual conditions as preliminary to his acceptance of the society's invitation to Salem. The customary services of installation were not to be observed. Certain articles of agreement between himself and the church must be adopted, changing materially the method of church government and organization from that usual with Congregational Churches, making it essentially Presbyterian. He afterwards endeavored to bring the church formally into connection with the Boston Presbytery. He was himself a Presbyterian. With a view to substitute some equivalent for the omitted installation service, he proposed that the Rev. Messrs. Diman, Barnard and Holt, neighboring ministers, should be invited to be present "as friends to the society and the common cause of religion." This was done, and the ministers invited returned an answer declining the invitation, not wishing to countenance proceedings which they characterized as "irregular," and remonstrating against the course taken, though in an entirely friendly spirit. The church was prepared to comply with all requisitions made by the pastor-elect. He was a man of popular gifts; his preaching was much admired. He was energetic, active, inclined to assume power and to take control in whatever matters engaged his interest. The conditions of the union between pastor and people had not been very distinctly drawn. The church, under the blinding glimmers produced by the preacher's brilliancy, accepted everything, and soon awoke to the fact that they were entangled in the meshes of various concessions not well defined, opening doors to misunderstanding and contentions which in due time ripened into open and bitter strife. On the 6th of October, 1774, the meeting-house of the society was burned. At this time those who had been pushing a resolute opposition to Dr. Whittaker withdrew and organized the church now known as the South Church. Reports unfavorable to Dr. Whittaker's character had been in circulation, and the secession of those who had withdrawn did not bring peace. The attendance upon his ministrations fell off, and after long and persistent efforts to accomplish the end,

the society relieved itself of its discredited pastor and of Presbyterianism, and resumed its place among the Congregational Churches of the town.

After the burning of the first meeting-house the society built a new one on the corner of Washington and what was then Marlborough (now Federal) Streets, the site of the present church. The new church was built in 1776, though not supplied with pews until the following year. The society was not in a condition to make the building of it easy, or to bring it promptly to completion. When dedicated, it was, says Dr. Worcester, without galleries, without pulpit and without even plastering upon the walls. Being modeled after Whitfield's London Tabernacle, the building, and from it the church and congregation took, in the popular speech, its name, which in time was adopted by the society, though without any definite action authorizing it. The close of Dr. Whittaker's ministry, in 1784, was in striking contrast with its imposing beginning. His friends were few, he had no regular salary, his parish was weak, his fame tarnished. He was born in Long Island, N. Y., February 22, 1732, graduated at Princeton College, 1752, and died January 21, 1795, in Virginia.

Rev. Joshua Spaulding followed him. He was ordained October 26, 1785. The society recovered its strength under his ministry, and for a time prospered. The meeting-house, having added pulpit and galleries, was finished and furnished. Mr. Spaulding, says Mr. Worcester, was a man of unquestioned piety, "but the vehemence and pungency with which he preached the distinguishing doctrines of grace often inflamed the enmity of the carnal mind," and tended to make him "less popular." Engaging also in political controversy, both with pen and voice, and finally asserting his own right, as pastor, "to negative the votes of the church," he brought upon himself finally a warm and determined counteraction of his measures, within his church, and was led to ask a dismission, which took place April 23, 1802. He did not cease to minister to a portion of his flock, however, as those who disapproved of the action of the society in dismissing him withdrew with him from the church and organized "the Branch," or Howard Street Church, of which more is to be said in its place. Mr. Spaulding was born in Killingly, Conn., graduated at Dartmouth College, 1786, resigned the pastorate of the Branch Church May 4, 1814, and died September 26, 1825, at the age of sixty-five years.

The next minister, the fifth in the ministerial line of the Tabernacle Church, was Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D. He was installed pastor of the Tabernacle Church in Salem, April 20, 1803, and continued in the office till his death, June 7, 1821. His ministry covered a period of great religious activity, in and out of his church, in which he bore a conspicuous part. The Unitarian controversy, which divided many of the principal Congregational Churches of Eastern Massachusetts, was at its height. Dr. Worcester was a promi-

nent champion on the orthodox side, and wrote in opposition to Dr. Channing, especially in review of the sermon preached by Dr. Channing at the ordination of Mr. John Emery Abbot over the North Church in Salem, April 20, 1815. He was an active promoter of the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1810, and became its corresponding secretary. In his church the first missionaries to India were ordained and commissioned on the 6th of February, 1812. His influence extended widely beyond his society, and was strong and deep within it. His labors outside his church became so weighty and engrossing that a colleague was settled in 1819, that his connection with his people might continue, though only a part of his time and strength could be devoted to their service. The meeting-house underwent no little change during these years. In 1804 it lost its dome and belfry in a tempest. The next year a steeple was built upon its front, changing it materially from its original tent-like form. Mr. Worcester was born in Hollis, N. H., November 1, 1770, graduated at Dartmouth College, 1795, and had been five years pastor of a church in Fitchburg before his settlement in Salem. He was a younger brother of Noah Worcester, the "apostle of peace," and the author of "Bible News" and some other important contributions to the Trinitarian controversy, upon the Unitarian side.

The colleague settled with Dr. Worcester, July 21, 1819, was Mr. Elias Cornelius, a native of Somers, N. Y., born July 31, 1794, graduated at Yale College 1813, dismissed from the Tabernacle Church December 22, 1826, to take a position in the service of the American Education Society. He died February 12, 1832. His parish esteemed him an able and devoted man, and regretted his departure. February 14, 1827, John P. Cleaveland succeeded him. Mr. Cleaveland was born in Rowley July 19, 1799, graduated at Bowdoin College, 1821, was dismissed from the Tabernacle Church May 14, 1834.

His successor, the eighth in the pastoral line, was Rev. Samuel Melancthon Worcester, son of Rev. Samuel, chronicled above as the fifth in the line. He was born in Fitchburg, September 4, 1801; graduated at Harvard College, 1822; from 1823 to 1834 professor in Amherst College; settled in Salem December 3, 1834; resigned January 31, 1860; died August 16, 1866. His tastes, though scholarly, and his training, though directed to service in the church, did not limit his sympathies and activities to scholastic or ecclesiastical lines. He was a true patriot and took a profound interest in the national crisis which the country passed through in the years from 1860 to 1865. He had represented the town of Amherst, the city of Salem and Essex County in the State Legislature. His orthodoxy was stanch and positive, but his spirit was genial and kind, and his bearing was courteous and friendly with all.



Thos Bernard

A new church—the present building—was erected in 1854, on or near the site of the old, and a large new chapel, of two stories, was built in its rear and in connection with it, in 1868,—the ample size and commodiousness of these buildings attesting the prosperity of the society, and the largeness of the wants they were designed to meet.

Mr. Charles Ray Palmer was ordained pastor of the church August 29, 1860, and dismissed June 13, 1872. Mr. Palmer was born in New Haven, Conn., May 2, 1834; graduated at Yale College, 1855, and, after his dismissal from the Tabernacle Church, became the pastor of a church in Bridgeport, Conn. From June, 1872 to Dec. 31, 1873, the church was without a pastor. On the last-named date Rev. Hiram B. Putnam was installed. His health failed, causing him to seek a dismissal, which took place March 15, 1877. Mr. Putnam was born in Danvers January 27, 1840; graduated at Amherst College, 1860, and had been settled over a church in West Concord, N. H., before his installation in Salem. Rev. De Witt S. Clark, the present pastor of the church, was installed January 15, 1879. He was born in Chicopee, Mass., September 11, 1841; graduated at Amherst College, 1863, and had been pastor of a church in Clinton, Mass., before his settlement in Salem.

NORTH CHURCH.—On the 3d of March, 1772, *The Proprietors of the North Meeting House* organized themselves into a religious society with the above title, in the Salem Town Hall. They had been members of the First Parish; there were forty-three. On the 19th of July of the same year, fifty-two persons, having received a dismissal from the First Church on the 16th of May preceding, met at the house of Benjamin Pickman, on Essex Street, opposite St. Peter's Street, constituted themselves a church, which they afterwards voted should be called the North Church. This secession from the First Parish grew out of a disagreement in the choice of a minister. In 1770 the highly-esteemed minister of the First Church, Rev. Thomas Barnard, became disabled by paralysis, and his people looked for a colleague. Thomas Barnard, Jr., a son of the pastor, who had a little before completed his preparation for the ministry, supplied his father's pulpit for some months, and about half of the society earnestly desired his settlement as colleague pastor. A small majority preferred another man, who, after much delay, was called and ordained. The disappointed friends of the younger Barnard were unwilling to give him up, and organized the new (North) society, as above related. A site for a meeting-house had been selected and purchased on the 14th of February, 1772, on the corner of Lynde and North Streets, on the western line of what was early known as "Sharpe's Training-Field." This meeting-house was first opened for public worship August 23, 1772, though not nearly completed. After occupying it three Sundays, the proprietors determined to add side-galleries, not originally contem-

plated in the plan of the building committee. It was not considered finished till nearly five months after the society began to meet in it. It was a house of large capacity, and was on that account much resorted to for civic celebrations on the Fourth of July, and on other public days, for many years. Thomas Barnard, Jr., was ordained January 13, 1773, and continued in the pastoral office till October 1, 1814, the day of his death. He came of a ministerial ancestry. His father, an uncle, a grandfather, a great-grandfather had all been preachers; nor does this roll completely sum up the clerical kinsmen descended from the American progenitor, Rev. Francis Barnard of Hadley. Thomas Barnard, Jr., was born in Newbury, February 5, 1748; graduated at Harvard College, 1766, and studied theology with Dr. Williams, of Bradford, afterwards professor at Harvard College. The North Society suffered in common with other churches during the Revolutionary War. Mr. Barnard at first leaned to the side of the Royalists, and a considerable number of his leading parishioners were pronounced Loyalists, including several who quit the country. He turned to the Whig side, however, before long, and was afterwards steadfast in that way. Though but a young man, he made himself prominent at the North Bridge, when Colonel Leslie, the British officer, came at the head of three hundred men from Marblehead, for guns supposed to be collected and deposited on the other side of the North River. He bore himself with dignity and firmness that day, albeit as a pacificator of the roused passions ready to burst into a flame. He has the credit of counseling the compromise which saved bloodshed, and led to the turning back of the King's troops, leaving the object of the expedition unaccomplished.

Dr. Barnard's long ministry justified the loyalty of his early friends. He was broad-minded, wise and catholic in spirit, effective as a preacher, genial and trustworthy as a friend and a pastor, fond of children, and the society was united and prosperous through his ministry. As a scholar he stood well among the scholarly. He was held in such honor among the preachers of his day, and was of such reputation in the churches and in the State, as to be often sought to preach on days of general public convention, both ecclesiastical and other. Among the able pulpit leaders of thought in a highly intelligent community, and at a time when theological inquiry was exciting great interest, and becoming more free and earnest, he held an eminent place, held it long, and at the close of his forty years and more of service, his influence showed no sign of waning. In his theological opinions he belonged to the liberal school, and so educated his congregation that they elected a Unitarian to succeed him with hearty unanimity.

That successor was John Emery Abbot, son of the distinguished head of Phillips Academy, in Exeter, N. H., Dr. Benjamin Abbot. Mr. Ab-

bot was born at Exeter August 6, 1793, graduated at Bowdoin College 1810, and pursued his professional studies partly at Cambridge, under the direction of Dr. Henry Ware, Sr.; and partly with Dr. William Ellery Channing, of Boston, who preached at his ordination as minister of the North Church, April 20, 1815. The sermon of Dr. Channing on this occasion produced a deep and wide-spread impression, and was followed by strictures and controversial arguments against its positions from the pen of Dr. Samuel Worcester, of the Tabernacle Church, in Salem. Mr. Abbot, not yet twenty-two years of age, taking charge of this large society, and giving himself with great devotion to the studies and labors incidental to a position so exacting and responsible, broke down in health within two years. Rest and travel brought only temporary and partial alleviation to his illness, and he died at his father's house in Exeter October 7, 1819. Though his ministry was so short, it left a lasting influence. Mr. Abbot was a good scholar and a conscientious student. But his highest power lay in a soul of deep religious sensibility, a character of rare purity and loftiness of aim, and a consecrated fidelity.

Mr. John Brazer succeeded him. His ordination took place November 14, 1820. Mr. Brazer was born in Worcester, Mass., September 21, 1789, graduated at Harvard College 1813, was appointed tutor in Greek in the college 1815, and from 1817 to 1820 was tutor in Latin. His ministry in Salem ended with his life, February 26, 1846. In January, 1846, he left his home in Salem for a milder climate, his health requiring rest and change; and he died at the plantation of his friend and classmate, Dr. Benjamin Huger, on Cooper River, near Charleston, S. C. Dr. Brazer was of a sensitive and nervous temperament, which made him seem reserved, almost shy, to many, but he was a friend of the poor, and a minister of comfort to the sorrowing. Conservative by nature, he was a preacher of commanding power, clear and logical in thought, grave and dignified in manner, serious and searching in bringing truth home to the conscience. For the twenty-five years and more of his ministry he held one of the largest and most intelligent congregations in Massachusetts in close and united attendance upon his services. During all this period the society was in a condition of the highest prosperity. It was during the ministry of Dr. Brazer that the present stone church was built on Essex Street. The question of building was some time in agitation. The project was not finally approved by all. But the majority having decided upon it, the corner-stone was laid May 16, 1835, and the church was dedicated June 22, 1836. It was finished at first perfectly plain in its interior, with white walls. In 1847 it was completely changed within, and assumed its present appearance, under the direction of the late Francis Peabody, Esq.

Mr. Octavius Brooks Frothingham was ordained successor to Dr. Brazer March 10, 1847. He was born in Boston November 26, 1822, graduated at Harvard College 1843, resigned his charge in Salem April 9, 1855, and was installed pastor of a newly-gathered Unitarian Society in Jersey City, N. J., September 11, 1855. The year following he removed to the city of New York and became the minister of the Third Unitarian Society in that city, where for many years he was widely known as an eloquent expositor of so-called "radical" religious thought. Leaving this position in somewhat impaired health, Mr. Frothingham, after a period of travel and rest, has taken up his residence in Boston. Mr. Frothingham's ministry in the North Society produced some results worthy of notice. In the first years of it his theological views and his ideal of the ministerial aim were in closest accord with those of his hearers. They were what were termed, in the phrase of the day, conservative. But a change came—by the fault of nobody. The minister was in earnest in the pursuit of truth. It led him, in time, to conclusions which modified materially his pulpit utterances. Some persons who could not change with him no longer enjoyed his ministrations as before. But we have to notice that an important education went on under this experience of listening to teachings in themselves not welcome, not accepted, but heard with respectful attention, because of the recognized ability and sincerity of the preacher. It gave the society broader sympathies, a more fearless spirit of inquiry, and a tolerant, self-possessed and catholic mind towards all forms of honest thought. A habit of candid hearing grew; novel and unacceptable teachings were heard with patience; the mind was not thrown off its balance by hearing its cherished opinions arraigned or denied. During the ministry of Mr. Frothingham the society built its vestry, in the summer of 1853.

Rev. Charles Lowe succeeded Mr. Frothingham. Mr. Lowe was born in Portsmouth, N. H., November 18, 1828, graduated at Harvard College 1847, was tutor in Greek and Latin in the college 1850-51, ordained colleague pastor with Rev. John Weiss, in New Bedford, July 28, 1852, resigned in 1854, on account of ill-health, installed minister of the North Church, Salem, September 27, 1855, and resigned July 28, 1857, as before, on account of ill health. On the 28th of May, 1859, he was installed minister of the Congregational (Unitarian) Church in Somerville, and after a ministry of nearly six years, was once more compelled by the state of his health to resign. With a partial regaining of his health there came, as was always sure to come with returning strength, a desire of active service, and he gave several years of efficient administration to the American Unitarian Association, as its secretary, besides editing for a time the *Unitarian Review*. Mr. Lowe died June 20, 1874.

E. B. Willson.

The present minister of the North Society is Rev. Edmund B. Willson, who was installed June 5, 1859. He was born in Petersham, Mass., August 15, 1820, was a little while in Yale College, and graduated at the Cambridge Divinity School, 1843, ordained in Grafton, Mass., January 3, 1844, installed in West Roxbury July 18, 1852.

SOUTH CHURCH.—Mention has been made of a division in the Third (now known as the Tabernacle) Church, in 1774, growing out of dissatisfaction with Dr. Whitaker, and a secession or dismissal of some thirty-eight members has been noticed as having taken place after the church was burned. Those withdrawing purchased the Assembly House, as it was called, built in 1766, which stood on the site of the present vestry of the South Church, and established public worship there. They organized a church, which an ecclesiastical council, so far as such a council was empowered to confer and confirm a title, authorized to take the name of the Third Church. An issue was made later as to its right to do so. It was argued that not even an ecclesiastical council has retroactive power to alter facts, or to enact that a misrepresentation shall have the force of truth; that this was not made the Third Church in Salem by a declaration that such should be its name. There was a Third Church of the Congregational order (chronologically), and this was not it. We must suppose that the church worshipping in Cambridge Street considered itself, on some ground or other, as having come rightfully into possession of the title which its mother church, Dr. Whitaker's, had enjoyed, but had now forfeited. It can hardly claim that, by reason of Dr. Whitaker's or the church's defection from Congregationalism to Presbyterianism, the title of the Third Church had lapsed or become a disused and unclaimed waif, which any church might pick up and appropriate at will. If the transfer of Dr. Whitaker's church to the Presbyterian body, real or *quasi*, had broken the line of descent, it surely had broken it as fatally for the daughter church as for the mother. If Dr. Whitaker's church was not the Third Church, there was none, or the North Church was that, for the North Church was organized in 1772. If the church worshipping on Cambridge Street was the Third Church, what was that church still existing under the ministry of Dr. Whitaker? It was not extinct. Had the withdrawing portion of the society conveyed away with it the entire and identical body, of which it had been but a member—a part? and could it assert its lineal and unbroken descent from Rev. Samuel Fisk's church? It seems to do so. What did this withdrawal of the aggrieved do to Dr. Whitaker's church ecclesiastically, legally, or as simple fact? Here it is to-day, under whatever name, the same church that has had a continuous life from 1735 to this year of grace.

Such has been the general line of argument and statement pursued by those who have questioned the

historical truth of that name adopted by the church of the South Society in February, 1775. We do not see how it is to be answered. There was one more church in Salem after February 14, 1775, than there had been before. Can there be any question which one began at that time, or that, in fact, the church of the South Society was the new one, whose existence dates from that time?

The meeting-house of the Third Church, on Essex Street, was burned on the 6th of October, 1774. The dismissed members and those who joined them in the new enterprise had their purchased house of worship ready for occupation on the 18th of December following. The church was, in the phrase of its own preference, "recognized" by a council called for that purpose, February 14, 1775, and this may be taken, in our judgment, as the date of the beginning of the church's independent existence. The society called itself the Third Congregational Society till March 15, 1805, when it was incorporated under the title of "The Proprietors of the New South Meeting-house," on entering its new (the present) meeting-house on Chestnut Street. This house, built in 1804, was dedicated January 1, 1805. It was remodeled and renewed throughout in its interior in 1860, but its fine exterior architectural forms and proportions were preserved unchanged.

The first minister was Mr. Daniel Hopkins, a younger brother of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, R. I., the famed theologian and founder of a school of divinity well known in the beginning of the century. He was born in Waterbury, Conn., October 16, 1734, graduated at Yale College, 1758, and taught a school for young ladies in Salem from 1766 to 1778, this being "the first school for the exclusive instruction of young ladies ever instituted in Salem, and taught by a gentleman." While teaching he preached as opportunity offered. He was ordained November 18, 1778, and his ministry continued till his death, December 14, 1814, he having the assistance of a colleague from 1805. Mr. Hopkins possessed some of the traits of his more distinguished brother. They were both more than ministers, warm patriots, and did good service for their country during the Revolutionary crisis. Mr. Hopkins, of Newport, was a resolute foe to slavery; the Salem brother was a forward advocate of independence. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, and in 1778 was elected a member of the Council of the Conventional government. His theological views were in substantial accord with his brother's. His sermons were not written beyond a mere outline. "The doctrines he preached," says his son-in-law and colleague, Mr. Emerson, "and the plain, direct and pungent manner in which he presented them, procured for him warm friends and bitter enemies. Such was the opposition awakened against him, that a committee, consisting of some of the most influential men in the town, waited upon him at his residence, and made

a formal and earnest request that, for the peace of the community, he would leave the town. . . .

With characteristic shrewdness, he closed his eyes, smoothed down his face and mildly said, 'Gentlemen, I smoke my own tobacco.' The committee withdrew and gave him no further trouble." At the same time that he is described as giving offense by the severity and point of his preaching, enforced, too, with the vigor of a man of strong native talent, he is said to have been of a kind and amiable disposition, affable and courteous in social intercourse, his conversation marked by good sense and pleasantry.

April 24, 1805, shortly after entering the new meeting-house, Mr. Brown Emerson was ordained colleague pastor, and commenced a ministry of the remarkable length of sixty-seven years, ending with his life, July 25, 1872. During thirty-five of these years he was sole pastor, having been for the first nine years the junior pastor with Dr. Hopkins, and the last twenty-three years the senior pastor with two juniors, successively, Rev. Mr. Dwinell and Rev. Mr. Atwood. For the last fifteen or twenty years of his life his participation in the duties of the ministerial office was slight and infrequent, and for a few years had ceased altogether. He was born at Ashby, Mass., January 8, 1778, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1802. The union and strength in which the society maintained itself, while he ministered to it, best attest the quality of the man. In the days of his highest vigor and fullest activity he was a preacher acceptable to his hearers, and fulfilled the duties of his office to the satisfaction of those who attended upon his ministry.

Mr. Israel E. Dwinell was ordained colleague with Mr. Emerson November 22, 1849, and resigned on account of loss of health in 1863, and removed to California, in whose more genial climate he has filled a pastorate of many years in Sacramento, and since, for some years, a professorship in the Theological Seminary in Oakland, California. He was born in East Calais, Vermont, October 24, 1820, and graduated at Burlington, Vermont, in 1843. Rev. Edward S. Atwood succeeded Mr. Dwinell and is the present pastor of the church. He was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, June 4, 1833, graduated at Brown University in 1852, and was installed in Salem October 13, 1864. He had been pastor of a church in Grantville (now Wellesley Hills) previous to his settlement in Salem.

BRANCH CHURCH (or HOWARD STREET).—It has appeared more than once in these annals that the Puritans did not leave behind them, on quitting England and its church establishment, the elements of dissent and causes of division. From every form of dissent dissenters were sure in time to arise; and if doctrines afforded no pretext for non-conformity, administration did. Sometimes voluntarily, sometimes upon compulsion, the division took place, only to be followed by sub-division. The multiplication of churches came oftener

from explosive forces within, producing cleavage, than from the requirements of increasing population. Each portion, majority and minority, seceders and seceded-from, kept in itself its proportion of the seeds of separatism. Separatists who had once tried non-conformity and self-exile had had a lesson and an experience which rendered a repetition of the experiment by them the more probable and the more easy. Sometimes the pastor headed the exiles, as did Rev. Sam'l Fisk, leaving the church without a pastor; sometimes the pastor drove a restive portion of the flock into the wilderness without a shepherd, as in the case of the thirty-eight brethren and sisters of Dr. Whitaker's church. And now again, in 1803, from this same church goes out the minister, Rev. Joshua Spaulding, leading forth such as preferred sharing with him exodus and uncertainty to remaining safe in the fold of the mother church without his voice to guide. In this way came into being "the Branch" Church (as it was at first called, afterwards (from its location, the Howard Street Church). These emigrants from the Tabernacle Church possessed abundance of energy and faith, if they were not rich in this world's goods. Organized December 29, 1803, after a brief period of meeting in a private house, then in a vestry loaned them, and for a time in chance pastures with neighboring flocks, they built a large and handsome meeting-house on Howard Street in 1804, which they dedicated February 8, 1805. They were not a quiet people. Their history is colored by varying fortunes. The spirit of zeal, independence and aggressive reform had its home among them. Temperance and slave-emancipation numbered warm and self-sacrificing advocates in both pulpit and pew. Those who "sat under" the preaching of Rev. George B. Cheever and Rev. Charles T. Torrey were in no danger of sleeping under it, nor of resting in indifference to the great social evils of their time.

After the example of the mother church, from which it had its birth, this church, for a time—from 1814 to 1827—allied itself with Presbyterianism, and in time returned, after the same example, to the Congregational order. The characteristics of the first minister, Rev. Joshua Spaulding, have been touched upon in the notice of the Tabernacle Church. His ministry in the Howard Street Church extended from April 17, 1805, to May 4, 1814, when he resigned and removed to the State of New York. He died September 26, 1825. For nearly five years after Mr. Spaulding's removal the church was without a pastor. It joined the Presbytery of Newburyport. Rev. Henry Blatchford was installed in its ministry January 6, 1819, and resigned December 20th of the following year. He was born in Lansingburg, N. Y., graduated at Union College 1811, and died September 7, 1822. Mr. William Williams was ordained his successor July 5, 1821, and remained pastor of this church till February 17, 1832, when he resigned, on account of a division in the church, and on the 22d of November,

1832, was installed pastor of a newly-gathered church branch of this "branch," composed of a very considerable following of members of the Howard Street Church, who withdrew with the pastor.

Mr. George B. Cheever, the next minister of the church, was ordained Feb. 13, 1833, and resigned Jan. 4, 1838. He was born in Hallowell, Maine, April 17, 1807, and graduated at Bowdoin College 1825. His ministry was a busy one. An irrepressible vitality and mental activity gave his pen as little rest as his voice. He wrote for the journals and the reviews. His eyes were about him to see what was wrong and reprehensible in the customs of society and in the conduct of individuals. For giving his pen too great freedom in his strictures upon these he incurred a suit of libel and a judgment involving thirty days' imprisonment. His theology was Puritanic and positive. His convictions were strong and urgent. He was a zealous preacher of reform, a vehement orator, aggressive and unsparing in attack upon whatsoever and whomsoever he found, in his judgment, hindering the cause of which he was the champion. In 1838 he became the pastor of the Allen Street Presbyterian Church in New York, and in 1846 was installed pastor of the Congregational Church of the Puritans in the same city. He still lives in a vigorous old age.

Rev. Charles T. Torrey was installed on the day on which Mr. Cheever was dismissed, January 4, 1838. He had been settled before as pastor of the Richmond Street Congregational Church, in Providence, R. I. He was born in Scituate November 21, 1813, graduated at Yale College 1833, resigned his charge in Salem July 21, 1839, and, after having twice suffered imprisonment in Baltimore, Md., for alleged violation of the laws of that State in conspiring with slaves to effect their escape from bondage, died in the Maryland penitentiary May 9, 1846.

Mr. Torrey regarded it as a great crime to enslave a fellow-man. He preached this conviction. He carried his faith into practice, and suffered for it. The story of his martyrdom, as told by Henry Wilson in "the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," possesses a sad, an almost romantic interest. "Well-born, with superior talents, education and professional prospects, a charming home, cheered by the presence of a lovely wife and little ones, he sacrificed them, disregarded the popular sentiment of the North, and braved the vengeance of the South, to aid the lowly and down-trodden." He claimed to have assisted four hundred slaves to obtain their freedom. He frankly told Reverdy Johnson, by whom he was defended in the courts of Maryland, that he had helped one of his slaves to escape. He attempted, with others, to get out of the Baltimore prison. Being betrayed, he was heavily ironed and placed in a damp and low arched cell, and treated worse than if he had been a murderer. "I was loaded with irons weighing, I judge, twenty-five pounds, so twisted that I could neither stand up, lie down, nor sleep." December 30, 1843,

he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the penitentiary. After his death, even the officials of the Park Street Church, in Boston, refused their permission to have the funeral services over his dead body in that church. But an indignant multitude followed his remains to Mount Auburn with tokens of sorrow and sympathy. And Faneuil Hall, the evening after, echoed the mournful but honoring words of his eulogists. Whittier wrote: "There lies the young, the beautiful, the brave! He is safe now from the malice of his enemies. Nothing can harm him more. His work for the poor and helpless was well and nobly done. In the wild woods of Canada, around many a happy fireside and holy family altar, his name is on the lips of God's poor. He put his soul in their soul's stead; he gave his life for those who had no claim on his love save that of human brotherhood."

Rev. Joel Mann, a native of Orford, N. H., and graduate of Dartmouth College 1810, was installed pastor of the Howard Street Church May 6, 1840, and resigned April 14, 1847. At the time of Mr. Mann's dismission the condition of the church seemed so hopeless of substantial revival from its divisions and losses, that the council called to dismiss him advised the church to "separate and unite with other churches till they can organize anew with a greater prospect of union and usefulness. The major part of the church complied, but the rest, claiming to be the Howard Street Church," still clung together, and maintained public worship, with small and steadily declining numbers, for about seventeen years longer, Rev. Messrs. M. H. Wilder, E. W. Allen and C. C. Beaman serving as ministers during that time. Rev. Mr. Beaman, the last of the number, came in 1857, and resigned October 2, 1864. The Howard Street meeting-house after being occupied a short time by a newly-formed "church of the New Jerusalem," was sold at auction, by authority of the Legislature June 28, 1867, to the First Methodist Society in Beverly, and in 1868 was taken down, transported across the river, and set up again on Railroad Avenue, Beverly, with the exception of the tower, which was not found in good enough condition for re-erection. This year (1887) a lofty tower has been added to the front end of the church, and an extension has also been made in the rear. The building was well worth preserving, whether for itself or its history. It was designed under the advice and direction of Mr. Samuel Macintire, a Salem carpenter, famous also as a successful church builder, the South meeting-house on Chestnut Street, in Salem, having been designed by him.

It will be seen by this brief sketch of the history of the Branch, or Howard Street Church,—not one of the older churches of Salem, beginning its existence within the present century, and but short-lived as the lives of churches are reckoned, having become extinct in about sixty years from its formation,—that it has had more of stirring incident, of eventful and disintegrat-

ing controversy, of salient characteristics in its membership and of striking biographical episodes in the career of its pastors than usually falls to the lot of churches of much longer life.

When the use of the North meeting-house was refused to Mr. Crowninshield and his friends, for the funeral services of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, who lost their lives in the engagement between the frigates Shannon and Chesapeake, in 1813, the doors of the Howard Street meeting-house were opened, and there Mr. Story's eulogy was delivered. The inherent spirit of Puritanism, with its flavor of intense individuality, fearless assertion of freedom, its equally fearless application of condemnatory truth, its stiff, "conscientious contentiousness, or contentious conscientiousness,"—this spirit has had many a picturesque illustration in the brotherhood of "the Branch."

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH—It has been claimed that there were Baptists in Salem as early as the period of Roger Williams' residence and ministry here. They were here prior to 1639, at least. That year, says Felt, William Wickenden, a Baptist preacher, moved from Salem to Providence. That year the Salem Church notified the Dorchester Church that it has excommunicated Roger Williams and nine others named, all but two of them *having been re-baptized*. Anabaptists they were often called—that name signifying the "re-baptized." It was not till December 24, 1804, that the First Baptist Church was embodied in Salem. Its first place of worship was a frame building, one story high, thirty-six by fifty-five feet in dimensions, standing not far from the spot now occupied by the meeting-house of the society. "This house faced the West, and stood on a high bank, forty or fifty feet East of North Street, with its Southern side nearly on the line of the present Odell court." It soon gave place to the present brick meeting-house, which was dedicated January 1, 1806. Since its opening, considerable land has been purchased to constitute the front on Federal Street, which, with various other improvements, have given the house and lot their present attractive aspect. In 1868 the interior of the building was reconstructed and improved throughout. October 31, 1877, it was visited by fire, and its interior so destroyed as to require rebuilding entirely.

The first minister was Mr. Lucius Bolles, born in Ashford, Conn., September 25, 1779, graduated from Brown University 1801, and settled in Salem January 9, 1805. His connection with the church in Salem, as an active pastor, practically ceased in June, 1826, when his release from the pastoral office was requested and obtained of the church, by the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, that he might become its corresponding secretary; though for eight years after, till August 6, 1834, he continued to be the senior pastor of the church, without discharging any of the duties of the office. He

died in Boston January 5, 1844. When Mr. Bolles came to Salem, those who adhered to the theological views of the Baptists "were few in numbers and feeble in resources," says Dr. R. C. Mills, in his fiftieth anniversary sermon: "The state of piety in the American churches was low." In theological opinions the early Baptists of America were strictly Calvinistic. The disintegration of the Calvinistic creed had progressed in Eastern Massachusetts at the time this church was formed, so far as to cause those who still held it in its integrity, deep solicitude for its maintenance. The Baptist denomination was cordially allied with its supporters of other names, and regarded itself as in some sort an especial bulwark against the spread of the opposite errors; as the case was set forth by one of its ablest advocates: "Infant baptism led to Arminianism, and that to Socinianism in churches which had been strictly Calvinistic."

The Baptist Church increased from the first, and soon grew strong in Salem, under the devoted ministry of its earliest pastor. There was no considerable hostility at that time among the people at large, either to the tenets of this denomination respecting the mode and subjects of baptism, to which many persons inclined, or to their creed, the Unitarian controversy not having yet opened into public discussion. The use of the North meeting-house (corner of Lynde and North Streets) was asked for the ordination services at the settlement of Mr. Bolles, and was granted; but, for some reason, they were held, not at the North, but at the Tabernacle Church; possibly because, though the vote granting the use at the North meeting-house passed, it became known that there were twelve dissentients among those voting. Dr. Bolles became eminent in his denomination. He laid his foundations well. A minister both capable and zealous, his period of service was long enough to educate a generation, and so to fix habits, and to stamp his congregation with distinctive characteristics which have run on, doubtless, into the succeeding years. In twenty years, and before he left them, they were strong enough to colonize, and a second church was formed.

Rev. Rufus Babcock was installed as colleague with Dr. Bolles August 23, 1826, and was practically the sole pastor, his senior having relinquished to him all pastoral duties. Mr. Babcock remained till October 11, 1833, when he resigned to accept the presidency of Waterville College, in Maine, his resignation being accepted by his people with reluctance. Mr. Babcock was born in Colbrook, Conn., September 18, 1798, and was graduated at Brown University, 1821. After leaving Waterville he was pastor of churches in Philadelphia, Poughkeepsie, New Bedford and other places. He died in Salem, Mass., May 4, 1874, while on a visit among old friends.

August 6, 1834, Rev. John Wayland, having been a professor in Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., and called from that position to succeed Mr. Babcock,

was settled pastor of the church, and continued in office until near the close of 1841, his resignation being accepted November 12th of that year. Mr. Wayland afterwards became an Episcopalian. He was held in high esteem by his parishioners in Salem. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas D. Anderson, who was settled March 15, 1842. In 1848, his health having failed, he resigned, and his resignation was accepted, January 28th of that year, with every testimony of regret on the part of the church at their loss.

Rev. Robert C. Mills was installed as the next pastor of the church June 14, 1848. Dr. Mills' ministry continued till April 21, 1876, when he resigned, and within a few years after removed to Newton, in which city he now resides. Dr. Mills was born, February 6, 1819, in New York City, and graduated at the University of New York 1837. His was the longest sole and active pastorate this church has known, being but little short of twenty-eight years.

Rev. George E. Merrill succeeded Dr. Mills February 2, 1877; his health failed after some years of active service, and he resigned June 1, 1885. He was born in Charlestown December 19, 1846, graduated at Harvard College 1869, and had been settled in Springfield, Mass., from October, 1872, to January, 1877. In the more equable and milder climate at the foot of the Rocky Mountains he has so far regained health as to be able to take charge of a Baptist Church at Colorado Springs, Col. Rev. Galusha Anderson, D.D., followed Mr. Merrill in the pastorate of the church, being recognized as pastor November 18, 1885. He resigned his ministry January, 1887, to take the presidency of Granville College, Ohio. He had come to Salem from another important educational position—that of the presidency of the University of Chicago, Ill. Mr. Anderson was born in Bergen, Genesee County, N. Y., March 7, 1832, graduated at Rochester, N. Y., 1854, was two years pastor of a Baptist Church in Janesville, Wis., from 1858 to 1866 pastor of the Second Baptist Church in St. Louis, Mo., from 1866 to 1873 professor in the Theological Seminary at Newton, from 1873 to 1878 pastor of the Strong Place Church in Brooklyn, N. Y.

FREE-WILL BAPTIST.—There were two or three kindred religious movements in the early years of the century, which were not very clearly distinguished from one another in the popular apprehension, but whose differences assumed no inconsiderable importance, for a time at least, to those who contended for their respective tenets and built upon them. They had this in common: that they marked in some cases a partial modification, in some a pronounced rejection of Calvinistic doctrinal standards, as a ground of Christian communion and church fellowship. They also indicated the ecclesiastical unrest of the time, and showed a longing for greater spiritual freedom, a growing intellectual activity and courage, and, as a consequence, a perceptible widening of the scope of theological in-

quiry and religious sympathy. We find a society formed in 1806, which built a meeting-house on English Street in 1807, and which Messrs. Osgood and Batchelder mention as a society of "Free-Will Baptists, sometimes called Christians." These two are quite different denominations, divided on theological grounds and on the conditions of fellowship. The society that worshipped in English Street was formed, says Felt, as a Free-Will Baptist Society. Thirty years later, in June, 1840, a portion of the society, having imbibed the views of Alexander Campbell, withdrew and organized a separate meeting, taking the name of "Christians" (especially repudiating the name Christians, by which they were more commonly called), and worshipped in several different places till they became extinct. A list of the ministers of the Free-Will Baptist Society in "Felt's Annals" contains the following names: John Rand (1806-07), Abner Jones (1807-12), Samuel Rand (1813-14), Moses How (1816-19), Abner Jones, 1821. George W. Kelton, William Andrews, William Coe and Christopher Martin are also said to have preached for this people prior to 1840. Among the ministers who preached for the Christians were William W. Eaton (1843-47), David O. Gaskill (1847-50 or later).

UNIVERSALIST.—In 1804 a Universalist preacher, Samuel Smith by name, appointed a meeting at the Court House and preached, so far as is known, the first Universalist sermon ever heard in Salem. It was not altogether a satisfactory service to those who attended it, but served to bring together and make known to each other a considerable number of persons who were disposed to entertain with favor the views of that denomination. Between that time and 1808 meetings were held, at first at irregular intervals, but soon weekly, as an established Sunday congregation. Various ministers came and went,—the veteran John Murray, Hosea Ballou, Thomas Jones of Gloucester, and others. The meetings were held in private houses at first, but a hall, or large room, in the new house of Nathaniel Frothingham, on Lynde Street, was found suitable, and there they stayed, mostly, till their meeting-house was built. The society was organized in 1805, but its records for the first twenty-one years—from 1805 to 1826—are lost. In 1808, Aug. 17th, it laid the corner-stone of its meeting-house, *at six o'clock in the morning*! and on the 22d of June, 1809, dedicated it, and installed a minister the same day. A lot of land on St. Peter's Street (then known as Prison Lane), valued at a thousand dollars, had been given by Benjamin Ward for a meeting-house, covering, in part at least, the present site of the Central Baptist meeting-house, and now deemed more eligible than the spot in Rust Street on which the house was built, but not so regarded then; it was accordingly sold, and the land bought on which the church now stands. The minister settled on the day the church was dedicated was Rev. Edward Turner, who came from Charlton, Mass., where he

had been the minister of a Universalist society. He retained his connection with the Universalist society in Salem till June 1, 1814, when he accepted a call to the Universalist society in Charlestown, Mass. When, a few years later, the question whether all punishment for sin is limited to this life divided the Universalist denomination, Mr. Turner took the negative, and after severing his connection with the society in Charlestown he became identified with the Unitarians. He died in West Roxbury Jan. 24, 1853, at the age of seventy-six years. The line of ministers following Mr. Turner may be conveniently given here, with their periods and in their order: Rev. Hosea Ballou, June 18, 1815, to Oct. 12, 1817; Rev. Joshua Flagg, Dec. 7, 1817, to March 1, 1820; Rev. Barzillai Street, Aug. 9, 1820, to Sept. 20, 1824; Rev. Seth Swetson, June 1, 1825, to March 23, 1828; Rev. Lemuel Willis, March 25, 1829, to May 26, 1837; Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, June 6, 1838, to April 5, 1840; Rev. Emma S. Everett, May 12, 1841, to April 12, 1846; Rev. Ebenezer Fisher, May 4, 1847, to Oct. 7, 1853; Rev. Sumner Ellis, Feb. 1, 1854, to Sept. 1, 1858; Rev. Willard Spalding, March 4, 1860, to Nov. 28, 1869; Rev. Edwin O. Bolles, D.D., June 18, 1871, to Sept. 1, 1887.

Several of these were preachers eminent within their denomination, and the fame of two or three went beyond it. Mr. Ballou was one of the earliest apostles of Universalism, possessing great native vigor of intellect, unflinching courage and a power of plain, simple and direct statement which made him one of the ablest and most effective among the advocates of his faith in the times of its earlier promulgation, when it was unpopular, and kept its earnest defenders in incessant controversy. He went from Salem to Boston, and for more than thirty-five years labored there. Rev. Matthew Hale Smith became widely known both as a champion and an exponent of Universalism. Versatile and having a facile command of pen and speech, a too easy mobility carried him away from one to another denomination and back again, and from one to another profession in such rapid succession that his confessions and renunciations lost their power of impression from their number and their nearness to each other. Rev. Mr. Willis' ministry is regarded as having been eminently useful, and helpful to the prosperity of the church. The ministry of Mr. Fisher and that of others since have been characterized by a devotion to Christian scholarship and a careful instruction of the people in religious truth. Dr. E. C. Bolles, the last of the line, now about leaving Salem, and whose pastorate is the longest upon the list, is known as one of the most prominent preachers in his own denomination, while his services as a popular lecturer and speaker at gatherings non-denominational are in large demand. The society is large and prosperous, and has more than once given promise of colonization.

A second Universalist society was indeed organized in 1844, and held its first public meeting in Lyceum Hall on the 12th of May of that year. Afterwards its meetings were held in Mechanics' Hall, then in the Sewall Street meeting-house, and finally in Phoenix Hall. On the 6th of June, 1852, however, it voted to discontinue its meetings, and was disbanded. Its first settled pastor was Rev. Day K. Lee, who was succeeded by Rev. Messrs. Benjamin F. Bowles, S. C. Hewett and E. W. Reynolds. Again, about twenty-five years ago,—perhaps in 1861,—the experiment of maintaining a second Universalist place of worship was carried on for some months at Lyceum Hall, but no permanent organization came of it.

The Sunday-school connected with the first society was organized during the ministry of Mr. Willis, and by him, May 3, 1829, and "was the first in this denomination this side of Boston, and the third known to exist among the Universalists." It is at this time one of the largest, if not the largest, of the Protestant Sunday-schools in Salem.

The meeting-house has undergone several extensive and costly transformations since it was built, both within and without. In January, 1840, the changes necessary for the reception of an organ were made. In 1842 the pews of the gallery were taken out and replaced by new ones of more convenient form, the walls and ceiling were painted in fresco, and other larger and lesser changes in different parts of the building were made, some of them to prepare for the placing of stoves. In 1855 still greater changes were carried through, with an outlay of several thousand dollars. The floor was raised, the old pews were removed, and an increased number with different arrangement took their place; a new pulpit was put in, costing five hundred dollars and paid for by the ladies of the society. The whole interior was renewed in form and color. In 1857 the space in front of the church was opened and enlarged by the removal of a neighboring dwelling-house, while new fences and new bricking and boarding of side-walks made the approaches to it more roomy and pleasant. Again, in 1877, the spirit of improvement took the venerable building in hand and changed its whole aspect, internally and externally, bringing it to its present appearance. Its original square, plain tower, stopping so abruptly and baldly as to suggest the likelihood of its not having been finished according to the builder's original intention, was carried up to its present graceful height and proportions, with some not excessive ornamentation. The new coloring without and within produced marked effects. The pulpit, regarded with so much pride in 1855, gave way to the modern platform and simple reading desk. It is now one of the largest and most satisfactory of the church edifices in the city,—a city which has a fair number of attractive houses of worship.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.—The parent Catholic Church

in Salem was that of St. Mary. The first Roman Catholic services in the town were held in 1806 by Rev. John Cheverus, of Boston, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Massachusetts, and subsequently services were held occasionally by the bishop and Dr. Matignon during the intervening years till 1811, when services were held in a school-house on Hardy Street, by Rev. John O'Brien, who afterwards became pastor of the church in Newburyport. The first settled pastor was the Rev. Paul McQuade, who was here from 1818 to 1822. It was in 1821, and during his pastorate, that St. Mary's Church was built on the corner of Mall and Bridge Streets. This is supposed to have been the first Catholic Church built in Essex County, the church in Newburyport not being built until 1848. Before that year (1848) Catholics came even from Newburyport, and of course from the nearer and adjoining towns, to the church in Salem, Bishop Cheverus sometimes walking from Boston to Salem to preach and celebrate Mass. The land on which the church was situated was deeded to Bishop Cheverus by the president, directors and company of the Marblehead Bank, "for the use and benefit of a certain number of persons in Salem, who have or are about forming a Roman Catholic Church and society in said Salem." This church was built by subscriptions of citizens of Salem, some of whom were not Catholics, but entertained a kindly feeling towards the principal Catholics of the place, among whom were the late John Simon, Francis Ashton and Matthew Newport, representing, respectively, the three Catholic nationalities, French, Italian and Irish. The largest contributor was probably John Forrester, father of Simon, the great merchant of those days, who was himself of Irish birth, but a Protestant in religion. The following is a partial list of the clergy of this church: John Mahoney, 1826 to 1830; William Wiley, 1830 to 1834; John D. Brady, 1834 to 1840; James Strain, 1841 to 1842; Thomas J. O'Flaherty, 1842 to 1846 (died March 29, 1846); James Conway, 1846 to —; T. H. Shahan.

When the Church of the Immaculate Conception was built on Walnut Street in 1857, the Church of St. Mary ceased to be occupied, that parish being merged in the new one, and in 1877 the old church was torn down, and the land on which it stood was sold by decree of the Supreme Judicial Court, on the 20th of December, 1882, the terms of the deed by which the bishop acquired his title preventing the conveyance of an unquestionable title to another purchaser without this authority from the court. The line of pastors in the Church of the Immaculate Conception includes the names of Rev. Thos. H. Shahan, Michael Hartney and William H. Hally, with those of Rev. Charles Renoni, James Quinlan, Wm. J. Delahunty, Matthew Harkins, Wm. A. Kennedy, James J. Foley, Martin O'Brien and Thomas Tobin as assistants. The rapidly increasing needs of the Catholic population

had already called so urgently for enlarged church accommodations, even before the church in Walnut Street was erected, that in 1850 the Church of St. James was opened on Federal Street, though not dedicated until January 10, 1857. Its first pastor was Rev. Thomas Shahan, and he was succeeded by Rev. William Daley (who died in Rome), and Rev. John J. Gray, the present pastor. The Rev. J. Healy, Michael Masterson, William Shinnick, D. J. Collins and John Kelleher have been assistant clergymen in the parish since its organization. Two large schools, of five or six hundred pupils each, are carried on by sisterhoods of Notre Dame, connected with the two churches of the Immaculate Conception and St. James, respectively. An asylum for orphans and also, secondarily, for the aged and infirm, is maintained on Lafayette Street, by a sisterhood of the Gray Nuns of Montreal, and has at present about seventy children in its care.

The French speaking Catholics of Salem, having become numerous, were gathered for worship in their own tongue in 1872, in the Church of the Immaculate Conception. There were about ninety families at that time. In 1873 they bought the old Seamen's Bethel on Herbert Street, and took the name of St. Joseph's Church. Rev. George Talbot was appointed the first pastor. He was succeeded by Rev. Ol. Boucher, and on the appointment of the latter to the rectorship of the French Church in Lawrence, Father Talbot resumed the charge of St. Joseph's. Rev. J. Z. Dumontier succeeded him early in January, 1878. In September, 1878, Rev. Octave LePine was appointed pastor, and on the 13th of July, 1879, the present pastor, Rev. F. X. L. Vezina was given charge of the congregation; Rev. Joseph O. Gadoury is his assistant. On the 26th of August, 1881, as the congregation had much increased, the old building on Herbert Street was found inadequate, and the Luskomb estate, on Lafayette Street, was bought, and steps were taken to build a new church, which was done in 1883, and services were held in it in March, 1884. In April, 1886, the Elwell estate adjoining was bought for a parsonage. The French congregation represents a population of about two thousand five hundred souls at present.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL.—Organized Methodism in Salem dates back to 1821, when a church was formed. In 1822 Rev. Jesse Filmore became its first pastor. The next year, 1823, a church was built in Sewall Street, the same that is now occupied by the Wesley Chapel congregation, and which is about to be replaced by a more substantial structure immediately in its rear, fronting upon North Street. This church did not unite with the General Conference till February, 1835. Mr. Filmore had resigned his pastorate in 1832, but became pastor of the church again in 1835, and yet again in 1840, remaining till 1844.

The following names are to be found upon its roll of pastors previous to the formation of a second

Methodist Church, in 1841: Joseph B. Brown, 1832-33; Jefferson Hamilton, 1833; T. C. Macreading, 1834; Aaron Waitt, 1834-35; J. W. Downing, 1835-38; T. G. Hiler, 1838-39.

Trouble seems to have grown out of the ownership of the church building by the pastor, who had erected it, and, as its owner, had a more potential voice and vote in its affairs than ordinarily falls to the pastors of churches, and involved relations between pastor and people not found to be conducive to harmony.

This modest and not very ancient house of worship has sheltered, at different times, and for longer or shorter periods, a great variety of worshippers, passing under uncongenial denominational names, resting here in turn temporarily on the road to larger and more permanent holdings elsewhere, or—on the road to further ecclesiastical transformation, or—on the way to extinction.

SECOND METHODIST.—In March, 1841, a second Methodist congregation was formed by members withdrawing from the first, who built a meeting-house in Union Street (afterwards occupied by one branch of the Second Advent Church). Rev. N. T. Spaulding was the first pastor, and among the earlier of his successors were Joseph A. Merrill, David K. Merrill, Horace Moulton, Phineas Crandall, David L. Winslow, John W. Perkins; some of them, however, for very short periods—from less than a year to two years. The difficulties in the Sewall Street Church continuing, the church in Union Street gradually absorbed into itself the members of the former, and it became extinct. Meantime, its own prosperity and increasing wants made a removal necessary, and the church on La Fayette Street, corner of Harbor Street, the present home of the society, was built in 1851, and dedicated January 5, 1853. Its roll of pastors since it has occupied its present place of worship is as follows: Luman Boyden, 1851-53; A. D. Merrill, 1853-54; Daniel Richards, 1854-56; John A. Adams, 1856-57; Austin F. Herrick, 1857-59; John H. Mansfield, 1859-61; Edward A. Manning, 1861-62; Gershom F. Cox, 1862-64; Loranus Crowell, 1864-67; S. F. Chase, 1867-69; D. Dorchester, 1869-72; J. S. Whedon, 1872-74; George Collyer, 1874-77; Daniel Steel, 1877-79; George W. Mansfield, 1879-82; William P. Ray, 1882-85; T. L. Gracey, 1885-87.

During the winter of 1871-72 the advisability of organizing another Methodist Church was considered by the La Fayette Street Church, the result of which was that the old Methodist meeting-house in Sewall Street was purchased and re-dedicated, May 24, 1872, and a new society was formed, taking the name of Wesley Chapel, and Rev. Joshua Gill, appointed by the New England Conference its pastor, first held Sunday services therein May 26, 1872. Thirty-five persons bringing certificates from the parent church were constituted the new church. The

following pastors have been successively in charge: Rev. Joshua Gill, 1872-74; William J. Hambleton, 1874-77; William H. Meredith, 1877-80; Charles F. Rice, 1880-83; Willis P. Odell, 1883-86; Thomas W. Bishop, 1886—. Mr. Bishop is the present pastor. The church has enjoyed the services of devoted and capable pastors, and has had a large and substantial growth. Under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Odell the need of more room and better accommodations became so pressing that the enterprise of building another church to meet the wants of the society was taken up with spirit and harmony, and an encouraging subscription list was started with an assurance of final success. The work has gone forward in the hands of his successor, and the plans are perfected for a new church on North Street, which is to be of brick, with terra-cotta trimmings and a handsome tower, and which will have sittings for a thousand persons, its appointments in all other respects being designed to answer all the needs of a large and increasing congregation. By legislative enactment the church was authorized in 1886 to change its name to **WESLEY METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.**

THE INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY IN BARTON SQUARE.—In the autumn of 1819 the North Church pulpit becoming vacant by the death of Mr. Abbot, that society invited Rev. Henry Colman, pastor of a church in Hingham, to become its minister. The invitation was not unanimous, and was declined. Later, a portion of the First Parish desired that Mr. Colman should be invited to become a colleague with their minister, Rev. Dr. Prince, but failed to persuade the society to take the action they advocated. In 1824 these friends of Mr. Colman in the North and First Parishes withdrew from their respective churches, and organized the Independent Congregational Society in Barton Square. A church of brick was built and dedicated in December, 1824. Rev. Henry Colman was installed February 16, 1825, and resigned December 7, 1831, on account of ill health. Mr. Colman had been pastor of the Third Church in Hingham thirteen years, and had taught a school there; from 1820 to 1825 he taught a school in Boston. After leaving Salem he engaged in agriculture at Deerfield, Mass., and was employed by the State from 1836 to 1842 to investigate its agricultural condition and resources. In 1842 he was sent to Europe in pursuit of the same purpose, and the results of his observation were embodied in two octavo volumes. He also published reports upon agriculture and silk culture, and two volumes upon European life and manners. Visiting Europe a second time, for the benefit of his health, he died at Islington, England, August 14, 1849. He was born in Boston September 12, 1785, and graduated from Dartmouth College, 1805. Mr. Colman was an independent thinker, and did not always follow the conventional roads as a theologian and preacher, a fact in which lay, doubtless, one of the causes -

though not the sole cause—of the want of unanimity in the North and First Churches in desiring him for a minister.

Mr. Colman was succeeded by Rev. James W. Thompson, who was installed March 7, 1832, and remained in this ministry twenty-seven years, till March 7, 1859. Mr. Thompson had been settled in Natick before his settlement in Salem, and left his church here to take charge of the Second Church in West Roxbury (Jamaica Plain), of which he continued the sole or senior pastor till his death, September 22, 1881. He was born in Barre, Mass., December 13, 1805, and graduated from Brown University, 1827. The society increased and prospered during his pastorate. The church building was entirely reconstructed in its interior, galleries were added and a commodious vestry of brick was erected in connection with it, at the rear, to meet its increasing wants.

Dr. Thompson was succeeded by Mr. Augustus M. Haskell, who was ordained January 1, 1862, and resigned May 2, 1866. Mr. Haskell was chaplain of the Fortieth Massachusetts Regiment in the Civil War, from September 11, 1863, to November 5, 1864, and after his Salem ministry became the pastor of Unitarian Churches in Manchester, N. H., and West Roxbury (Boston), Mass., successively. He is still pastor of the latter society. He was born January 24, 1832, in Poland, Me., and graduated at Harvard College, 1856. Mr. George Batchelor followed Mr. Haskell, being ordained October 3, 1866. He resigned after sixteen years of service, November 1, 1882, to take the pastoral charge of the Church of the Unity, in Chicago, Ill., which he was obliged by ill health to relinquish after two or three years. Mr. Batchelor was born in Southbury, Conn., July 3, 1836, graduated at Harvard College 1866, having completed a theological course at the Meadville School previous to his course in college. Rev. Benjamin F. McDaniel was installed pastor January 7, 1888, and resigned at the end of four years of service, January 1, 1892. He had been, before his Salem ministry, pastor of churches in Hubbardston, Mass., and Exeter, N. H., and left Salem to take pastoral charge of a church in San Diego, Cal. He, like a predecessor named above, did good service in one of the Union armies during the Civil War.

CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH.—As mentioned before, in the sketch of the First Baptist Church, a colony from that church was dismissed and commissioned by it, in 1825, to establish a second church of its order in the lower part of the city. It was duly organized January 19, 1826, under the name of the "Second Baptist Church," having its house of worship and chapel, on St. Peter's Street, ready for occupancy prior to its organization, though the dedication was delayed till June 8, 1826. In 1855 its name was changed, by a legislative act, to the "Central Baptist Church in Salem."

August 23, 1826, Mr. George Leonard was ordained its first pastor. He was compelled, by failing health, to resign his ministry, which had opened with much promise, January 19, 1829. Mr. Robert F. Pattison was ordained September 9, 1829, but within six months asked and received a dismission, February 12, 1830. In October, 1830, Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor was installed pastor, and remained with the church till November 1, 1834. Mr. Grosvenor became warmly engaged in the anti-slavery agitation, just opening, and which disturbed the peace of many churches, and broke the pastoral tie in not a few cases. It may be presumed to have had its share of influence in interrupting the harmony of the relation between Mr. Grosvenor and his people.

Mr. Joseph Banvard was ordained pastor of the church August 26, 1835, and continued with it till March, 1846; and this period was manifestly one of increased activity, harmony and growth. Rev. Benjamin Brierly was installed Mr. Banvard's successor in September, 1846. His brief pastorate ended August 25, 1848. Mr. William H. Eaton followed him, and was ordained August 16, 1849. His society reluctantly consented to his dismission, in November, 1854. The next pastor was Rev. Daniel D. Winn, who came in October, 1855, and was dismissed by his own desire, December 23, 1866. During Mr. Winn's ministry the meeting-house was remodeled at a large cost. Early in 1867 Rev. S. Hartwell Pratt succeeded Mr. Winn, and resigned his charge October 21, 1870, to become pastor of the newly-formed Calvary Baptist Church, organized largely by his influence and under his direction. In January, 1872, Rev. David Weston, D.D., was settled in charge of the church, but being the same year elected professor of ecclesiastical history in Hamilton Theological Seminary, N. Y., he resigned, to the sincere regret of his church, September 27, 1872. April 8, 1873, Rev. W. H. H. Marsh succeeded him, and remained seven years, to 1880. Rev. Charles A. Towne, the present pastor, took charge of the church in 1881.

THE CROMBIE STREET CHURCH.—On the 16th of February, 1832, one hundred and thirty-nine members of the Howard Street Church—the minister of that church, the Rev. William Williams, one of them— withdrew from it, with the purpose of organizing a separate church. They held their first meeting for public worship in Lyceum Hall February 19, 1832. The same day the Sunday-school, composed of their children, met at the same place. On the 6th of the next April they organized themselves into a religious society, and took the name of the "Lyceum Society." The purchase of a brick building on Crombie Street, now their house of worship, then known as the Salem Theatre—which had been occupied as a theatre—having been effected, at a meeting held in the office of Hon. Rufus Choate, on the 29th of August, 1832, a committee was chosen to make

the required changes in the building to adapt it to its new uses. These changes accomplished, the pulpit was in the centre of the western end, the choir-gallery was opposite the pulpit. Over the pulpit was the inscription, "*Love the truth and peace,*" with the date of the church's institution—May 3, 1832—and that of the dedication of its house of worship—November 22, 1832; below were the names of the pastor and the architect. Between the lines, right under that inscription, "*Love the truth and peace,*" we may presume that the recent emigrants from Howard Street read another inscription, invisible to the eye of flesh: "The end of our prayers, the desire of our hearts; for which we have left home—a house in contention, divided against itself." The church took the name, "The New Congregational Church" on the 8th of May, 1832, and on the 17th of September of the same year, adopted the title, which has been permanent since, of the "Crombie Street Church." In 1851 the pulpit was carried to the opposite (the eastern) end, the floor, which had sloped upward from the front, was brought to a level, the pews were reversed, the brick vestry was built in the rear and the walls and ceiling were painted in fresco; nine years later, in 1860, the organ was carried to the rear of the pulpit, to stand as it now does, the congregation claiming to have been the first in Salem to dispense with choir-singing, which it did in 1850, and for which the present position of the organ was deemed better adapted.

The first in the line of pastors has been already named—Rev. William Williams. He was born in Wethersfield, Conn., October 2, 1797; graduated at Yale College 1816; ordained pastor of Howard Street Church July 5, 1821. His ministry continued from November 22, 1832, to March 1, 1838. The new meeting-house was dedicated the same day that Mr. Williams was installed. After resigning his charge in Salem Mr. Williams was settled in Exeter, N. H., for a few years, after which, in 1842, he returned to Salem, and having studied medicine with Dr. Abel L. Peirson, of this city, established himself in the practice of medicine, in which he became successful. He died in 1860. Rev. Alexander J. Sessions, born in Warren, Mass., August 13, 1809, and graduated at Yale College in 1831, was the next pastor, settled June 6, 1838, and continued till August 22, 1849, when he resigned, and has since been the pastor of churches in Melrose, Scituate and North Beverly. He is still living in Beverly. The third pastor was Rev. James M. Hoppin, born in Providence, R. I., January 17, 1820; graduated at Yale College 1840 and settled as pastor of Crombie Street Church March 27, 1850. Mr. Hoppin remained till May 16, 1859. He has since been a professor in Yale College—first, of homiletics and pastoral theology and later of the history of art. December 29, 1859, Rev. Joseph Henry Thayer was settled as the fourth pastor of the church. He resigned this charge February 19, 1864, to accept the position of associate professor of sacred

literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, which office he continued to fill until 1882, when he resigned. He was appointed the next year lecturer on Biblical theology in the Divinity School of Harvard University, and on the death of the eminent scholar, Ezra Abbot, professor of New Testament criticism and interpretation in the Divinity School, Professor Thayer was appointed to the same place, which he still holds.

During the Civil War Mr. Thayer asked leave of absence from his parish to become chaplain of the Fortieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers for nine months. His term of service was from September 17, 1862, to May 15, 1863. He was one of the American members of the company of New Testament revisers and translators in England and America, who brought out the Revised New Testament in 1880, and with their co-laborers who had given similar revision to the Old Testament, a revised translation at a later day of the whole Bible. Mr. Thayer was born in Boston November 7, 1828, and graduated at Harvard College 1850.

The fifth pastor was Rev. Clarendon Waite, whose short term of service fell between the dates of April 10, 1866, and December 3d of the same year (less than nine months). Being advised by his physicians that he could not expect the health requisite for the ministry, he withdrew from his profession, and in just about a year afterwards died on a journey to a new field of labor to which he had been called (that of professor in Beloit College, Wisconsin). Mr. Waite was born in Hubbardston, Massachusetts, December 12, 1830, graduated at Brown University, Providence, and had been seven years pastor of a church in Rutland, Mass., before coming to Salem. Rev. Hugh Elder, the sixth pastor, was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, March 26, 1838, and graduated at the University of Edinburgh 1863. He preached to the society and was invited to become its minister before the settlement of Mr. Waite, which invitation he declined. After the death of Mr. Waite he came again to preach; was called again to the pastorate, accepted and was ordained January 28, 1868. He resigned at the end of August, 1884, to accept the position of pastor of the college church connected with Airdale College, in Bradford, England. The present pastor of the church, Rev. Louis B. Voorhees, was installed April 15, 1885. He was born June 10, 1847, in Rocky Hill, N. J., and graduated at Princeton College 1868. He had been pastor of churches in North Weymouth, in Worcester and in Grafton previous to his settlement in Salem.

It needs but a reference to the fact that four of the seven pastors of this church have received appointments to positions in educational institutions of the higher class to show that it has been favored with a line of scholarly men for its ministers. Better than that, they have been, as a whole, men devoted to the service of the people outside the church as well as inside, thus helping the church to which they minister-

ed to make an honorable history among the churches of the town.

SECOND ADVENT.—A religious movement of considerable extent grew out of the preaching of William Miller, the prophet of the millenium, who, for about ten years (from 1833 to 1843), stirred many communities to a high pitch of excitement with predictions of an early return of Christ to the earth; the time was definitely set; when it had passed uneventfully another was set. After several such predictions had successively failed, though many lost faith and abandoned the body identified with the great expectation, others, still sanguine that it was no more than an error of time, and that a small one, settled into a belief that the Lord would appear *soon* to set up his kingdom; and the latter have become a permanent sect. Mr. Miller never preached in Salem, as we can learn; but a large gathering of his disciples, and of the curious to hear the exposition of his belief, was held in North Salem, in camp, in 1842. Preachers continued to set forth the millennial doctrine according to Mr. Miller from time to time, and on July 23, 1843, a church was formed, which, with intervals of suspended services, has continued to the present time. Indeed, it has at times divided into two sects over controverted points turning chiefly on the state of the "dead" between the body's dissolution and resurrection. Sunday services have been maintained in two places of worship at the same time for a while. At present the society worships in its own church in Herbert Street. It has changed its place of assembling several times; has been in Sewell Street (old Methodist meeting-house), in Union Street (Second Methodist), Holyoke Hall, 199 Essex Street, Hardy Hall, Washington Street. One of its sections, when there were two passing under the same name, met in a chapel in Endicott Street. The pastorates of this church in both branches have been mostly short. Several, however, have continued for a period of a few years each. Rev. Lemuel Osler, Francis H. Berick, Rufus Wendell, Charles E. Barnes, George W. Sederquist, Frederick Gunner (Endicott Street) have at different times ministered to the society. The present pastor is Rev. George F. Haines.

EPISCOPAL: GRACE.—A second Episcopal Church was organized in the year 1858, under a movement arising in St. Peter's Church, the rector of St. Peter's, Rev. Dr. Leeds, remarking in the Journal of the Diocese of 1859: "The completion of the fifth quarter-century in the history of St. Peter's was celebrated by laying the corner-stone of another church edifice, to be known by the name of Grace Church." The new church, a Gothic frame structure, was consecrated June 2, 1859. The Rev. George D. Wildes was the first rector, his pastorate covering eight years, 1859-67. Rev. Joseph Kidder succeeded Mr. Wildes in 1868, and remained until July 1, 1870, when the present rector, Rev. James P. Franks, succeeded him. The sixty communicants with which this

church began had increased, at the twenty-fifth anniversary of its consecration, to one hundred and fifty. The architecture of the church remains as it was at the beginning.

NEW CHURCH SOCIETY (oftener designated in popular speech as the *Church of the New Jerusalem*, or *Swedenborgian Church*).—As early as 1840 those interested in the doctrines of the New Jerusalem met at the homes of different individuals and read the writings of the church. In 1845 Miss Mary Eveleth having joined the little band, became their reader for most of the two or three following years; after that Mr. Joseph Ropes was for a few years their leader. It was in 1861 that meetings began to be held in the hall of the building which had been General H. K. Oliver's school-house, and which was erected by him, on Federal Street. At that time Rev. Warren Burton was their leader. Here a Sunday-school was first gathered. From this place a removal took place to Creamer Hall, on Essex Street, and on the 25th of January, 1863, the society was instituted by Rev. T. B. Hayward, who preached for the congregation two years, or more. Services were afterwards held in the Howard Street Church and in Hamilton Hall. Rev. Abiel Silver was minister from 1867 to 1869. The society was incorporated July 13, 1869. That year a lot of land was purchased for a church. On this land the present church was built, and dedicated April 18, 1872. Rev. L. G. Jordan was the minister from June 6, 1869, to November 1, 1870. Rev. A. F. Frost began to preach for the society in 1872, but was not installed as pastor till January 25, 1875. He resigned June 30, 1879. Rev. Mr. Hayden followed Mr. Frost, being engaged to preach for a year. After he left, different ministers preached from one Sunday to several months each, until April 1, 1884, when Rev. Duane V. Bowen was invited to become the minister of the society. The invitation was accepted, and he remains to the present time the minister. Rev. Mr. Bowen was ordained in the Unitarian ministry in 1873, and had served parishes of that denomination before embracing the faith of the New Church and identifying himself with that body. In making the change he did not sever the bonds of friendship and sympathy by which he had been held in earlier fellowship with the communion of which he had been a member. Of the fifty-nine original members of the New Church Society, twenty have removed from the city, and fourteen have been "removed to the spiritual world," the speech of this church not recognizing such translation as death.

CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH.—On the 21st of October, 1871, ninety members of the Central Baptist Church received letters of dismission from that church, for the purpose of constituting a new church, upon a somewhat different basis from that on which the parent church existed, believing "that the house of God should be free to all, without the sale or letting of pews, or the granting to a worldly proprietorship a vote on

any interest pertaining to the church." They met in the old Howard Street Chapel October 24, 1871, and organized under the name of "The Calvary Baptist Church of Salem." Rev. S. H. Pratt, who had come in their company from the Central Church, was chosen their pastor. The congregation transferred itself to Mechanic Hall for a time. Coming to feel the need of a church home of their own, Mrs. John Dwyer gave them land on which to build, and they proceeded to set up their meeting-house on the corner of Essex and Herbert Streets, meantime worshipping at the old "Bethel" on the latter street, till the new church should be ready. With much effort, their means not being abundant, they carried the enterprise through and dedicated their house on the 17th of November, 1873. On the 17th day of March, 1874, the church organized as a corporation under the general statutes of Massachusetts; there was no society distinct from the church, the church itself being incorporated. "The seats are utterly free, no price or rent being charged for any seat, and no seat being assigned to or claimable by any person, and all seats being open to the first comer; . . . the expenses are met by voluntary weekly offerings." Rev. Mr. Pratt resigned his charge May 4, 1873. For nearly a year they had the services of Mr. E. B. Andrews, a student of Newton Seminary, and since professor both in Newton and in Brown University—services which were of great value beyond his religious ministry, as he worked strenuously to raise the money for the building of the church. Twice they invited him to become their pastor and twice their earnest call was declined. Rev. D. H. Taylor was ordained their second pastor September 9, 1874. He continued in the pastorate till January 12, 1877. On the 27th of the following March (1877) Rev. William A. Keese, then settled in Ellsworth, Me., was invited to take pastoral charge of the church, and accepting, began his labors May 6th, and resigned May 26, 1883, at the end of a ministry of six years. Rev. Samuel H. Emery, the present pastor, was settled January 2, 1884. He was ordained December 5, 1877, and had been pastor of a church in Bellows Falls, Vt., previous to his settlement in Salem.

Seamen's Society: Seaman's Bethel.—When Salem's prosperity rested largely upon commerce, and the town was not without a considerable population of seafarers and their families, some transient, some resident, they were regarded by the Salem churches as a class entitled to special missionary effort. In August, 1824, a "Bethel" was opened in a store at the head of Derby Wharf as a place of worship, and Rev. Eleazer Barnard became the minister. The next year Rev. Benjamin H. Pitman succeeded Mr. Barnard, remaining two years; and in 1832 Rev. Michael Carlton was appointed, and continued in this work nearly thirty years, adding, in the latter years of his ministry, many of the offices of a minister at large and of a dispenser of the charities of the rich among the poor to his pastoral and missionary duties among

sailors. A chapel was built on Herbert Street, and from its top the "Bethel" flag long waved an invitation to all who would come, seamen and others, to worship. As the number of seamen has diminished in Salem, the special mission work in behalf of sailors has become desultory and intermittent at times. Rev. Benjamin Knight, a Baptist clergyman living in Salem, rather past middle life, took up and carried on the same miscellaneous work which Mr. Carlton had pursued, that of colporteur, preacher and pastor to seamen, agent of the charitable in seeking out and relieving cases of want, and advocate of temperance—in short, the work of a minister at large. Since Mr. Knight's death two organizations, not altogether friendly to each other, have grown out of his mission, both assuming the name of "Bethel" societies, and seeking to perpetuate a ministry to the neglected and the unchurched like that in which he labored so many years. Neither has a settled pastor. One worships in the same building in which Mr. Knight preached, at the head of Phillips Wharf, the other (lately incorporated) on Derby Street, opposite the Bertram Home for Aged Men.

CHURCH OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.—Another mission enterprise was started by the Salem churches about sixty years ago, in 1828, to provide a separate place of worship for the colored people of the town, it being their own desire to have a church home by themselves, in which they would be free from unpleasant and intrusive observation, and have a more perfect enjoyment of ministrations of their own selection, and more congenial to their feelings and religious habits. A chapel was built, in 1828, on South Street, afterwards known as Mill Street, and still later as (new) Washington Street, the chapel being removed when Washington Street was extended up the hill. This little congregation called itself at first the "Union Bethel Church." It had James P. Lewis as a missionary in 1831. It several times changed its name. In 1839 it was "Wesleyan Methodist," in 1842 "Zion's Methodist," or "Equal Rights Zion's Methodist Church" (unless this was a branch of the former), in 1845 again the "Wesleyan Methodist Connection in America," in 1854 "First Free-Will Baptist Society." In 1839 John N. Mars was its pastor; in 1845, Samuel Palmer; in 1855, Rev. James H. Marston. It had many reorganizations. Its light sometimes flickered, sometimes seemed to have gone out. Messrs. Osgood & Batchelder date its extinction within the year 1861. The African Methodist Episcopal Church has several times within the last eight years sent preachers from its Conference to undertake a revival of public worship among the colored people, and the establishment of a church. Rev. Jacob Stroyer and Joseph Taylor have each continued efforts to this end for two or three years at a time, but unsuccessfully. The population in whose interest the experiment has been tried is estimated at about three hundred souls in all. Many

of these are already respected members of other churches, satisfied with their church relations. The desire of many colored persons, sensitive to surrounding opinion, and constrained by a self-respecting reserve to have their worship apart and by themselves, has been well understood and sympathized with, and they have been liberally aided in their attempts to maintain their own separate meetings on Sunday. But it would appear to be wiser, hereafter, to seek their absorption in the other churches, where, it may be hoped, time and a growing appreciation of the spirit of true Christianity will make real the abolishment of all distinctions of class and race.

MORMON.—For a few years a church of the "Latter-Day Saints," better known as Mormons, existed in Salem. It was organized January 1, 1842. Ten years before, Joseph Smith, the "prophet" of that sect, came to Salem, with associates, and propagated its tenets, not unsuccessfully; in 1843 it had one hundred members. Erastus Snow remained here as its elder for a year or two. But in 1844, when all the pilgrims of this order were setting their faces towards Nauvoo, in Illinois, their sacred city, the church in Salem obeyed the general impulse and made a clean exodus from among the aliens.

DEAF MUTES.—A small congregation of deaf mutes organized themselves into a religious society in 1876, and have had Rev. Philo W. Packard, one of their number, as their only pastor. They number about twenty persons. Mr. Packard was born in Boston February 25, 1838.

LUTHERAN SWEDISH CHURCH.—One finds the simple record in the list of Salem churches for 1884-85 that "a Lutheran Swedish Church was organized June 15, 1884—no pastor—John Lonn its president. Its place of meeting, Central, corner of Charter Street."

For many years a body of believers, classed as "Spiritualists," numerically undefined and undefinable, at times sufficiently organized for regular meetings, have had sessions from Sunday to Sunday for such communion, utterances and conferences as usually characterize their congregations. Those who attend such gatherings are few compared with the number of those who entertain opinions more or less concurrent with theirs, but to whom they are private speculations, or a private faith, calling for no public and conventional proclamation, or separate and permanent organization.

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CHAPTER III.

THE COMMERCIAL HISTORY.

BY CHARLES S. OSGOOD.

SALEM may justly be proud of her commercial history. No other seaport in America has such a wonderful record. Flying from the mast of a Salem ship the American flag was first carried into the ports beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Her vessels led the way from New England to the Isle of France and India and China, and were the first from this country to display the American flag and open trade at St. Petersburg and Zanzibar and Sumatra, at Calcutta and Bombay, at Batavia and Arabia, at Madagascar and Australia, and at many another distant port. Well may she proudly inscribe on her city seal *Divitis Indix usque ad ultimum sinum*.

The colonists, in the War of the Revolution, were almost destitute of ships of war. They were engaged

in a struggle with one of the most powerful maritime nations, without the means to cope with their enemy on the high seas. Their own commerce was ruined, and it was essential to their success that provision be made for forcing the commerce of Great Britain to suffer in common with them, the fortunes and vicissitudes of war. Boston, New York, and the larger seaports, were occupied and nearly ruined by the enemy, and the main reliance of the country was on the shipping of Salem and the neighboring towns of Beverly and Marblehead.

The merchants of Salem at this crisis showed that the resolution passed in town meeting June 12, 1776, that "if the Honorable Congress shall for the Safety of the United American Colonies declare them independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, we will solemnly engage, with our lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure," was no meaningless phraseology or idle boast.

They turned their vessels into men of war, and built new ones for the service, equipped them with cannon, manned them with gallant seamen and sent them out to meet Great Britain on the deep. During this contest there were sent out from this port at least one hundred and fifty-eight vessels, manned by several thousand brave sailors from Salem. They mounted more than two thousand guns, carrying on an average twelve or fourteen each, and captured during the war as many as four hundred and forty-five prizes.

The war ended, the merchants of Salem found themselves in possession of many large and swift-sailing vessels which had been built for use as privateers. These being too large to be profitably employed in the coasting trade, or on the short voyages to other ports heretofore visited by Salem ships, their owners determined to open to distant countries new avenues of trade and bring to Salem the products of lands lying in the remotest quarters of the globe.

There was no lack of seamen to man the vessels. The young men of the town, fresh from service on the armed ships of Salem, were eager to embark in just such ventures as a voyage to unknown countries offered. They had served with Haraden in his daring exploits off the coast of Spain, and had been with West when, in the darkness of the night, he cut his prize out of a British harbor under the guns of the enemy. What wonder that after wielding the cutlass and the boarding pike, they were not contented to put their hands to the plough or return to the daily drudgery of the work-shop. The spirit of adventure was awakened, and the more dangerous and perilous the undertaking the better it suited the temper of these wild and courageous graduates from the deck of the privateersman.

From the close of the War of the Revolution until the embargo in 1808, Salem was at the height of her commercial prosperity. The white sails of Salem's ships were unfurled in every port of the known world and carried the fame and name of Salem to the uttermost parts of the earth.

The history of this period makes a tale which even the imaginings of romance could hardly parallel. It is crowded full of the accounts of daring adventures by brave seamen in unknown seas, of their encounters with pirates and savage tribes, of their contests with the armed ships of France and England and of their imprisonment among the Algerines and in the prisons of France and Spain.

It was the young men of Salem that officered her ships, sailing as captains at an age when the boys of the present time are scarcely over their school-days. At the beginning of one of the East India voyages of nineteen months, neither the captain (Nathaniel Silsbee), nor his first mate (Charles Derby), nor his second mate (Richard J. Cleveland), was twenty years of age, and yet these boys carried ship and cargo safely to their destination, with imperfect mathematical instruments and with no charts but of their own making, and returned with a cargo which realized four or five times the amount of the original capital. With no power to communicate with home, the success of the undertaking was largely in the hands of these youthful captains. Their duty was not ended when the ship arrived safely in port, for upon their judgment and sagacity in buying and selling depended the profits of the voyage.

In those early days, when a vessel left Salem harbor, there was often nothing heard from her until after the lapse of a year or more she would come sailing back again. To-day the earth is girdled with the telegraph, and the arrival of a ship in the foreign harbor can be known at home almost within an hour of her reaching port. Then, foreign prices were unknown and the result of a voyage might be splendid success or ruinous disaster; now, a voyage is merely a passage from port to port with the market ascertained beforehand at either end.

When Captain Jonathan Carnes set sail for Sumatra, in 1795, on his secret voyage for pepper, nothing was heard from him until eighteen months later, he entered with a cargo of pepper in bulk, the first to be so imported into this country, and which sold at the extraordinary profit of seven hundred per cent. This uncertainty which hung over the fate of ship and cargo lent a romantic interest to these early voyages which this age, with its telegraph and steamship, has destroyed.

The lower part of the town, in the days of Salem's commerce, was full of bustling activity. The wharves were crowded with vessels discharging their cargoes, gathered from all nations, or loading for another venture across the seas. Sailors fresh from the distant Indies were chatting on the street corners with companions about to depart thither, or were lounging about the doors of the sailor boarding-houses with that indescribable air of disdain for all landmen which seems always to attach to the true rover of the seas. They were looked upon by the younger portion of the community with that curiosity which is so

near akin to awe, with which we regard those about to start upon, or who have just returned from some uncommonly perilous undertaking.

The shops were full of strange and unique articles brought from distant lands. The parrot screamed at the open door and in the back shop the monkey and other small denizens of foreign forests gamboled at will, sometimes escaping to the neighboring house-tops, much to the delight of the small children who gathered to watch their capture with upturned faces and expressions of intense interest in the result of the chase. Derby Street in those days was well worth a visit, if only for the suggestions of foreign lands that met the eye on every hand.

Salem at that time was one of the principal points for the distribution of foreign merchandise, over eight million pounds of sugar being among the imports of the year 1800. The streets about the wharves were alive with teams loaded with goods for all parts of the country. It was a busy scene with the coming and going of vehicles, some from long distances, for railroads were then unknown and all transportation must be carried on in wagons and drays. In the taverns could be seen teamsters from all quarters sitting around the open fire in the chilly evenings, discussing the news of the day or making merry over potations of New England rum, which Salem in the good old times manufactured in abundance.

All this has changed. The sail-lofts where on the smooth floor sat the sail-makers, with their curious thimbles fastened to the palms of their hands, busily stitching the great white sheets of canvas that were to carry many a gallant ship safely through storm and tempest to her destination in far-distant harbors, and that were to be reflected in seas before unweary by the keel of an American vessel, are deserted or given over to more prosaic uses, the ship-chandlers' shops are closed and the old mathematical instrument maker has taken in his swinging sign of a quadrant, shut up his shop and, as if there was no further use for him here, has started on the long voyage from which there is no return.

The merchandise warehouses on the wharves no longer contain silks from India, tea from China, pepper from Sumatra, coffee from Arabia, spices from Batavia, gum-copal from Zanzibar, hides from Africa, and the various other products of far-away countries. The boys have ceased to watch on the Neck for the incoming vessels, hoping to earn a reward by being the first to announce to the expectant merchant the safe return of his looked-for vessel. The foreign commerce of Salem, once her pride and glory, has spread its white wings and sailed away forever.

It remains for us to-day to gather together as well as we may the facts and incidents of this memorable epoch in the history of our city and preserve them as a precious legacy from the Salem of the past to the Salem of the future.

Although commerce has sought other ports and is

no longer prosecuted here, the influence of the old-time merchants, whose energy and enterprise, whose daring and far-sightedness, made such an unparalleled chapter in the history of Salem, still lingers with us. Salem to-day owes to these men the high position she holds in the world of science. Their broad and liberal views, stimulated by contact with all nations, prepared their descendants, the Salem of to-day, for the good work which is now being carried on in our midst. Their rare and unique collection of curiosities now in the possession of the Peabody Academy of Science grows in interest each year, being one of the principal points of attraction to visitors. As such it will always remain, a perpetual monument to the far-seeing and public-spirited merchants and ship-masters of Salem.

Salem was undoubtedly chosen as a good place for settlement by Roger Conant, who described it as "a fruitful neck of land," because of its harbors and rivers. Situated on a peninsula, with North River on one side and South River on the other, all parts of the town were readily accessible by water. Salem was from the first and of necessity a maritime place. The Massachusetts Company, that sent John Endicott to Salem, was a trading company, and the home Governor, Matthew Cradock, writes to Endicott in 1629 to send, as return cargoes, "staves, sarsaparilla, sumach, two or three hundred firkins of sturgeon and other fish and beaver."

The early, long-continued and staple trade of Salem was in the product of the fisheries. The harbors and rivers swarmed with fish, and the supply was so plentiful that large quantities were often used for manure. From 1629 to 1740 Winter Island seems to have been the headquarters of the Salem fishing trade, and that trade was the staple business of Salem down to a much later period. In 1643 the merchants of Salem were trading with the West Indies, with Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands.

Between 1640 and 1650 the commercial career of Salem received an impetus, and her vessels made voyages not only to the mother-country but to the West Indies, Bermudas, Virginia and Antigua. Her wealth was great in proportion to her population, and Josselyn, writing in 1644, says "in this town are some very rich merchants." In 1663 William Hollingworth, a Salem merchant, agrees to send one hundred hogsheads of tobacco from the River Potomac by ship from Boston to Plymouth in England, the isle of Jersey or any port in Holland, and thence to said island for seven pounds sterling per ton.

From 1670 to 1740 the trade was to the West Indies and most ports of Europe, including Spain, France and Holland. From 1686 to 1689 inclusive Salem is trading to Barbadoes, London, Fayal, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Antigua. The great majority of her vessels are ketches from twenty to forty tons and carrying from four to six men. Only one ship appears among them, and her tonnage is but one

hundred and thirty tons. In 1698-99 registers are taken out for two ships of eighty and two hundred tons, a barque, three sloops and twenty ketches. The ketch of those days was two-masted, with square sails on the fore-mast and a fore-and-aft sail on the main-mast, which was shorter than the fore-mast. The schooner, which gradually supplanted the ketch, first appears in our Salem marine about 1720. Felt says that "Andrew Robinson, of Gloucester, originated the name of schooner in 1709." John Johnson, of Salem, in 1693, "having for nigh three years followed the trade of boating goods" to and from Boston, "sometimes twice a weeke," complains to Governor William Phipps of the cost of entering and clearing.

In 1700 the foreign trade of Salem is thus described by Higginson: "Dry, merchantable codfish for the markets of Spain, Portugal and the Straits, refuse fish, lumber, horses and provisions for the West Indies. Returns made directly to England are sugar, molasses, cotton, wool, logwood and Brasileto-wood, for which we depend on the West Indies. Our own produce, a considerable quantity of whale and fish-oil, whalebone, furs, deer, elk and bear-skins are annually sent to England. We have much shipping here, and freights are low."

Dr. Edward A. Holyoke, writing of the commerce of Salem in 1749, says: "The commerce of this town was chiefly with Spain and Portugal and the West Indies, especially with St. Eustatia. The cod fishery was carried on with success and advantage. The schooners were employed on the fishing banks in the summer, and in the autumn were laden with fish, rum, molasses and the produce of the country and sent to Virginia and Maryland, and there spent the winter retailing their cargoes, and in return brought corn and wheat and tobacco. This Virginian voyage was seldom very profitable, but, as it served to keep the crews together, it was continued till more advantageous employment offered."

Comparatively little mention is made in this chapter of the commerce of Salem prior to the Revolution. The colonial trade was narrow and limited, and was restricted by the short-sighted policy of the home government. Trade was carried on with the West Indies, with the mother-country and with some other of the European ports, but the famous record of Salem as a commercial port begins with the close of the Revolutionary War.

Colonel Higginson, in his recent article on "Old Salem Sea-Captains," says "there is nothing more brilliant in American history than the brief career of maritime adventure which made the name of Salem synonymous with that of America in many a distant port. The period bridged the interval between two wars; the American Revolution laid its foundation; the later war with England saw its last trophies."

It is to this period that this chapter is largely devoted, and it has been the endeavor of the writer to

present as complete an account of Salem's commercial triumphs as can be gathered, the records of the custom-house and the files of contemporaneous newspapers being gleaned for material for the work. The log-books in the custody of the Essex Institute have also been carefully examined. These form a curiously interesting collection suggestive of life on ship-board, and of the old ship masters who made the entries in them from day to day. It is to be regretted that a large proportion are devoted wholly to the direction and force of the wind, to the latitude and longitude and the details of the ship's course. But now and then, especially among those belonging to the East India Marine Society, most interesting accounts are given of the customs and manners of foreign nations.

In one of the oldest of them we find this entry, made in the Indian Ocean: "A wave just broke over the ship and came in at the cabin window, making a blot on the log;" and there is the blurred writing, just as the salt water left it a hundred years ago; a trifling incident, but how real it makes the voyage to us! As we turn the pages, yellow with age and musty even now with the smell of the ship, we seem almost to be sailing the distant ocean and feel the force of the wave as it dashes against the vessel and throws its spray through the cabin window.

In the following pages it has been found most convenient to trace the course of trade with different countries separately, although it must be understood that many vessels visited several of the ports named in the course of a single voyage,—one, for instance, starting from Salem stopping at Manilla, and thence on to Canton, returning direct to Salem.

THE CANTON TRADE.—Elias Hasket Derby led the way to India and China, and opened for Salem that extensive foreign commerce which will always hold a prominent place in her history. His enterprise and vigor was something rarely paralleled. Not content to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, he turned his eyes to the Cape of Good Hope and the far-distant Indies, and determined to measure his strength with the incorporated companies of England and France and Holland, which then entirely monopolized the commerce of the East. He boldly entered into competition with that great and powerful monopoly, the East India Company, which Queen Elizabeth incorporated on the last day of the sixteenth century, a company whose Governor, Josiah Child (formerly an apprentice, sweeping one of the counting-rooms of London), became the possessor of boundless wealth, the companion of nobles, and one from whom King Charles II. graciously accepted a gift of ten thousand guineas,—a monopoly which held in its powerful grasp the whole trade of England, with the distant East, issuing its edicts from the India House on Leadenhall Street to its subjects in India, commanding them to disregard the votes of the House of Commons; and which, as late as the year 1800, when

the ship "Active," of Salem, George Nichols, master, arrived at Liverpool, from Salem, with a cargo of Surat cotton, compelled her to carry it to London and dispose of it from the warehouses of the Company in that city.

Mr. Derby, on the 28th of November, 1785, cleared the ship "Grand Turk," Ebenezer West, master, for the Isle of France, with the purpose to visit Canton. This vessel went to the Isle of France and China, and returned to Salem in June, 1787, with a cargo of teas, silks and nankeens, making the first voyage from New England to the Isle of France, India and China.

In the year 1790 there were three arrivals from Canton. The brig "William and Henry," Benjamin Hodges, master, one hundred and fifty tons, was entered, in May, to Gray & Orne. Captain Hodges was a good type of the master mariner of that period. He was born in Salem, April 26, 1754. When the East India Marine Society was formed, he was chosen its president. He brought to Salem the first full cargo of tea direct from Canton. He died April 13, 1806. Captain Hodges makes the following quaint entry in his log-book, under date of Friday, Dec. 25, 1789, when leaving China for home: "Discharged the pilot after much altercation, having promised him fifty-six dollars, which I only intended as a convenience, as forty dollars is the established customary price, which sum was all I intended and all I did pay him. However unjust it may appear to promise with an intention not to perform, yet it is necessary in dealing with such rascals as the Chinese, who are ever ready to take undue advantage, and, as the vulgar say, 'Two cheats is an even bargain,' and the only method to keep pace with such faithless villains." Evidently Captain Hodges was not impressed with the honesty of the average Chinaman.

Captain Hodges also gives a list of the American vessels then lying at Canton, fourteen in all, of which five hailed from Salem, four from New York, three from Philadelphia and two from Boston; and of the two Boston ships, one, the "Massachusetts," of one hundred and ninety tons, had a Salem man, Benjamin Carpenter, for captain. Captain Carpenter, although he does not appear to have made any voyages from Salem, was intimately connected with our marine societies. He was one of the founders of the East India Marine Society and an early member of the Salem Marine Society, which last-named society has in its possession a log-book of a voyage made by him in the ship "Hercules," of Boston, from that place to the East Indies, in 1792. His crew consisted of thirty-nine men, thirteen of them from Salem. All but two or three of the crew were between nineteen and twenty-four years of age, Captain Carpenter putting down his own age at forty. This log-book is remarkable for the elegance of the penmanship and the skill displayed in making pen-and-ink sketches of islands, rocks and other objects of interest to mariners.

The ship "Astrea," James Magee, master, and Thomas Handasyd Perkins, supercargo, of three hundred and thirty tons, arrived in June to Elias H. Derby, with a cargo of tea, paying \$27,109.18 as duties; and the ship "Light Horse," Ichabod Nichols, master, two hundred and sixty-six tons, in June, to Elias H. Derby, with a cargo of tea, paying \$16,312.98 as duties. There is no year when the direct arrivals from Canton numbered more than three. The "Astrea" was one of Mr. Derby's favorite ships. She was distinguished for speed, having in one voyage to the Baltic, made the run in eleven days from Salem to the coast of Ireland. Preparing for a voyage to Canton was in those days a serious undertaking. The "Astrea" was sent up the Baltic for iron, a schooner was sent to Madeira for wine, and specie was collected from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. In February, 1789, the "Astrea" was dispatched for Canton with an assorted cargo, consisting of iron, wine, butter, candles, ginseng, beef and flour. The cargo of the "Astrea" was entrusted to the joint care of Captain James Magee and Thomas Handasyd Perkins. This last-named gentleman was afterwards for many years a leading merchant of Boston, and one of the founders of the Boston Athenæum.

As showing how completely the merchant was obliged to rely on the judgment of the officers of his ship a few extracts from the letter of instruction given by Mr. Derby to the officers of the "Astrea" may be interesting. He writes as follows:

"SALEM, February, 1789.

"Capt. JAMES MAGEE, JR., Mr. THOMAS H. PERKINS:

"Gentle,—The ship 'Astrea' being ready for sea. I do advise and order you to come to sail and make the best of your way to Batavia, and on your arrival there you will dispose of such a part of the cargo as you think may be most for my interest. If you find the price of sugar to be low, you will then take into the ship as much of the best white kind as will floor her, and fifty thousand weight of coffee, if it is as low as we have heard, and fifteen thousand of saltpetre, if very low; some nutmegs and fifty thousand weight of pepper; this, you will stow in the fore peak, for fear of its injuring the tea. At Batavia you must, if possible, get as much freight for Canton as will pay half or more of your charges,—that is, if it will not detain you too long—as by this addition of freight it will exceedingly help the voyage. If Messrs. Blanchard & Webb are at Batavia in the Brigantine 'Three Sisters,' and if they have not stock sufficient to load with coffee and sugar, and if it is low, and you think it for my advantage, then I would have you ship me some coffee or sugar and a few nutmegs to complete his loading. If his brigantine can be sold for a large price, and sugar and coffee are too dear to make any large freight—in that case it possibly may be for my interest to have her sold, and for them to take passage with you to Canton, but this must not be done unless you, Dr. Blanchard and Capt. Webb shall think it greatly for my interest. It is my order that in case of your sickness, you write a clause at the foot of these orders, putting the command of the ship into the person's hands that you think the most equal for it, not having any regard to the station he at present has in the ship. Among the silks, you will get me one or two pieces of the wide nankeen satin, and others you will get as directed. Get me two pots of twenty pounds each of ginger, that is well put up; and lay out for my account fifteen or twenty pounds sterling in curiosities. There will be breakage-room in the bilge of the ship, that nothing dry can go in; therefore, in the crop of the bilge, you will put some boxes of China, such as are suitable for such places, and filled with cups and saucers, some bowls, and anything of the kind that may answer. Although I have been a little particular in these orders, I do not mean

them as positive; and you have leave to break them in any part where you by calculation think it for my interest.

"Your friend and employer,
"ELIAS HARKET DERBY."

The "Astrea" did not make so successful a voyage as was anticipated. American ships were beginning to follow the lead of the "Grand Turk," and between the fall of 1788 and 1791, no less than fifteen American vessels arrived in Canton. Mr. Perkins was obliged to sell the large invoice of ginseng at twenty thousand dollars, less than the prime cost. Four ships of Mr. Derby, the "Astrea," "Light Horse," "Atlantic" and "Three Sisters," were lying at Canton in the summer of 1789. Two of these ships were sold, and the proceeds of all their cargoes was shipped in the "Astrea" and "Light Horse," both of which vessels arrived safely in Salem, in June, 1790, with 728,871 pounds of tea for Mr. Derby. The entire importation into the United States during this year was 2,601,852 pounds. This unprecedented importation was disheartening to the China merchants, as it was largely in excess of the consumption which at that time was less than a million pounds. An unexpected duty had also been imposed on teas which bore heavily upon the importers.

We therefore find no further arrival from Canton till 1798, when the ship "Perseverance," Richard Wheatland, master, enters in April with a cargo of tea and sugar to Simon Forrester, paying in duties \$24,562.10. Captain Wheatland was largely endowed with the bravery, vigor and enterprise which were so essential to a successful ship-master in the times when it was sometimes necessary to fight a passage to the destined harbor. He was born in Wareham, England, in October, 1762, and began his seafaring life in the city of London. He served on a British man-of-war for three years, holding some small office on board the ship. After the peace of 1783, Captain Wheatland, being in the West Indies, became acquainted with Captain William Silver, of Salem, and at his solicitation came to Salem, where he afterwards resided. He married a daughter of his friend, Captain Silver. She died shortly after her marriage, and he subsequently married a daughter of Stephen Goodhue. He was the father of George Wheatland, now the senior member of the Essex bar, and of Dr. Henry Wheatland, the president of the Essex Institute. As illustrating the dangers to which commerce was exposed at this time as well as the bravery of Captain Wheatland and his crew the following letter is given, together with the heading which precedes it in a local paper, and which shows the bitterness with which the French nation was then regarded by the press and people,—

"A sea fight gallantly and victoriously maintained by the ship 'Perseverance,' Captain Richard Wheatland, of this port, against one of the vessels of war of the 'Terrible Republic.' The French rascals, contrary to the laws of war and of honor, fought under false colors, whilst the 'Eagle,' true to his charge, spread his wings on the American flag."

The following is Captain Wheatland's letter to his owners:

"SHIP 'PERSEVERANCE,' OLD STRAITS OF BAHAMA, January 1, 1799.

"GENTLEMEN:

"Conceiving we may possibly meet an opportunity of forwarding this immediately on our arrival at Havana, or perhaps before, induces me to give an account of our voyage thus far.

"Until December 26 met with nothing very material, except heavy, disagreeable weather off the coast, and, having the wind so far to the westward as to preclude the possibility of making our passage round the bank, were compelled, contrary to our wishes, to go through the Old Straits of Bahama. On the afternoon of the 27th were boarded by the British frigate 'Romilla,' Captain Koller, our papers examined and we treated with great politeness. They purchased, at our own prices, a number of articles from the cargo and of the people. Three days before, they had captured a French privateer sloop of ten guns and sixty men, and retaken an American brig, her prize. After two hours' detention we were permitted to proceed, which we did without meeting any interruption till Monday, December 31. For particulars of that day we give an extract from a journal kept on board.

"December 31, Key Roman in sight, bearing south, distance four or five leagues. A schooner has been in chase of us since eight o'clock, and has every appearance of a privateer. At one o'clock P. M., finding the schooner come up with us very fast, took in steering-sails, fore and aft and royals; at half past one about ship and stood for her; she immediately tacked and made sail from us; we fired a gun to leeward, and hoisted the American ensign to our mizzen-peak; she hoisted a Spanish jack at main top-mast head, and continued to run from us. Finding she outsailed us greatly, and wishing to get through the narrows, in the Old Straits, at two o'clock P. M., we again about ship, and kept on our course. The schooner immediately wore, fired a gun to leeward and kept after, under a great press of sail. At half past two she again fired a gun to leeward, but, perceiving ourselves in the narrows, above-mentioned, we kept on, to get through them, if possible, before she came up with us, which we effected. At three o'clock, finding ourselves fairly clear of Sugar Key and Key Laboas, we took in steering-sails, wore ship, hauled up our courses, piped all hands to quarters and prepared for action. The schooner immediately took in sail, struck the Spanish jack, hoisted an English Union flag and passed under our lee at considerable distance. We wore ship, she did the same, and passed each other within half musket. A fellow hailed us in broken English, and ordered the boat hoisted out and the captain to come on board with his papers, which he refused; he again ordered our boat out, and enforced his orders with a menace, that in case of refusal he would sink us, using at the same time the vilest and most infamous language it is possible to conceive of.

"By this time he had fallen considerably astern of us; he wore and came up on our starboard quarter, giving us a broadside as he passed our stern, but fired so excessively wild that he did us very little injury, while our stern-chasers gave him a noble dose of round shot and lugsails. We hauled the ship to wind, and, as he passed us, poured a whole broadside into him with great success. Sailing faster than we, he ranged considerably ahead, tacked, and again passed, giving us a broadside and a furious discharge of musketry, which they kept up incessantly till the latter part of the engagement. His musket balls reached us in every direction, but his large shot either fell short or went considerably over us, while our guns, loaded with round shot and square bars of iron, six inches long, were piled so briskly and directed with so good judgment, that before he got out of reach we had cut his mainsail and fore topsail all to rags and cleared his decks so effectually that when he bore away from us there were scarcely ten men to be seen.

"He then struck his English, and hoisted the flag of the 'Terrible Republic,' and made off with all the sail she could carry, much disappointed, no doubt, at not being able to give us a fraternal embrace. The wind being light, and knowing he would outsail us, added to a solicitude to complete our voyage, prevented our pursuing him; indeed we had sufficient to gratify our revenge for his temerity, for there was scarcely a single fire from our guns but what spread entirely over his hull. The action, which lasted an hour and twenty minutes, we conceive ended well; for, exclusive of preserving the property entrusted to our care, we feel a confidence we have rid the world of some infamous pests of society. We were within musket-shot the whole time of the engagement and were so fortunate as to receive but very trifling injury; not a person on board met the slightest harm. Our sails were a little torn, and one of the quarter-deck guns dismounted.

"The privateer was a schooner of eighty or ninety tons, copper bottom and fought five or six guns on a side. We are now within forty-eight hours' sail of Havana, where we expect to arrive in safety; indeed we

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"GENTLEMEN:

"Conceiving we may possibly meet an opportunity of forwarding this immediately on our arrival at Havana, or perhaps before, induces me to give an account of our voyage thus far.

"Until December 26 met with nothing very material, except heavy, disagreeable weather off the coast, and, having the wind so far to the westward as to preclude the possibility of making our passage round the bank, were compelled, contrary to our wishes, to go through the Old Straits of Bahama. On the afternoon of the 27th were boarded by the British frigate 'Romilla,' Captain Rolles, our papers examined and we treated with great politeness. They purchased, at our own prices, a number of articles from the cargo and of the people. Three days before, they had captured a French privateer sloop of ten guns and sixty men, and retaken an American brig, her prize. After two hours' detention we were permitted to proceed, which we did without meeting any interruption till Monday, December 31. For particulars of that day we give an extract from a journal kept on board.

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"SHIP 'PERSEVERANCE,' OLD STRAITS OF BAHAMA, January 1, 1799.

"GENTLEMEN:

"Conceiving we may possibly meet an opportunity of forwarding this immediately on our arrival at Havana, or perhaps before, induces me to give an account of our voyage thus far.

"Until December 26 met with nothing very material, except heavy, disagreeable weather off the coast, and, having the wind so far to the westward as to preclude the possibility of making our passage round the bank, were compelled, contrary to our wishes, to go through the Old Straits of Bahama. On the afternoon of the 27th were boarded by the British frigate 'Romilla,' Captain Rollea, our papers examined and we treated with great politeness. They purchased, at our own prices, a number of articles from the cargo and of the people. Three days before, they had captured a French privateer sloop of ten guns and sixty men, and retaken an American brig, her prize. After two hours' detention we were permitted to proceed, which we did without meeting any interruption till Monday, December 31. For particulars of that day we give an extract from a Journal kept on board.

"December 31, Key Romain in sight, bearing south, distance four or five leagues. A schooner has been in chase of us since eight o'clock, and has every appearance of a privateer. At one o'clock P. M., finding the schooner come up with us very fast, took in steering-sails, fore and aft and royals; at half past one about ship and stood for her; she immediately tacked and made sail from us; we fired a gun to leeward, and hoisted the American ensign to our mizzen-peak; she hoisted a Spanish jack at main top-mast head, and continued to run from us. Finding she outsailed us greatly, and wishing to get through the narrows, in the Old Straits, at two o'clock P. M., we again about ship, and kept on our course. The schooner immediately wore, fired a gun to leeward and kept after, under a great press of sail. At half past two she again fired a gun to leeward, but, perceiving ourselves in the narrows, above-mentioned, we kept on, to get through them, if possible, before she came up with us, which we effected. At three o'clock, finding ourselves fairly clear of Sugar Key and Key Laboas, we took in steering-sails, wore ship, hauled up our courses, piped all hands to quarters and prepared for action. The schooner immediately took in sail, struck the Spanish jack, hoisted an English Union flag and passed under our lee at considerable distance. We wore ship, she did the same, and passed each other within half musket. A fellow hailed us in broken English, and ordered the boat hoisted out and the captain to come on board with his papers, which he refused; he again ordered our boat out, and enforced his orders with a menace, that in case of refusal he would sink us, using at the same time the vilest and most infamous language it is possible to conceive of.

"By this time he had fallen considerably astern of us; he wore and came up on our starboard quarter, giving us a broadside as he passed our stern, but fired so excessively wild that he did us very little injury, while our stern-chasers gave him a noble dose of round-shot and langrage. We hauled the ship to wind, and, as he passed us, poured a whole broadside into him with great success. Sailing faster than we, he ranged considerably ahead, tacked, and again passed, giving us a broadside and a furious discharge of musketry, which they kept up incessantly till the latter part of the engagement. His musket balls reached us in every direction, but his large shot either fell short or went considerably over us, while our guns, loaded with round shot and square bars of iron, six inches long, were plied so briskly and directed with so good judgment, that before he got out of reach we had cut his mainmast and fore topsail all to rags and cleared his decks so effectually that when he bore away from us there were scarcely ten men to be seen.

"He then struck his English, and hoisted the flag of the 'Terrible Republic,' and made off with all the sail she could carry, much disappointed, no doubt, at not being able to give us a fraternal embrace. The wind being light, and knowing he would outsail us, added to a solicitude to complete our voyage, prevented our pursuing him; indeed we had sufficient to gratify our revenge for his temerity, for there was scarcely a single fire from our guns but what spread entirely over his hull. The action, which lasted an hour and twenty minutes, we conceive ended well; for, exclusive of preserving the property entrusted to our care, we feel a confidence we have rid the world of some infamous pests of society. We were within musket-shot the whole time of the engagement and were so fortunate as to receive but very trifling injury; not a person on board met the slightest harm. Our sails were a little torn, and one of the quarter-deck guns dismounted.

"The privateer was a schooner of eighty or ninety tons, copper bottom and fought five or six guns on a side. We are now within forty-eight hours' sail of Havana, where we expect to arrive in safety; indeed we

have no fear of any privateer's preventing us, unless greatly superior in force. The four quarter-deck guns will require new carriages, and one of them was entirely dismounted.

"We remain with esteem,

"Gentlemen,

"Your humble servant,

"RICHARD WHEATLAND."

There is appended to this letter, in the newspaper, the following comment:

"The gallantry of young Mr. Ingersoll, on board the 'Perseverance,' we are well assured, contributed greatly to second the determined bravery of Captain Wheatland in defending the ship. Indeed the whole ship's company deserve well of their owners and of their country."

Captain Wheatland, after retiring from the sea, was engaged in commerce. He died in Salem in March, 1830.

The ship "Elizabeth," Daniel Sage, master, arrived from Canton in June, 1799, consigned to William Gray, and the ship "Pallas," William Ward, master, to Samuel Gray, William Gray and Joseph Peabody, with a cargo of tea and sugar, paying a duty of \$66,927.65, arrived in July, 1800. In May, 1802, the ship "Minerva," M. Folger, master, belonging to Clifford Crowninshield and Nathaniel West, entered from Canton and was the first Salem vessel to circumnavigate the globe. She sailed around Cape Horn, stopped one degree south of Chiloe, went to the Island of Mas-a-Fuera, where she took seals, wintered south of Lima and proceeded to China. She came home around the Cape of Good Hope.

The ship "Concord," Obed Wyer, master, entered from Canton in July, 1802, with a cargo of tea to Gideon Tucker and Pickering Dodge, paying a duty of \$20,477.53; and in April, 1803, the ship "Union," George Hodges, master, to Ichabod Nichols and thirty-nine others, entered with a cargo of tea, paying a duty of \$43,190.79. The ship "Friendship," William Story, master, arrived from Canton, Sumatra and the Isle of France, in August, 1804, to Jerathmael Pierce, with tea, coffee and pepper, paying a duty of \$31,514.19. The ship "Eliza," William Richardson, master, arrived in May, 1807, to Pierce and Wait, and the ship "Hercules," James M. Fairfield, master, with a cargo of tea and cassia, paying a duty of \$45,575.98, in March, 1808, to Nathaniel West. In April, 1810, the brig "Pilgrim," Charles Pearson, master, arrived to Richard Gardner, and the ship "Hunter," Philip P. Pinal, master, with a cargo of tea, sugar, candy and cassia, to Jerathmael Pierce, in May, 1810.

The brig "Active," William P. Richardson, master, arrived with a cargo of tea and cassia, consigned to James Cook, and paying duties to the amount of about thirty-two thousand dollars. The "Active" left Salem June 1, 1810, and went to the Feejee Islands, where she remained till July 26, 1811. She arrived in Salem, March 27, 1812, one hundred and eighteen days from Canton.

The brig "Canton," Daniel Bray, Jr., master, arrived in May, 1817, from Canton and Marseilles, to Joseph Peabody and Gideon Tucker, having per-

formed the voyage to Canton and Europe in eleven months and twenty-five days. The ship "China," Benjamin Shreve, master, cleared for Canton, May 24, 1817, and arrived in Salem March 30, 1818, with a cargo of tea, nankeens and silks to Joseph Peabody and others, and paying a duty of \$15,348.56. In January, 1819, the ship "Hercules," James King, Jr., master, arrived with a cargo of tea and sugar, paying a duty of \$51,765.49 and consigned to Nathaniel West, Jr. and others. The ship "Osprey," Stephen Brown, master, arrived from Canton, *via* Boston, in July, 1819, one hundred and seventeen days from Canton, to William P. Richardson, and the ship "Midas," Timothy Endicott, master, entered from Canton, *via* Boston, to Pickering Dodge, with a cargo of tea, cloves and sugar, in September, 1819, one hundred and forty-three days from Canton. In February, 1820, the ship "Friendship," Thomas Meeke, master, entered from Canton to Pickering Dodge and others, with a cargo paying a duty of \$21,677.44.

The brig "Leander," owned by Joseph Peabody, made three voyages direct from Canton, entering in March, 1825, in April, 1826 and in July, 1829. Charles Roundy was master on the first two voyages and N. Smith on the last; the cargoes paying duties of \$86,847.47, \$92,392.94 and \$84,048.82 respectively. The ship "China," H. Putnam, master, entered from Canton in April, 1825, to Joseph Peabody and others, paying a duty of \$22,987.32.

The ship "Sumatra," owned by Joseph Peabody, made six voyages direct from Canton, entering in April, 1829, in April, 1830, in October, 1831, in June, 1834, in December, 1836, and in October, 1841. Charles Roundy was master on the first four voyages, and Peter Silver on the last two. When returning on the last voyage, Captain Silver speaks the ship "Echo," dismasted, with one hundred and forty passengers bound for New York. He could not board the distressed vessel at once, because of the storm then prevailing, but lay by until he was able to send his boat and supply her with sails and provisions. He took on board his own vessel twenty-four of the passengers, including several sick ladies, and landed them at Holmes Holl. For the kind and timely assistance rendered, Captain Silver was presented by the passengers with a silver pitcher, and each of his mates with a silver cup.

The ship "Eclipse," William Johnson, master, entered from Canton in August, 1832, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The above-named comprise all the vessels that entered at the Salem Custom-house, direct from Canton, bringing a full cargo of Canton goods. There were many other Salem vessels that went there in the course of their voyages, or that cleared from Salem for Canton and returned to other ports. The ship "St. Paul," Chas. H. Allen, master, and owned by Stephen C. Phillips, went to China from Manilla and on her return to Salem in March, 1845, brought part of a cargo of tea and other merchandise from

China. All the direct trade from Canton to Salem after 1825 was carried on by Joseph Peabody.

Among the vessels that cleared for Canton was the ship "Brutus," Richard Crowninshield, master, March 7, 1798. The ship "Gov. Endicott," Benjamin Shreve, master, cleared for Canton May 5, 1819, and experienced a tremendous gale on July 31st, during which the whole watch, consisting of the second-mate and seven men were washed overboard and lost, and her mizzen-mast and rudder were carried away. She arrived at St. Salvador in a crippled condition on the 26th of September.

From a journal kept by Mr. Samuel Goodhue on board the ship "Sumatra," Charles Roundy, master, on a voyage to Manilla and Canton, the following extracts are made as giving some general account of the incidents of such voyages.

"Sunday, May 24, 1829.—At three o'clock in the morning got under way from Derby wharf, and in fifteen minutes dropped anchor in the harbor. At seven o'clock the passengers came on board and we got under way and stood to sea. For passengers we have Mr. Low and wife, Mrs. Harriet Low and servant and Mr. Ammidon. The ship's company consists of the captain, his two mates, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Shephard, eleven hands before the mast, cook and steward, making twenty-one persons in all on board. At eight o'clock we discharged our pilot, and at ten o'clock we got our breakfast. The wind was fair and blowing a good breeze, fast taking us from our native land.

"Wednesday, June 3d.—Very pleasant and delightful weather. We have been employed for several days in cleaning our guns, small arms, boarding pikes, etc., and in making wads and other warlike preparations, as we shall soon be in the way of pirates.

"Sunday, June 21st.—This is the fourth Sunday at sea, and we are now drawing near the equator.

"Monday, June 22d.—Just as the watch was called at four p.m., we discovered a barque just on our weather bow about eight miles from us. He had his royals furled, top-gallant sails clewed up, courses hauled up, and main top sail to the mast. He seemed to be laying too to speak to us. On our nearer approach, he being two or three miles on our weather bow, saw him to be a small craft with painted ports, and instead of a barque it was a brig with a jigger mast and a false stern. It was evidently a man-of-war or a pirate in disguise. The wind beginning to head us off, all hands were called to tack ship to the westward. In a few minutes a heavy rain squall came up, and we soon lost sight of our suspicious neighbor.

"Monday, June 29th.—Thirty-seven days out. About one p.m. crossed the Equator with a six-knot breeze.

"Saturday, July 25th.—This forenoon saw two very large whales very near us. They appeared to be very old and had barnacles on their heads. They pummed very slowly under our stern with their mouths wide open.

"Wednesday, July 29th.—Had strong breezes during the day. The distance ran was two hundred and one miles, the greatest day's work since leaving Salem.

"Sunday, August 16th.—For the last twenty days ending yesterday we sailed three thousand six hundred and eight miles, averaging one hundred and eighty miles a day. Caught a large porpoise weighing about three hundred and fifty pounds. It was very fortunate for us to get some oil as our stock of oil has been out four or five days.

"Wednesday, August 26th.—At eleven p.m. we saw the Island of Java, and at eight a.m. we passed Java Head with a fine eight-knot breeze and got fairly inside the Straits of Sunda. Came to anchor off Angior, and a Dutch boat came off for news and letters, and afterwards came off again, bringing fowls, vegetables and fruit. They informed us that the ship 'Lotus,' Thomas Moriarty, captain, had gone up the Straits three days before bound to Canton.

"Tuesday, September 8th.—About two p.m. we entered the Bay of Manilla after a very short passage of one hundred and six days from Salem. As we went up the bay the rain at intervals poured down in torrents, giving us a specimen of Manilla weather, at this season of the year. At dark we passed the point of Cavite, and at seven o'clock came to anchor about two miles below Manilla. We found the ship 'Mandarin,' of Salem, William Osgood, captain, and the ship, 'Restitution,'

Capt. Kinsman, and a New York brig were at Cavite. Thus, of the five vessels laying in a single port, three of them are Salem ships.

"Monday, September 14th.—Went ashore at Manilla. The streets, some of them are wide with tolerable good accommodations for foot passengers. The lower stories of all the buildings are occupied as shops or stores. The upper stories are used as dwellings. The shops for the most part are kept by Chinese. They are not very neat, and are generally filled with a great variety of articles, such as hats, dry goods, fancy articles, etc. We passed a bridge built of stone over a canal. There were plenty of beggars on the bridge who had a very miserable appearance. There are several large churches in the suburbs. One very large one of stone we went into. They were saying mass over a corpse. After hurrying over a parcel of Latin, like a ship in a squall, and throwing a little water and burning some incense, the corpse was carried off. The inside of the church was paved with flag-stones, and was filled with Malays, a large proportion being small boys, who appeared to be very devout. I do not think the city is very strongly fortified. It was once taken by the English. We met a number of carriages something like a barouche. They were filled with ladies who all have a kind of olive pale complexion, but are otherwise tolerably handsome. They dress very splendidly and generally have no head dress excepting a handkerchief or piece of muslin. I never saw any of them walking, I suppose they think themselves too good to touch the earth. Among the Malay women there is but very little beauty. They are of a copper color and have a kind of hopping gait, something resembling a cock turkey. Their dress is but little more than a piece of cloth tied round their waist. They wear wooden shoes which have nothing above the sole excepting a small place for a toe. At eight o'clock we returned to the ship. If I was to live here I should much rather be on board our ship than on shore among a parcel of Spaniards, Malays, pigs and dogs.

"Tuesday, September 22d.—At 8.30 we got under way after laying in Manilla fifteen days, and taking in four thousand piculs of rice, and a light breeze took us slowly out of sight of the turrets and towers of Manilla.

"Wednesday, September 30th.—We are sailing along among the Ladrone Islands. There are plenty of fishermen about us. The fishermen are a very hardy set of people. Their whole fortune is in their boat and that is their sole dependence. They carry their families in their boat and sometimes there are two or three generations, from the white-headed old man to the young babe. Their boats are kept in good order and generally have two masts, with mat sails. They mostly fish two or three in company with nets, and come to anchor in the night among the islands. They are, indeed, a very independent set of men. It is but nine months since we were going along these islands bound home. We have made two passages, laid in Salem one month, been to Manilla, and are now here again. At three p.m. we came to anchor in Macao roads. At ten o'clock the next morning our passengers left us, and no doubt were glad to get on shore after being so long on shipboard. Several Chinese junka passed us bound into Macao. They generally have two or three masts, and have an eye painted on each bow. They have large wooden anchors, and sail very clumsily.

"Saturday, October 3d.—Got under way for Lintin, and in the afternoon we passed a great number of craft of all descriptions, mostly fishing boats. We generally saw that the wife had the helm while the men were at work on the nets or laying still, and there were plenty of young brats, blackguarding every one that passed, for that I believe is the first thing they learn. The town of Lintin is small and is the principal place for smuggling opium, which sells here for eight hundred dollars a picul of one hundred and thirty-three pounds.

"Tuesday, October 6th.—About eleven o'clock we passed a fort which stands at the entrance of Whampoa River. There was a mandarin came off to go up the river with us, and, though dressed in his gaudy robes and arrayed in all his state, his first business after coming on board was to beg a bottle of rum. Soon after passing the entrance we came in sight of a large pagoda which stands upon high land and is about two hundred feet high.

"Monday, October 12th.—This morning five of us started in the boat to go up to Canton. We passed a duck boat. The ducks were let out on the shore to feed, and I should think there were several hundred of them. When the keepers want them they sing out, and the last one in generally gets a flogging. Some distance from the city you can tell you are drawing near to a large commercial city, by the clouds of smoke hanging over it, and the forests of masts in the river. At the head of Whampoa River stands a fort. It is square and built of stone and brick, and has about thirty small pieces of cannon in it. They are lashed with rattan to blocks of wood. We soon landed at Canton, and were busy making what little purchases we were able to afford. The shop-keepers

are always ready at the landing place to lead you to their shops, recommending their goods above all others. Their shops, especially those in China and New Streets, are very clean, and their goods make a handsome show. They generally have an English sign over their door, but go by the Chinese names, except some in Hog Lane, such as 'Jimmy,' 'Good Tom,' 'Young Tom,' etc., and among others, 'General Jackson,' recommended himself to us. We were not much gratified in finding the hero, an inferior, black-looking Tartar, surrounded by a few pieces of inferior silks, some pictures, etc. At six o'clock we returned to the ship.

Thursday, December 17th.—At three o'clock this morning six of us started in the pinnace for Canton. After breakfast we went up China Street to finish making our purchases, and while there saw a procession of a mandarin. He was preceded by about a dozen dirty-looking Tartars with bannocks, and no other uniform than a dirty red cap. One had an instrument something like a tambourine, another something like a fife, which made a harsh screeching sound. The mandarin was in a palanquin and carried by two Tartars. At the head of the street there was a theatre. The players were very active, and their dress was rich and splendid. They are paid by the shop-keepers of the street, and attract great numbers of Chinese. At the entrance of China Street there was a large figure of Josh, and around him were burning several lights, while before him were heaps of oranges, also a roast pig and a turkey. About four o'clock we started on our return to the ship.

Wednesday, December 20th.—Having got all our cargo of tea on board, we got underway and dropped down the river on our way home. After an uneventful passage, the 'Sumatra' arrived safely in Salem harbor, with her cargo of tea, in April, 1830."

THE INDIA TRADE.—India was visited soon after the close of the Revolutionary War by Salem vessels. The trade was opened by Elias Hasket Derby, and the ship "Atlantic," commanded by his son, was the first vessel to display the American ensign at Surat, Bombay and Calcutta. This was in the year 1788. The ship "Peggy" arrived in Salem, June 21, 1789, with the first cargo of Bombay cotton brought to this country, consigned to E. H. Derby. The brigantine "Henry," Benjamin Crowninshield, master, of one hundred and twenty-five tons burden, and manned by eight men, arrived at Salem, from Madras, Bengal and the Isle of France, consigned to E. H. Derby and John Derby, Jr., January 10, 1791, and on May 13, 1793, the ship "Grand Turk," Benjamin Hodges, master, of five hundred and sixty-four tons burden, and owned by E. H. Derby, arrived from Madras with 1,031,484 pounds of sugar, 500 bags of saltpetre, 464 pieces of redwood, 3,900 hides, 709 bags of ginger, 830 bags of pepper, and 22 chests of tea, the cargo paying a duty of \$24,229.65. The "Grand Turk" had sailed, outward bound, Sunday, March 11, 1792, at 3 P. M., and Captain Hodges writes in his log book that "great numbers of our friends assembled at the old fort and expressed their good wishes in the old English custom of three huzzas." The schooner "Polly and Sally," George Crowninshield, master, and consigned to Richard Crowninshield with sugar, pepper and coffee, arrived from Bengal in May, 1794. The brig "Enterprise," William Ward, master, entered in August, 1794, from India, consigned to William Gray. The ship "Henry," Jacob Crowninshield, master, entered from India and Cowes, in November, 1794 to E. H. Derby. "The ship "Washington," Benjamin Webb, Jr., master, entered July 11, 1795, from Calcutta, *via* Boston, with a cargo of sugar to John Fisk. The ketch "Eliza," Stephen

Phillips, master, appears to be the first vessel to arrive at Salem direct from Calcutta. She entered October 8, 1795, with a cargo of sugar to E. H. Derby. The "Eliza" cleared from Salem for the East Indies, December 22, 1794, with an outward cargo of 48 casks of brandy, 22 barrels of naval stores, and 106 pairs of silk stockings.

There were five arrivals from India in 1796,—February 23d, the brig "Friendship," George Hodges, master, to Joseph Osgood, Jr., from Calcutta; April 18th, the snow "Peggy," Joseph Ropes, master, to E. H. Derby, from India; April 18th, the ship "John," Jona Moulton, master, to William Gray, from Calcutta; August 16th, the brig "Hind," Jona Hodges, master, from Calcutta; and September 20th, the ketch "Eliza," Stephen Phillips, master, to E. H. Derby, from Calcutta.

From a New York paper, under date of April, 1796, we make the following extract: "The 'America,' Captain Jacob Crowninshield, of Salem, Mass., commander and owner, has brought home an elephant from Bengal in perfect health. It is the first ever seen in America, and is a very great curiosity. It is a female, two years old, and of a species that grows to an enormous size. This animal sold for ten thousand dollars, being supposed to be the greatest price ever given for an animal, in Europe or America."

There were four entries from India in 1797,—in May, the bark "Essex," John Ropes, master, to William Orne, from Calcutta; in May the ship "William and Henry," John Beckford, master, to William Gray, from Bengal; in May, the ship "Benjamin," Richard Garduer, master, to E. H. Derby, from Calcutta and the Cape of Good Hope; and in July, the ship "Betsey," Nathaniel Silsbee, master, from Calcutta and Madras, consigned to Daniel Pierce and Nathaniel Silsbee, with sugar, coffee and pepper, paying a duty of \$10,753.20.

During the year 1798 there were nine entries from Calcutta; the largest number of entries in any single year. The years 1803 and 1818 show the same number. The entries from Calcutta for the year 1798 were,—in January, the ship "Recovery," Joseph Ropes, master, to E. H. Derby; in January, the ship "Lucia," Thomas Meek, master, to William Gray; in March, the bark "Sally," Benjamin Webb, master, to Thomas Saunders & Co.; in March, the brig "Good Hope," Edward West, master, to Nathaniel West; in March, the brig "Adventure," James Barr, Jr., master, to John Norris; in March, the ship "Betsey," Josiah Orne, master, to Samuel Gray & Co.; in March, the ship "Mary," Nicholas Thorne-dike, master; in May, the ship "Sally," Josiah Obear, master; and in July, the ship "Belisarius," John Crowninshield, master, to George Crowninshield & Sons, with a cargo of sugar, 10,767 pounds of sugar-candy, and 118,215 pounds of coffee, from Calcutta and the Isle of France.

There were but two entries in 1799. The ship

"Recovery," Joseph Ropes, master, entered May 7th, to E. H. Derby. This vessel had touched at Mocha on her outward passage, and displayed the American flag for the first time at that port. The ship "Ulysses," Josiah Orne, master, entered July 10th, to William Gray. Both entries were from Calcutta. The above-named vessels comprise all that arrived from India prior to the year 1800.

The limits of this chapter will not permit a full list of the subsequent entries, but the names of a few are given as showing the Salem merchants and ship-masters engaged in this trade. The ship "Active," Timothy Bryant, master, with a cargo of 180,000 pounds of cotton to Bryant & Nichols, entered from Bombay, in August, 1800. The ship "Vigilant," James Clemmons, master, entered from Bombay, in February, 1801, with a cargo of cotton to Simon Forrester. The bark "Eliza," Benjamin Lander, master, entered from Calcutta, July, 1801, with a cargo of sugar and other merchandise to Joseph White. The ship "Hazard," Henry Tibbetts, master, entered from Calcutta, May, 1802, with sugar, cigars and cordage, to John and Richard Gardner, paying a duty of \$16,298.

The brig "Sally," William Ashton, master, entered from Calcutta in February, 1803, to Jacob Ashton & Co., with a cargo of sugar, paying a duty of \$10,631.54. The ship "Lucia," Solomon Towne, master, entered from Calcutta in August, 1804, with a cargo of sugar, indigo and cheroots, to William Gray and others, and paying a duty of \$24,001.08.

The ship "Argo," Stephen Field, master, entered from Calcutta in March, 1805, with a cargo of sugar to Philip Chase and others, and paying a duty of \$32,799.47. The ship "Mary Ann," Edward Norris, master, entered from Calcutta, April, 1806, with a cargo consigned to John Norris, and paying a duty of \$14,797.68. The ship "Franklin," Timothy Wellman, 3d master, entered from Calcutta in October, 1806, with a cargo of sugar to Joseph Peabody, and paying a duty of \$19,734.60. The ship "Friendship," Israel Williams, master, entered from Madras in November, 1806, with a cargo of pepper, coffee and indigo to Pierce & Wait, paying a duty of \$21,093.21. The ship "Exeter," Thos. B. Osgood, master, entered from Bengal in October, 1807, with 356,043 pounds of cotton, 11,141 of indigo, and 80,731 of sugar, paying a duty of \$16,331.21, and consigned to Benjamin Pickman, Jr.

The ship "Union," William Osgood, master, entered from Calcutta in September, 1811, with a cargo to Stephen Phillips, and paying a duty of \$26,408.23. The ship "Restitution," David D. Pulsifer, master, entered from Calcutta in October, 1812, with a cargo to Simon Forrester, and paying a duty of \$51,526.33. The brig "Caravan," Augustine Heard, master, entered from Calcutta in March, 1813, with a cargo to Pickering Dodge, paying a duty of \$26,975. The bark "Patriot," Nathan Frye, master, entered from Calcutta in March, 1816, to John H. Andrews.

In October, 1816, forty-two vessels had cleared for India since the close of the War of 1812, and sixteen of them carried out three million hard dollars. The ship "Malabar," Josiah Orne, master, entered from Bombay in June, 1817, with a cargo of cotton and pepper to John W. Rogers, paying a duty of \$18,769.40. The ship "Endeavour," Timothy Bryant, Jr., master, entered in September, 1817, to Dudley L. Pickman. The brig "Alexander," David A. Neal, master, entered from Bombay in September, 1817, with cotton to Jonathan Neal.

The ship "Gentoo," Nathaniel Osgood, master, entered from Calcutta in June, 1818. The cargo of this vessel, as was often the case with large vessels sent on distant voyages, was the property of a large number of persons. It consisted principally of sugar and cotton, and the consignees were Pickering Dodge, Nathaniel Silsbee, Francis and George Lee, John Belknap, Francis Quarles, Samuel P. Gardner, Baker & Hodges, Henry Pickering, John Derby, Philip and A. Chase, Samuel G. Derby, John W. Rogers, John Stone, Humphrey Devereaux, Nathaniel Osgood and Samuel G. Perkins. The whole duty paid was \$29,270.55. The brig "Lawry," John Holman, master, entered from Calcutta in May, 1820, to John Derby, and paying a duty of \$20,693.99.

The brig "Naiad," Nathaniel Osgood, master, arrived from Calcutta in January, 1821, with a cargo to Pickering Dodge, paying a duty of about \$24,000. The ship "Aurora," Robert W. Gould, master, arrived from Siam in January, 1823, with a cargo of pepper and coffee to Willard Peele. The brig "Ann," Charles Millett, master, arrived from Bombay in November, 1825, to Henry Prince. The brig "Reaper," J. F. Brookhouse, master, entered from Bombay in February, 1830, consigned to Robert Brookhouse. The brig "Nereus," Thomas Farley, master, entered from Bombay in April, 1830, consigned to John W. Rogers. The ship "Catherine," Joseph Winn, Jr., entered from Calcutta in October, 1831, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Quill," S. I. Shillaber, master, entered from Bombay in October, 1832, consigned to N. L. Rogers & Brothers. The brig "Cherokee," W. B. Smith, master, entered from Bombay in February, 1837, consigned to Michael Shepard. The ship "William and Henry," Charles H. Fabens, master, entered from Bombay in September, 1839, consigned to David Pingree.

In 1842 there were three entries from Calcutta,—the ship "General Harrison," W. Lecraw, master, in February; the ship "Isaac Hicks," Newell, master, in September; and the ship "New Jersey," Barry, master, in December, all with cargoes consigned to Francis Peabody. The last entry at Salem from ports in India of a vessel consigned to a Salem merchant was that of the bark "Brenda," H. Bridges, master, in August, 1845, with a cargo of pepper and cordage to Michael Shepard, paying a duty of \$31,793.65. Within the last few years there have been several en-

tries from Calcutta of vessels bringing cargoes of jute butts to the factories here.

A detailed history of these India voyages could not fail to be interesting, and would contain many thrilling accounts of the perils of the sea. In January, 1788, the ship "Juno," Henry Elkins, master, and owned by E. H. Derby, cleared for the East Indies, and when forty hours out was found to be sinking. Every effort was made to free her, but without success, and in twenty minutes she went down. The crew escaped in one of the ship's boats, and were picked up and taken to Demerara. In 1793 the ship "Astrea," on a trading voyage from Madras to Pegu, was seized by the king of the latter place as a transport for stores to his army in Siam, who had gone thither to attack that empire. Captain Gibant and his second mate were detained as hostages for the performance of the voyage. In March, 1807, the ship "Howard," Benjamin Bray, master, from Calcutta, was lost at Grapevine Cove, Gloucester. The captain, second mate and two seamen were drowned. On Thursday, October 28, 1819, the brig "Naiad," Nathaniel Osgood, master, arrived at Salem from Calcutta, with a cargo consigned to Pickering Dodge. On the Monday night previous the "Naiad" was struck by lightning, and the second mate, Mr. William Griffen, of Salem, was instantly killed. He was on the maintopsail yard at the time, and, on being struck, fell into the water with his clothes on fire. The first mate was knocked down and one of the men severely injured. The vessel received but trifling damage.

From the year 1800 to 1842, inclusive, only the years 1809, '14, '15, '38, '39 and '41 passed without an entry at Salem from some of the ports of India. The whole number of entries during that period from Calcutta were one hundred and fifteen, the years 1805, '06 and '07 showing seventeen, and the years 1816, '17 and '18 showing twenty-one. There were twenty entries from Bombay during the same time, six from Bengal, six from Madras, three from Siam, and two from Ceylon. During the periods from 1802 to 1807, and from 1816 to 1822, there was the greatest activity in the Calcutta trade.

From 1816 to 1840 the Salem trade with Calcutta was mainly carried on by Joseph Peabody. He was the owner of the famous ship "George," which made voyages between Salem and Calcutta with the regularity of a steamer. The "George" was built in 1814 for a privateer by an association of ship-carpenters, who were thrown out of employment by the War of 1812. Peace came on before she was sold, and Captain Peabody bought her for sixteen dollars per ton. She measured three hundred and twenty-eight tons, and was a full-rigged ship. The "George" made twenty-one voyages to Calcutta between 1815 and 1837. She sailed from Salem May 23, 1815, on her first voyage, and arrived home June 13, 1816, one hundred and nine days from Calcutta. The length of

her voyages was surprisingly regular, varying but a few days in all her passages between Calcutta and Salem. She sailed from Salem August 5, 1836, on her last voyage, reaching Salem on her return May 17, 1837, one hundred and eleven days from Calcutta. Previous to her leaving Calcutta on her twenty-first voyage, the Banian merchants of that port presented to the ship a complete and beautiful "freedom suit" of silk signals and colors. Her commanders were William Haskell, Thomas West, Samuel Endicott, Thomas M. Saunders, Jonathan H. Lovett, Jr., and Benjamin Balch, Jr. Her supercargoes were Daniel H. Mansfield, Ephraim Emmerton, Jr., George W. Endicott, Samuel Endicott, Samuel Barton and James B. Briggs. Her cargoes paid in duties \$651,743.32. After her last voyage to Calcutta she was sold to Jefferson Adams and Caleb Smith, and went to Rio Janeiro, where she was condemned about January 12, 1838. Mr. Peabody imported from Calcutta, between 1807 and 1840, about 1,050,000 pounds of indigo, of which the ship "George" brought, in seventeen voyages, 755,000 pounds.

THE BATAVIA TRADE.—In the Indian Ocean, near the island of Sumatra, lies the island of Java, and here again Salem vessels were the first to display the American ensign. There was quite an extensive trade with this island in the early days of Salem's commerce. Of the seventy-two arrivals from Batavia between the years 1796 and 1855, thirty-five were previous to the year 1807, and seventeen during the years 1817, '18, '19 and '20. From 1806 to 1816 there was no arrival.

The brig "Sally," Benjamin Webb, master, cleared for Batavia Sept. 30, 1795, and entered from the same place Sept. 6, 1796, with a cargo of pepper and sugar to Thomas Saunders & Co. The schooner "Patty," Edward West, master, cleared for Batavia Sept. 26, 1795, with wine, brandy, gin, tobacco, lead and iron, and entered from that place, on her return, Oct. 3, 1796, with pepper and sugar, consigned to Nathaniel West. The bark "Vigilant," John Murphy, master, entered in February, 1797, with 238,746 pounds of coffee and 168,604 pounds of sugar, consigned to Simon Forrester. The brig "Eunice," Enoch Sweet, master, entered in July, 1797, with coffee and pepper to George Dodge and others. The brig "Star," John Burchmore, master, entered in November, 1797, to John Norris & Co. The bark "Eliza," Gamaliel Hodges, master, entered in February, 1798, and again in December, 1799, to Joseph White. The brig "Olive Branch," Jonathan Lambert, Jr., master, entered in 1798, consigned to Ashton & Lambert. The ship "Friendship," Israel Williams, master, entered July 4, 1798, with 301,687 pounds of coffee and 111,087 pounds of sugar, to Pierce & Wait, and paying a duty of \$18,376.13. The brig "Exchange," William Richardson, master, entered in August, 1798, to Ezekiel H. Derby. The ship "Hazen," Jonathan Hodges, master, entered in August, 1798, consigned

to William Orne. The ship "Franklin," James Devereux, master, entered in October, 1801, with 315,742 pounds of coffee, 164,699 of pepper and 155,797 of sugar, consigned to Joseph Peabody, and paying a duty of \$29,709.40. The same vessel, with the same master and consignee, entered in March, 1804, and May, 1805.

The ship "Margaret," Samuel Derby, master, entered in June, 1802, with coffee and other merchandise, consigned to John Derby and Benjamin Pickman. The "Margaret" cleared for Sumatra Nov. 19, 1800, with fifty thousand dollars in specie, twelve casks of Malaga wine and two hogsheads of bacon. She left Salem Harbor on the 25th of November, and anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, Feb. 4, 1801. Leaving Table Bay February 10, she reached Bencoolen Roads, Sumatra, on the 10th of April, one hundred and thirty-six days from Salem. Without stopping to trade at Sumatra, the vessel proceeded to Batavia, arriving there on the 25th of April. While at Batavia Captain Derby made a bargain with the Dutch East India Company to take the annual freights to and from Japan, and left for that place with his cargo June 20, 1801.

The "Margaret" arrived at the port of Nagasaki July 19, being obliged to fire salutes and dress the vessel with flags before entering port. Mr. George Cleveland, who was clerk for Captain Derby, gives an interesting description of his visit to the city of Nagasaki. "In the first place," he says, "we went to Facquia's, an eminent stuff merchant. Here we were entertained in such manner as we little expected. We had set before us, for a repast, pork, fowls, meso, eggs, boiled fish, sweetmeats, cake, various kinds of fruit and sacky and tea. The lady of the house was introduced, who drank tea with each of us, as is the custom of Japan. She appeared to be a modest woman. The place we next visited was a temple, to which we ascended from the street by at least two hundred stone steps. Adjoining this was the burying-ground. We went next to the glass-house, which was on a small scale; thence to a lac-ware merchant's, where we were entertained with great hospitality. Thence we went to a tea-house, or hotel, where we dined. After dinner we were entertained with various feats of dancing and tumbling. Towards dark we returned to the island, and so great was the crowd in the streets to see us pass that it was with difficulty that we could get along. The number of children we saw was truly astonishing. The streets are narrow, and at the end of every street is a gate, which is locked at night. The houses are of two stories, built of wood.

"The Japanese observed one fast when we were there. It was in remembrance of the dead. The ceremonies were principally in the night. The first was devoted to feasting, at which they fancy their friends to be present; the second and third nights the graves are lighted with paper lamps and, situated as they are on the side of a hill, make a most brilliant ap-

pearance. On the fourth night, at three o'clock, the lamps are all brought down to the water and put into small straw barques with paper sails, made for the occasion, and, after putting in rice, fruit, etc., they are set afloat. The exhibition was very fine.

"As the time was approaching for our departure, we began to receive our returns from the interior, brought many hundred miles. These consisted of the most beautiful lacquered ware, such as waiters, writing-desks, tea-caddies, knife-boxes and tables. We also received a great variety of silks, fans in large quantities and a great variety of porcelain. The East India Company's cargo had already been put on board. The principal article was copper in small bars. The company's ships have been obliged to take their departure from the anchorage opposite Nagasaki on a certain day to the lower roads, no matter whether it blew high or low, fair or foul, even if a thousand boats should be required to tow them down. We, of course, had to do as our predecessors had done. Early in November we went to this anchorage and remained a few days, when we sailed for Batavia, where we arrived safely after a passage of a month."

This account is interesting because the "Margaret" was the first Salem vessel and the second American vessel to visit Japan. The ship "Franklin," of Boston, commanded by Captain James Devereux, of Salem, was the first American vessel which traded with Japan, having been employed to make the same voyage as the "Margaret" two years previously. Commercial intercourse was not opened with Japan till half a century later; the American Treaty, the result of the expedition under Commodore Perry, which opened her ports to the world, being dated March 31, 1854. Previous to this time all the trade with Japan was in the hands of the Dutch, who were obliged to submit to the grossest indignities.

The ship "Henry," John Barton, master, entered from Batavia in July, 1802, to John Derby and Benjamin Pickman. The ship "Herald," Zachariah F. Silsbee, master, entered in May, 1804, to Nathaniel Silsbee. The brig "William" arrived Aug. 31, 1802, consigned to Jonathan Mason. She lost her captain, John Felt, and her mate by sickness during the voyage. The ship "Mary and Eliza," Nathaniel Hawthorne, master, arrived in October, 1804, with coffee, nutmegs, sugar and mace, to Joseph White. The bark "Georgetown," George Ropes, master, arrived in April, 1806, to Stephen Phillips. The ship "Henry," Benjamin Russell, master, arrived in May, 1806, to Edward Russell and others. The ship "Hercules" made two voyages, entering in March, 1816, and March, 1817, to Nathaniel West, commanded on the first voyage by Edward West and on the second by James King, Jr. The ship "Erin," Nathan Cook, master, entered in November, 1819, to Henry Pickering. The brig "Franklin," John White, master, entered in September, 1820, to Stephen White. The brig "Roscoe," J. M. Ropes, master, entered in Au-

gust, 1827, to Charles Saunders. The bark "Henry," R. Wheatland, master, entered in December, 1835, consigned to Samuel Cook and others.

The ship "Union," William Osgood, master, from Pulo Penang, with a cargo of pepper and tin, consigned to Stephen Phillips, was cast away on the northwest point of Baker's Island, Feb. 24, 1810, during a snowstorm and lost with most of her cargo.

The brig "Java," Nathaniel Osgood, master, from Batavia, went ashore on the bar off Nauset, Cape Cod, on the night of February 9, 1832, in a snowstorm. The crew narrowly escaped in the boats. The cargo, consisting of 585,000 pounds of coffee, 13,500 pounds of nutmegs and 94,000 pounds of block-tin, was owned by Jonathan Neal. The vessel was a total wreck.

The ship "Sumatra," Peter Silver, master, made two voyages from Batavia, arriving at Salem in September, 1842, and August, 1843, consigned to Joseph Peabody. Captain Silver has a strange experience on one of these voyages. He sees a vessel in distress, and bearing down finds her to be the bark "Kilmars," of Glasgow, with no person on deck except a female, who seems almost frantic. He sends a boat and brings her on board. She was about eighteen years old, and wife of the commander of the bark. Two months before the vessel had sailed from Batavia with a cargo of sugar for Europe. The crew, shipped at Batavia, were many of them discharged convicts. The captain received an intimation that the crew contemplated obtaining possession of the vessel, and when it became certain that such was their intention, he charged the ringleader with the design and, in the altercation that followed, shot and wounded him. He then succeeded in confining the crew in different parts of the vessel, and endeavored with the help of two boys, to navigate his vessel back to Batavia. In the early morning, before the vessel was discovered by Captain Silver, the captain with the two boys had started in a boat for the shore to procure help. The captain's wife finding her husband missing was fearful that he had been killed by the mutineers, but she found that they were still confined. Dreading lest they would soon break out, she took her stand on the rail, determined to throw herself overboard if they regained the deck. Only twenty minutes after she was taken from the "Kilmars" the crew broke out, took charge of the vessel and made sail. In order to avoid a collision, Captain Silver steered away from the vessel and arrived at Batavia, where he placed the lady under the charge of the Dutch Government. The "Kilmars" subsequently reached Angier, where the authorities took possession of her and adopted measures for the trial of her crew. The captain and the boys were picked up in the Straits of Sunda. Anxiety and overwork had made him partially insane. When he left his vessel he had expected to be able to return at once with help.

The ship "Rome," Nathaniel Brown, master

arrived from Batavia in December, 1842, consigned to B. W. Stone. The last arrivals in our harbor from Batavia, were the "Buckeye," in August, 1853, and "Witch," in November, 1855, both consigned to Edward D. Kimball.

THE SUMATRA TRADE.—Salem sent the first vessel that ever sailed direct from this country to Sumatra, and a Salem captain commanded the last American vessel that brought a cargo of pepper from that island. In the year 1793, Captain Jonathan Carnes of Salem, being at the port of Bencoolen, learned that pepper grew wild on the northwestern coast of Sumatra. On his return to Salem he made known his discovery to Mr. Jonathan Peele, who immediately built a schooner and gave Carnes the command. The vessel was called the "Rajah," and was of one hundred and thirty tons burden, carrying, four guns and ten men. In 1795 he set sail for Sumatra, the destination of the vessel and the object of the voyage being kept a profound secret. The "Rajah" cleared at Salem November 3, 1795, for India, having on board two pipes of brandy, fifty-eight cases of gin, twelve tons of iron, two hogsheads of tobacco and two boxes of salmon. The vessel was absent eighteen months, during which time her owner Mr. Peele had no tidings from her. At last she entered Salem harbor, with a cargo of pepper in bulk, the first to be so imported into this country. This cargo was sold at a profit of seven hundred per cent. Such an extraordinary voyage created great excitement among the merchants of Salem, and they were all anxious to discover in what part of the Eastern World the cargo had been procured. But the matter still remained a secret. Captain Carnes was preparing for another voyage; and the Salem merchants determined if possible to penetrate the mystery, despatched several vessels to the port of Bencoolen where it was known Carnes got his first knowledge of the trade. They were not successful, however, and had to make up their voyages in some of the ports of India. But the secret voyages to Sumatra did not long continue. By the first of the present century the mystery was penetrated, and the whole ground open to competition.

The brig "Rajah" made several voyages to Sumatra, under command of Captain Carnes, entering at Salem in October, 1799, with 158,544 pounds of pepper, and in July, 1801, with 147,776 pounds, the last consigned to Jonathan & Willard Peele.

The firm of George Crowninshield & Sons were largely engaged in the early Sumatra trade. The ship "Belisarius," Samuel Skerry, Jr., master, made several voyages for this firm, entering at Salem in July, 1801, with 320,000 pounds of pepper; in July, 1802, with 306,542 pounds; and in September, 1803, with 276,459 pounds. The ship "America" made two voyages, commanded by John Crowninshield on the first and Jeremiah Briggs on the second, and entering in November, 1801, with 815,792 pounds of

pepper, paying a duty of \$53,842.27, and clearing January 2, 1802, on the second voyage, returning in October, 1802, with 760,000 pounds, paying \$50,031.76. The ship "Concord," Jonathan Carnes, master, made two voyages, entering in November, 1803, and in August, 1805. The ship "John," John Dodge, master, entered in October, 1807, and the ship "Fame," Holten J. Breed, master, in April, 1812, with 623,277 pounds of pepper, paying a duty of \$37,896.62, all consigned to this firm.

Joseph Peabody entered upon this trade early. Among his vessels were the ship "Cincinnatus," John Endicott, master, which entered in September, 1803, with 307,824 pounds of pepper; and in November, 1807, commanded by William Haskell, with 347,000 pounds. The ship "Franklin," Samuel Tucker, master, which entered in September, 1810, with 539,585 pounds. The ship "Janus," John Endicott, master, which entered in December, 1809, with 537,989 pounds, and in December, 1810, with 547,795 pounds. The "Janus" sailed from Salem April 1, 1810, and arrived at the Vineyard on her return, November 26, 1810, making one of the shortest voyages ever made from Salem to Sumatra and back. These were among Mr. Peabody's early voyages. He continued the trade until about the time of his death, in 1844. The ship "Sumatra," Peter Silver, master, which entered in July, 1838, and the ship "Eclipse," George Whitemarsh, master, which entered in February, 1840, in February, 1841 and in December, 1842, and the ship "Lotos," Benjamin Balch, Jr., master, which entered in November, 1841, were among the later voyages.

Abel Lawrence & Co. were the consignees of the brig "George Washington," Timothy Bryant, master, which entered in November, 1803, and of the ship "Putnam," Nathaniel Bowditch, master, which entered in December, 1803, with 425,000 pounds of pepper and 42,000 pounds of coffee from Sumatra and the Isle of France, and paying a duty of \$27,634.67. Captain Bowditch afterwards became distinguished for his mathematical works and as an astronomer, and achieved a world-wide reputation by his treatises on navigation.

Captain Bowditch writes in his journal of this voyage:

"On your arrival at Sumatra you contract with the Dattoo for the pepper and fix the price. If more than one vessel is at the port the pepper which comes daily to the scales is shared between them as they agree. Sometimes the Dattoo contracts to load one vessel before any other is allowed to take any, and he holds to this agreement as long as he finds it for his interest to do so, and no longer, for a handsome present or an increase of the price will prevent the pepper from being brought in for several days, and the person who made the agreement must either quit the port or else give an additional price. The price in 1803 was from ten to eleven dollars per picul. The price has

risen there being now thirty sail of American vessels on the coast.

"The pepper season commences in January, when they begin to gather the small pepper at the bottom of the vine; in March, April and May is the height of the crop. The best pepper grows at the top of the vines and is gathered the last. It is larger and more solid than that gathered at an earlier period. Some suppose that the pepper is all gathered in May, but I was in some of the gardens in July, and found at the top of the vines large quantities which would be ripe in a few days. Some calculate on two crops, but from the best information I could procure, there is only one. The pepper is generally weighed on American scales. It is sold by the picul, equal to one hundred and thirty-three and one-third pounds. What is weighed in the day is paid for in the evening, they being unwilling to trust their property in the hands of those they deal with; in the same manner it is not prudent to pay in advance to the Dattoo, as it would often be difficult to get pepper or money of him again."

The ship "Good Hope," George Cleveland, master, entered in January, 1805, consigned to Nathaniel West. The ship "Freedom," John Reith, master, in January, 1805, consigned to Jonathan & Willard Peele. The bark "Eliza," Joseph Beadle, master, entered in August, 1806, consigned to Joseph White & Co. The ship "Union," George Pierce, master, entered in October, 1806, consigned to Stephen Phillips, with four hundred and sixty-five thousand two hundred and seventy-one pounds of pepper, paying a duty of \$28,506.26. The ship "Eliza," James Cook, master, entered in October, 1807, with one million twelve thousand one hundred and forty eight pounds of pepper, consigned to James Cook, and paying a duty of \$66,903.90. The ship "Herald," Z. F. Silsbee, master, entered in December, 1809, consigned to James Devereux. The bark "Active," William P. Richardson, master, entered in December, 1809, consigned to John Dodge, Jr. The bark "Camel," Holten J. Breed, master, entered in July, 1816, consigned to William Silsbee. The bark "Eliza and Mary," Nathaniel Griffen, master, consigned to William Fettyplace, entered April, 1823. The brig "Jane," Thomas Saul, master, entered in November, 1823, consigned to Willard Peele. The brig "Persia," Moses Endicott, master, in July, 1824, with one hundred and sixty thousand pounds of pepper to Dudley L. Pickman. The ship "Friendship," Charles M. Endicott, master, entered in July, 1831, consigned to William Silsbee, and the ship "Delphos," James D. Gillis, master, entered in October, 1831, consigned to Z. F. Silsbee and others. The bark "Malay," J. B. Silsbee, master, entered in November, 1836. The bark "Borneo," C. S. Huntington, master, in April, 1842, consigned to Z. F. Silsbee.

David Pingree was the consignee of the ship "Carolino Augusta," which entered in August, 1842,

and in November, 1845. She was commanded on the first voyage by E. D. Winn. Tucker Daland was the consignee of the brig "Lucilla," which entered in June, 1842 and in November, 1846. H. W. Perkins was the master on the first voyage and D. Marshall on the second. This was the last vessel to arrive at Salem from the coast of Sumatra.

The trade with Sumatra was, at one time, mainly carried on by Salem merchants, and a large proportion of the pepper consumed was distributed to all countries from the port of Salem. From the year 1799 to 1846 inclusive, but five years (1813, '14, '15, '22 and '37) passed without an entry at Salem from the island of Sumatra. During that period there were one hundred and seventy-nine arrivals, the years 1809, '10 and '23 showing ten each, the largest number in any single year.

Although the direct trade between Salem and Sumatra ceased in 1846, Salem vessels and Salem shipmasters were engaged in it until a much later date. The last Salem vessel on the coast was the ship "Australia," J. Dudley, master, owned by Stone, Silsbee & Pickman. She was there in 1860. There is no direct trade to-day between the United States and Sumatra. Captain Jonathan Carnes, of Salem, commanded the first American vessel that ever procured a cargo of pepper in bulk from the Island of Sumatra, and a Salem captain was master of the last American vessel that visited that coast. The bark "Tarquin," Thomas Kimball, master, and William F. Jelly, mate, both of Salem, arrived at New York in 1867, and this arrival closed the American trade with the Island of Sumatra. The "Tarquin" was owned by John L. Gardner, of Boston.

The energy and fearlessness of our early navigators was something almost marvellous. In vessels of but one hundred and fifty tons they boldly set sail for ports never before visited by Americans, and without chart or guide of any kind, made their way amid coral reefs and along foreign shores. Even as late as 1831, when a United States war vessel was despatched to the Island of Sumatra, no chart of the coast could be found in the possession of the government. The United States frigate "Potomac" sailed for the East Indies in 1831, and in the journal of her voyage it is stated that it was the original intention of her commander to prepare charts and sailing directions for the guidance of other mariners, but that "this duty has been much more ably performed than it could have been with our limited materials." For this important service our country is indebted to Captains Charles M. Endicott and James D. Gillis, of Salem, Mass.. The former, who was master of the "Friendship," when she was seized by the Malays at Quallah-Battoo, has been trading on this coast for more than fifteen years, and during that period he has, profitably for his country, filled up the delays incidental to a pepper voyage, by a careful and reliable survey of the coast, of which no chart was pre-

viously extant which could be relied on. Captain Endicott has since published the results of his labors in a well executed chart, which comprises all that portion of the coast which is included between Sinkel, 2° 18' and 4° 15' north. Actuated by a like commendable zeal for the commercial interests of his native country, Captain Gillis has extended the surveys to latitude 5° north, and published an excellent chart, accompanied also with sailing directions. These are important acquisitions to our knowledge of this coast, and will increase the security of our merchants and mariners. We gladly embrace this opportunity to acknowledge our obligations to both these gentlemen for much valuable information and many interesting facts.

Salem, therefore, was not only the first at Sumatra, but the first to make it safe for others to follow her lead, and as long as American vessels visited the coast their commanders were provided with copies of the charts prepared by these Salem shipmasters.

The dangers of the coral reefs were not the only ones our mariners had to contend with. The natives of the island were cruel and treacherous, and ready to commit any atrocity for the sake of plunder.

The ship "Putnam," commanded by Captain John Carlton, was captured by the Malays on the 28th of November, 1805, and several of the crew massacred. The "Putnam" was at anchor in the outer roads of Rhio (island of Bentang), where she had been trading with the natives for pepper. The captain had already closed his business at Rhio, when the fatal catastrophe took place. There was at the time a Malay brig, belonging to Lingen (a neighboring island), lying in the inner roads, besides two English brigs, viz., the "Malcolm," Captain Fenwick, and the "Transfer," Captain Matthews. On the 26th the captain, having been ashore and on board the "Malcolm" to transact some business, was informed on his return that a boat from the Lingen brig had made a visit to his ship in his absence, and from their behavior excited strong suspicions of a design to cut her off. They had also been on board several times before without any apparent business, but to gratify their curiosity. Captain Carlton, apprehensive of their design, endeavored to excite the caution and courage of his officers and crew, confident that there was no danger but from negligence or timidity. The next morning (the 27th) the captain sent the third officer to the Malay brig to forbid their again coming on board the ship. He at the same time repaired and set the boarding nettings and made other preparations for defense. About five in the afternoon his apprehensions were renewed, by observing the Malay boat again coming toward the ship, whereupon he ordered every man to arm himself, and have everything in readiness, in case of an attack; but his apprehensions were lessened on the boat's nearer approach, by observing a Chinese merchant in it. The merchant came on board and offered to barter pepper for tin, on terms which the officers

(who had wanted an opportunity of selling their private adventures) accepted, and, to make the bargain more sure, took thirty dollars of him as earnest. Not one of the Malays could, at this time, be persuaded to enter the ship, and at sunset they returned to the brig.

On the 28th Captain Carlton found it necessary to go on shore once more, to close his business with the Rajah, previous to sailing. He was much averse to leaving the ship again on account of the suspicious conduct of the Malays, who were expected on board with pepper as agreed for. However, as the brig lay to the southward, and as it blew a perfect gale to the northward, he thought there was little probability of any boat coming on board that day; he therefore took the pinnace, with Mr. Fenno, his clerk, and two hands, and proceeded on shore. On his return, about five in the afternoon, he called on board the "Malcolm" to take his leave. He had been there only a few minutes before he was alarmed by the sight of his ship's boat coming along side, with seven of the crew on board, three of them dangerously wounded, viz., Mr. Samuel Page Pierson, second officer; Stephen Holland and William Brown, the two former mortally. The men were taken on board and their wounds immediately dressed. This shocking sight but too plainly indicated the unhappy event which had taken place. The Malay boat, with sixteen men on board, had been to the ship with the pepper. It seems, notwithstanding all the causes for suspicion, they were received very unguardedly on board the ship and without the people having their arms at hand in case of an assault. The pepper was taken in, and the hands were about weighing it, when it was observed that the Malays, about six in number, were secretly receiving their creases from their fellows in the boat. On this the second officer, Mr. Pierson, stepped toward them and directed them to return to their boat.

This served as a signal to begin their savage attack, in which Mr. Pierson fell, mortally wounded. The Malays in the boat immediately reinforced their comrades in the ship. The first officer received a slight wound, and, being closely pursued, escaped over the bows. Richard Hunt followed, but afterwards got up by a rope into the fore-channels, where one of the Malays creased him through the netting and he dropped below the channels and held on for some time, but was probably badly wounded and fell into the water and was seen no more. A number of others fled at the onset of the Malays. The cook, a black fellow, by the name of George Cowley, was heard to say a few minutes before the Malays began the massacre that he would not fight if they did attempt to take the ship; he accordingly concealed himself below and was not seen after the action. A black man, by the name of Henry Annuls, was killed on deck as soon as the action began. Caesar Thomson, the steward, a mulatto, was struck at the same time, but, being

a brave man, he seized a handspike and knocked the

assailant down and another after him; but a third gave him a mortal wound. Stephen Holland, a seaman, at the beginning of the attack, got over the bows, where he stood for a few minutes, when, spying a handspike on the deck, he sprang and seized it. With this he knocked down several of the Malays, but, unfortunately, received a mortal stab at last. At length, what with those who were killed and wounded and those who had escaped to places of safety, Wm. Brown, a carpenter of the ship, was left to maintain the contest alone; which he did with great bravery and success, and was thereby the means of saving the lives of those who survived the rencontre. He had seized a strong stick, of about three feet in length, on the end of which the cook had fastened an iron coffee-mill; this was an excellent weapon, and he dealt such deadly blows among his antagonists with it that, after a severe contest, he cleared the decks of them. He received two wounds; the first was between the shoulders, but not deep, as he caught the hand of the Malay and broke the force of the blow, and with a well-aimed stroke he laid the fellow at his feet. Immediately he had three more upon him, who, finding him resolute, retreated aft, and in following them he observed a fourth, who was standing upon a cask above him, aiming at him; he attempted to seize his hand, but was not so fortunate as before; he caught his arm, however, but, his hand being bloody, it slipped up to his elbow, and the fellow creased him over the left shoulder; the force of the weapon was in some measure stopped by its striking the spine, though it went through his back on the right side of the spine. Notwithstanding this, he drove all the Malays abaft the mizzenmast, when Henry Pettit came down from the fore-top, where he had been during the action. He brought aft a handspike and kept the Malays at bay until Brown went below and brought up a spear, with which he quickly drove them all into the water, where they were picked up by their boat, which had cut their fastenings and dropped astern for that purpose. There were twelve or thirteen of the Malays who had been engaged on board; one was left dead upon deck; four were carried off wounded, some, it was supposed, mortally, during the struggle, and seven or eight were driven overboard by Mr. Brown.

Brown and Pettit then attempted to fire a swivel into the boat as she passed under the stern; but the confusion of the scene probably prevented their priming it properly, so that it did not go off. The Malays being thus driven out of the ship, Brown ran fore and aft, in order to rally those of his shipmates who had abandoned him in the conflict, calling out that the decks were clear and they might return with safety. Having collected them together, Brown advised the chief officer to display a signal that would bring them assistance from the ships in the inner roads; but the officer being fearful of their returning to a second attack, gave orders for abandoning the

ship, though the boat had by this time pulled off two or three miles, more in fear, no doubt, of being destroyed by a shot from the ship than with any idea of renewing their attack upon her; only half of their number remaining in a condition for action, one having been killed and seven others wounded. The Malays observing the ship to be thus abandoned by the crew, returned, of course, and took possession of her.

The mortification of Captain Carlton at being in this sudden and unhappy manner deprived of his ship is not to be described. He immediately applied to the English vessels to assist him in attempting her recovery. Captain Fenwick, of the "Malcolm," very promptly, and Captain Matthews, of the "Transfer," with reluctance, consented to pursue the pirates. They accordingly set sail, and at eight that evening anchored in the straits of Lingen. At daylight the next morning they weighed anchor and steered for Lingen; at eight A.M. saw the pirates from the top gallant-yards; at half past five P.M. the "Malcolm" was within cannon-shot, but the "Transfer," not sailing so well, three or four leagues astern; at six, within pistol-shot of the ship, and the pirate brig about musket-shot distance, on the lee quarter of the "Malcolm." The ship then commenced firing and the "Malcolm" immediately returned a broadside with a discharge of musketry. The brig also hauled to and brought her bow-chasers, the only guns she had to bear, on the "Malcolm" and fired them once, without any judgment or effect. The ship, whose guns were in excellent order, well-leveled and supplied with plenty of powder and round shot, kept up a well-directed fire for half an hour, and the "Malcolm" received considerable damage in her hull, rigging and boats; and Mr. Trask, the first officer of the "Transfer," but who had gone on board the "Malcolm" as a volunteer, was unfortunately killed. The "Malcolm," during this rencontre, kept up as brisk a fire as circumstances would admit of. She was badly equipped for fighting. She had no gun-tackle and only two rammers and sponges, and one of those was lost early in the action, and only seven men to work the guns. Her deck was extremely round, and the brig very crank; and the guns being fought to leeward, they upset every time they were discharged, and several times pitched out of the ports, breech up, and stood perpendicularly. Yet, under all these disadvantages, the "Malcolm" discharged as many as ten broadsides; the musketry, also, was well served, and the pirates were completely silenced in half an hour and bore away, and had it been earlier in the day, the ship would probably have been recovered. At the close of the action the third officer of the "Putnam" was badly wounded in his right hand and arm by the going off of a gun while he was loading her. When the "Transfer" came up Captain Matthews was requested to follow on and renew the action, but he declined, and, as he was depended on

as the pilot, Captain Fenwick was obliged to follow him, and they hauled to, to the eastward, and anchored, while the pirates were left to proceed unmolested. At daylight next morning they hove up and made sail for Lingen; again discovered the pirates, and at three P.M. were on the point of renewing the attack upon them, when Matthews tacked about, and they were obliged again to give up the ship when she seemed almost to be in their possession, and follow the "Transfer" towards Lingen.

At daylight, December 1st, they found that they were in shore of the pirates. Matthews got first under way; but, to the astonishment of those on board the "Malcolm," hauled on a course directly from them. Captain Fenwick, judging it not prudent to pursue alone, followed the "Transfer" into Lingen roads, leaving the pirates in quiet possession of their prize, when another opportunity had presented of recovering her with little effort. Captain Carlton, after this, made application to the Governor of Malacca and to Admiral Trowbridge for assistance to recover his ship, but could obtain none, and was obliged to submit to the mortification of giving her up as a total loss.

The foregoing account is gathered from correspondence published in the Salem papers at the time of the piracy.

The ship "Marquis de Somerulas," Captain Story, was attacked by the Malays at Sumatra September 18, 1806, and one man was killed and several wounded, but the crew succeeded in driving away the attacking party.

The ship "Friendship," Charles M. Endicott, master, was attacked at the port of Quallah-Battoo by the native Malays. The first mate, Charles Knight, was killed and several of the seamen wounded.

Captain Endicott was ashore at the time, receiving pepper to be sent on board. Observing something unusual in the conduct of those aboard the ship, Captain Endicott determined to return to her at once, but hardly had he started with his men when crowds of Malays began to assemble on the banks of the river, brandishing their weapons and otherwise menacing him. At the same time three Malay boats, with forty or fifty men each, came out of the river and pulled toward the ship. Convinced that the only way to recover the ship was by obtaining assistance from some other vessel, Captain Endicott directed his boat's course to Muckie, a port about twenty-five miles distant, where he knew two or three American vessels were lying. Arriving there, he found three vessels, among them the brig "Governor Endicott," of Salem, H. H. Jenks, master, and the ship "James Monroe," J. Porter, master, of New York. These vessels proceeded at once to Quallah-Battoo. The "Friendship" was meanwhile in the possession of the Malays, who plundered her of the specie and every other movable article. Four of her crew jumped overboard at the time of the attack, and swam a distance of two miles before they could find a safe place

to land. After wandering about in the bushes, almost without food, for three days, they found a canoe, and made their way to the residence of a friendly native, named Po Adam, who furnished them with clothing and carried them aboard one of the American vessels. Upon the arrival at Quallah-Battoo of the three vessels, before mentioned, an attack was made upon the town, and the "Friendship" was boarded and recaptured. Her voyage having been broken up, the "Friendship" returned to Salem, where she arrived July 16, 1831. About a year thereafter the United States frigate "Potomac," before referred to, bombarded Quallah-Battoo as a punishment for the conduct of the natives towards an American vessel.

Another Salem vessel, the "Eclipse," had a somewhat similar experience on the coast of Sumatra in 1838. While the mate and four hands were ashore, a party of Malays boarded the vessel and killed the captain, Charles P. Wilkins. The crew, finding themselves overpowered, escaped, some by ascending the shrouds, and some by jumping overboard and swimming ashore. The Malays then plundered the ship of specie, opium and everything else of value, and departed with their ill-gotten gains. The men aloft descended, lowered their boat, and rowed to a French bark lying at an adjoining port. The next morning the crew returned to the vessel, and during the night they set sail and left the island. The "Eclipse" had a sad ending. She sailed from Sumatra July 10, 1849, under command of Captain Daniel Cross, and was never after heard from. She had on board a cargo of pepper, consigned to Tucker Daland and Henry L. Williams.

THE MANILA TRADE.—In the early days of Salem commerce, when her enterprising and energetic merchants were seeking to establish trade with hitherto unknown countries, and her ships were ploughing the seas which had never before floated an American vessel, the ship "Astrea," commanded by Henry Prince, and owned by that king among merchants, Elias Hasket Derby, entered the harbor of Manila, the capital city of the Philippine Islands, situated on the island of Luzon. Obtaining there a cargo of 750,000 pounds of sugar, 63,695 pounds of pepper, and 29,767 pounds of indigo, she entered at Salem in May, 1797, and paid a duty on her cargo of \$24,020. A journal of this voyage, kept by Nathaniel Bowditch, afterwards so famous as a mathematician, is on the files of the East India Marine Society. The "Astrea" left Salem March 27, 1796, and went to Lisbon, Madeira and Manila, arriving at the latter place October 3, 1796. On the passage home, February 18, 1797, the ship sprung a leak, and two men were obliged to be kept at the pumps constantly from that time till the 22d of May, 1797, when the vessel arrived at Salem.

In the precise and rather formal handwriting of Dr. Bowditch we find in his journal the following account of his experience at Manila:

"The city of Manila is about three or four miles in circumference, is walled all round, and cannon are placed at proper intervals; but we were unable to get much information with respect to the state of the place, as they were shy of giving any information to foreigners. The buildings within the walls are all of stone, and none except the churches are more than two stories high, on account of the violent earthquakes, which they have generally at the breaking up of the Monsoon. The month of March is when they most expect them, but on the 5th of November, 1797, we experienced several violent shocks at about two P.M., which came from the northward and proceeded in a southerly direction, continuing with violence nearly two minutes. It threw down a large house a half a league from the city, untiled several buildings, and did much other damage. It was not observed on board the ship lying off the bar. The motion of the earthquake was quicker than those usual in America, as the latter are generally preceded by a rumbling noise; the former was not.

"The suburbs of Manila are very extensive, and most of the business is done there. The houses of the wealthier class are of two stories, built of stone; the poorer sort live in bamboo houses with thatched roofs. No house can be built in the suburbs without the particular permission of the Governor, in which the dimensions of the buildings are stated, fearing, if they are too high, that an enemy might make use of them for attacking the city, as was the case when the English took the place formerly, for one of the churches near the walls was very serviceable to them; it has since been pulled down.

"There are but few Europeans in the settlement; all the women have a little of the Indian blood in their veins, excepting the lady of the Governor and two or three others, though by successive intermarriages with Europeans they have obtained a fair complexion. The natives (like all other Malays) are excessively fond of gaming and cock-fighting. A theatre is established for the latter business, from which the government draws an immense revenue, this diversion being prohibited at any other place; sometimes there are 5,000 or 6,000 spectators, each of which pays half a rial. A large sum arises from the duties on tobacco and cocoa wine. Tobacco is prohibited, but if you smuggle any on shore, it cannot be sold for more than the cost in America, notwithstanding the retail price is very high; particular people, licensed by the king, are the only persons allowed to deal in it. All the natives chew drea and betel, though not mixed with opium, as in Batavia. This, with chewing and smoking tobacco, makes the teeth very black. The cigars used by the women, and which they smoke all day, are made as large as they can possibly get into their mouths. The natives are about as honest as their neighbors, the Chinese; they stole several things from us, but, by the goodness of the police, we recovered most of them. On the 3d of

December, 1797, they broke into the house where we lived, entered the chamber where Captain Prince and myself were asleep, and carried off a bag containing one thousand dollars without awaking either of us or any of the crew of the long boat, sleeping in the adjoining chamber. The guard boat discovered them as they were escaping and pursued them; they, in endeavoring to escape, ran afoul of a large boat, which, upsetting them, the money went to the bottom, and, what was worse, the bag burst and the money was all scattered in the mud, where the water was eight feet deep; however, by the honesty of the captain of the guard, most of it was recovered. The thieves were caught, and, when we were there in 1800, Mr. Kerr informed us that they had been whipped and were to be kept in servitude several years.

"The same day another robbery was committed equally as daring. The day the indigo was shipped the second mate came ashore with several of the people to see it safe on board. The boats we had provided not taking all of it, we sent the remainder aboard with a black fellow to guard, who was esteemed by Mr. Kerr as an honest fellow, but he had been contriving to steal a couple of boxes. When the 'Casco,' containing the indigo, had passed the bar, a small boat came aboard with two boxes filled with chips, stones, etc., appearing in every respect exactly like those full of indigo, and pretending that we had put on board two wrong boxes, they exchanged their boxes for two real boxes of indigo, but in bringing them ashore they were detected and the indigo returned.

"There are great numbers of Chinese at Manila, but they are all obliged to become Catholics. It is from them that most of the sugar is purchased. They trade considerably with China. Their junks arrive at Manila in January, and all their goods are deposited and sold from the Custom-House."

From 1797 to 1858, the date of the last arrival from this port, there were eighty-two entries at Salem from Manila. The period from 1829 to 1839 shows the largest number of arrivals, thirty of the eighty-two entries being made during that time.

The ship "Folansbe," Jonathan Mason, Jr., master, entered in May, 1799, with sugar and indigo, consigned to John Collins & Co. The ship "Laurel," Daniel Sage, master, entered in July, 1801, with 115,133 pounds of indigo and 124,683 of sugar, consigned to William Gray, and paying a duty of \$32,382.26.

The ship "Fame," Jeremiah Briggs, master, entered in March, 1804, consigned to Jacob Crowninshield. The "Fame" visited the coast of Cochin China in search of sugar and Captain Briggs in his journal relates the following interesting incidents connected with his visit:

"The king of Cochin China has about five hundred vessels of war of all denominations, principally boats from about forty to ninety feet long, a number of junks and four ships carrying thirty guns each, about

four hundred tons, rigged and sailed European method. The boats that are reserved for the use of the royal family are the most elegant work that I ever saw; the painting was superb. The one which is called the king's is one hundred feet long and not a butt in her. She mounts eight guns, six pounders, and one twenty-four pounder. I saw a great number of brass cannon, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, that were cast in the country. Elephants are kept to the number of five hundred, trained for war. The first mandarin is captain of two companies and likewise these animals. They are manœvered by a boy sitting on their head with a hook, with which he turns them. The city is composed of an astonishing number of small huts thatched. There is no other kind of house except those of the first mandarins. The council-house is a large building. I suppose it would contain one thousand people. It is entirely open in front, they having a looking-glass about ten feet long in it. There was a very large stone, about eight feet long, two and a half wide and one and a half thick; it was hung with a bolt through the middle and so nicely balanced that the touch of a finger would set it going; by striking it with a stick it would ring like a bell. The citadel or fort is about three-fourths of a mile in circumference; it has a wall of twenty-five feet, which the present king is now extending two miles. The streets are laid out in European style. He has now one hundred thousand men at work laying out the roads, building the walls, etc. The king himself attends every day. He is mounted on an elephant. His dress is yellow silk, and he is attended by a guard of two hundred men armed with spears, each spear with hair upon it dyed red. He keeps thirty-two concubines. They all live together in one house, which they are not allowed to leave. It is built upon the water and communicates with the land by a bridge. The king is thirty-one years of age, a man very well informed. Their churches are entirely without ornament. I saw a number of the Cochin Chinese that were Christians. They appeared very mild in their manners."

The ship "Essex," Joseph Orne, master, entered in May, 1805, with sugar and indigo from Manila, consigned to William Orne, and paying a duty of \$18,443.70. The ship "Horace," John Parker, master, entered in May, 1806, consigned to William Gray. The ship "Exeter," Thomas B. Osgood, master, entered in June, 1806, with 14,589 pounds of indigo and 702,064 of sugar, consigned to Benjamin Pickman, Jr., and paying a duty of \$23,526.33.

From 1806 to 1816, there seems to have been no entry from Manila at the port of Salem. The ship "Endeavour," Timothy Bryant, master, entered in May, 1816, consigned to Nathan Robinson. The ship "Perseverance," Samuel Hodgdon, master, in May, 1820, consigned to Williard Peele. The brig "Ann," Charles Millett, master, in July, 1824, consigned to Henry Prince. The brig "Peru," William Johnson,

Jr., master, in April, 1825, consigned to Stephen C. Phillips. The ship "Endeavour," James D. Gillis, master, in September, 1826, consigned to Nathaniel Silsbee. The bark "Derby," Allen Putnam, master; entered in March, 1827; in April, 1829; J. H. Eagleston, master; and again in July, 1832, J. W. Cheever, master, consigned to Stephen C. Phillips. The ship "Mandarin," William Osgood, master, entered in March, 1830, consigned to Pickering Dodge. The ship "Sumatra," Charles Roundy, master, entered in November, 1832, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Charles Doggett," William Driver, master, entered in November, 1832, consigned to Richard S. Rogers. The ship "Lotus," George W. Jenks, master, entered in June, 1832, consigned to Pickering Dodge. The ship "Brookline," Charles H. Allen, master, entered in April, 1837, consigned to Stephen C. Phillips. The ship "Caroline," Charles H. Fabens, master, entered in April, 1842, consigned to David Pingree. The ship "St. Paul," belonging to Stephen C. Phillips, was almost as famous in connection with Salem's trade with Manila as was the ship "George" in the Calcutta trade. The "St. Paul" made twelve voyages between Salem and Manila. She sailed on her first voyage from Salem June 3, 1838, and arrived at Manila in one hundred days, which was the shortest passage made by the ship from Salem to Manila. She reached Salem, on her return, in April, 1839, in one hundred and forty-eight days from Manila. Joseph Winn, Jr., commanded the ship on this voyage, having also been master on her previous voyage from New York to Manila, and back to Salem, where she arrived, for the first time, April 29, 1838. On her second and third voyages she was commanded by George Pierce, and entered at Salem April 4, 1840, and July 7, 1841. Joseph Warren Osborn was master on the fourth and fifth voyages, and she arrived at Salem August 8, 1842, and January 8, 1844, making on the last voyage the long passage of one hundred and eighty-eight days. On her sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth voyages, she was commanded by Charles H. Allen, entering at Salem March 17, 1845, March 12, 1846, March 19, 1847, and April 6, 1848. William B. Davis was master on her tenth voyage, sailing from Salem May 18, 1848, and returning March 26, 1849. On her eleventh and twelfth voyages she was commanded by Charles H. Allen, returning to Salem on her eleventh voyage January 7, 1851, and sailing from Salem, on her twelfth voyage, July 5, 1851. On the 9th of December, 1851, she went ashore on Masbata Island, in the Straits of San Bernardino. She was subsequently raised and sold to Spanish parties, but never returned to Salem.

The last arrival at Salem from Manila was the bark "Dragon," Thomas C. Dunn, master, which entered in July, 1858, with a cargo of hemp, consigned to Benjamin A. West. Salem merchants continued the trade with Manila for some time there-

after, but their vessels entered and cleared at other ports. Tucker Daland and Henry L. Williams, Henry Gardner, B. W. Stone & Brothers and Silsbee & Pickman were extensively engaged in this trade. The last-named firm still continues the trade with Manila.

THE ISLE OF FRANCE TRADE.—In the Indian Ocean, not far from the eastern coast of Madagascar, lies a small island, called the Isle of France, or Mauritius. The climate of this island is remarkably fine. Throughout the year the thermometer ranges from 76° to 90° in the shade. The Dutch formed a settlement there in 1644, but subsequently abandoned it. A more successful attempt to form a permanent establishment was made by the French in 1721. It remained in French hands until the year 1810, when it was taken by the British in an expedition under General Abercromby, and has since remained a British possession.

When the merchants of Salem, after the close of the Revolutionary War, sought to establish commercial intercourse with foreign ports never before visited by American vessels, the Isle of France was among the first places to which they sent their ships to bring home cargoes of sugar, which was the staple article of export. Elias Hasket Derby dispatched the "Grand Turk," Ebenezer West, master, there in November, 1785, and she returned to Salem in June, 1787, making the first voyage from New England to the Isle of France. In December, 1787, the "Grand Turk" made another voyage to the Isle of France, under the charge of Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. He sold the vessel, and remained on the island about a year, when he went to India and thence back to Salem.

Of the arrivals at the Isle of France in 1789, ten were from Salem, five from Boston, two from Philadelphia, one from Virginia, three from Baltimore, one from Beverly and one from Providence.

The schooner "Richard and Edward," George Crowninshield, master, entered January 4, 1790, consigned to George Crowninshield. The brig "William," Thomas West, master, entered in December, 1791, consigned to William Gray. The ship "Henry," Jacob Crowninshield, master, cleared for the Isle of France June 25, 1791. She was of one hundred and ninety tons burden, and carried ten men. Her outward cargo consisted of 60 boxes of wax and 50 boxes of sperm candles, 18 barrels hams, 3000 feet of oars, 14 tons iron, 13 hogsheads tobacco, 17 casks oil, 102 barrels beef and pork, 27 casks ale, 6 kegs flints, 287 barrels flour, 424 cases and 190 jugs of Geneva, 25 boxes soap, 6 boxes chocolate, 43 kegs lard, 62 quintals fish, 6 hogsheads West India rum, 12 bags pimento, 16 cannon, 88 hundredweight shot, 1 hoghead, 4 crates ware, 40 barrels tar, 4 barrels pitch, 30,000 feet lumber, 175 casks powder, 7 saddles and bridles, 12 tables and 5 desks. She entered on her return in November, 1792, with 172,749 pounds of sugar, consigned to Elias Hasket Derby. The brig "Hind," John Beckford, master, entered in January, 1793,

consigned to William Gray. The brig "Peggy," Amos Hilton, master, entered in August, 1793, consigned to John Fisk. The ship "Aurora," Thomas Meek, master, entered in March, 1794, with 424,034 pounds of sugar, consigned to William Gray.

The ship "Benjamin," one hundred and sixty-one tons, Nathaniel Silsbee, master, cleared for India December 10, 1792, and entered in July, 1794, from the Isle of France with cotton, indigo, sugar and pepper, consigned to Elias H. Derby. Her outward cargo consisted of tobacco, cordage, shooks, iron, lead, salt, provisions and earthen ware. Twelve thousand glass tumblers, costing less than \$1000, were exported in this ship and arriving when there was no glass-ware on the island, sold for \$12,000. Captain Silsbee was but twenty years old when he assumed command of the "Benjamin." The brig "Peggy," John Edwards, Jr., master, entered in May, 1795, consigned to John Fisk. The brig "Rose," John Felt, master, entered in July, 1795, consigned to Elias H. Derby. The ship "Belisarius," George Crowninshield, Jr., master, entered in July, 1795, with tea, coffee and indigo, consigned to George Crowninshield & Co., and again in October, 1796, with the same description of cargo. The brig "Hope," Samuel Lambert, master, entered in June, 1796, consigned to Ashton & Lambert. The ship "Martha," George Ropes, master, entered from the Isles of France and Bourbon in May, 1797, with 416,993 pounds of coffee, 136,617 pounds of sugar and 13,262 pounds of cotton, consigned to Elias H. Derby, and paying a duty of \$23,317 88. The ketch "Eliza," Stephen Phillips, master, entered in July, 1797, consigned to Elias H. Derby. The brig "Katy," Job Trask, master, entered in July, 1797, consigned to Benjamin Pickman, Jr.

There were nine entries at Salem from the Isle of France in 1798, the largest number in any single year. Among the entries were the ketch "Brothers," John Felt, master, in April, consigned to Ezekiel H. Derby; the ship "Martha," John Prince, Jr., master, in June, consigned to Elias H. Derby, with 260,000 pounds of coffee, 336,603 of sugar and 17,803 of cotton, paying a duty of \$24,943 47, and the bark "Vigilant," Daniel Hathorne, master, in October, consigned to Simon Forrester.

The trade with the Isle of France was largely carried on by Elias Hasket Derby, and after his death, in 1799, the Salem trade with this island decreased. The years 1797 and 1798 show seventeen arrivals and were the years when the most trade was carried on between Salem and this island. There were a few direct arrivals after 1798. The bark "Two Brothers," Samuel Rea, master, entered in April, 1806, consigned to Thorndike Deland. The brig "Sukey," Henry Prince, Jr., master, entered in August, 1808, consigned to Stephen Phillips. There were a few arrivals in later years, and some vessels bound to or from other ports touched at this island; but the largest direct trade was prior to the year 1800.

THE MOCHA TRADE.—On the 26th of April, 1798, Captain Joseph Ropes, in the ship "Recovery," left Salem, bound direct for Mocha, Arabia Felix, with fifty thousand dollars in specie, and arrived at that port on the 9th of September. This was the first American vessel that ever displayed the stars and stripes in that part of the world. The captain says that the arrival of the strange ship was viewed with great interest by the authorities, who could not divine from whence she came, and made frequent inquiries to know how many moons she had been coming. Captain Ropes went from Mocha to Calcutta, and thence to Salem. The first vessel to arrive at Salem from Mocha with a full cargo of coffee was the ship "Recovery," Luther Dana, master, which arrived in October, 1801, with 216,286 pounds of coffee consigned to Elias H. Derby, 7,485 pounds to Henry Prince, 11,825 pounds to Nathaniel Bowditch, 34,917 pounds to Clifford Crowninshield and 33,181 pounds to Nathan Robinson, and paying a duty of \$16,844.39. The ship "Ulysses," Henry Elkins, master, entered from Mocha and Muscat in January, 1802, consigned to George Crowninshield & Sons. The brig "Edwin," Joseph J. Knapp, master, entered in November, 1803, consigned to Charles Cleveland & Co. The ship "Bonetta," Benjamin Russell, master, entered from Mocha in February, 1804, with 268,851 pounds of coffee consigned to Benjamin Pickman, Jr.

In 1805, there were eight arrivals from Mocha, the largest number in any single year; and during that year there was landed at Salem over two million pounds of Mocha coffee. The entries were: the ship "Margaret," Henry Elkins, master; the ship "Two Sons," Thomas Ball, master; and the ship "America," Benjamin Crowninshield, master,—all consigned to George Crowninshield & Sons; the brig "Suwarrow," William Leach, Jr., master, consigned to William Leach and others; the bark "Eliza," Joseph Beadle, master, consigned to Joseph White; the ship "Mary," Samuel King, master, from Aden, consigned to John Norris; the ship "Commerce," Thomas Bancroft, master, consigned to Nathaniel West; and the bark "Mary," Daniel Bray, Jr., master, consigned to Benjamin Derby and John Derby.

George Crowninshield & Sons had three vessels which entered from Mocha in 1806; the ship "Margaret," Henry Elkins, master; the ship "John," William Fairfield, master; and the brig "Telema-chus," Benjamin Frye, master. The ship "Franklin," Timothy Wellman, 3d, from Mocha and Aden, entered in December, 1808, with 532,365 pounds of coffee consigned to Joseph Peabody, and paying a duty of \$26,618.25. The brig "Coromandel," William Messervy, master, entered in October, 1813, with a cargo of coffee consigned to John Derby, and paying a duty of \$28,587.60. The brig "Beulah," Charles Forbes, master, entered from Mocha in April, 1820, consigned to John W. Rogers. The brig "Ann," Charles Millett, master, entered in

May, 1827, consigned to Michael Shepard. After the opening of the Zanzibar trade the vessels engaged in that trade visited Mocha and obtained a part of their cargo there, and to the account of that trade reference may be had for later dates.

THE MADAGASCAR TRADE.—The American trade with the island of Madagascar was opened by Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers, eminent and enterprising merchants of Salem. Robert Brookhouse was also among the pioneers of this trade. The brig "Thetis," Charles Forbes, master, appears to be the first vessel to enter, with a full cargo from that island. She arrived in November, 1821, with 216,519 pounds of tallow, consigned to J. W. & R. S. Rogers. The brig "Beulah," Charles Forbes, master, which entered from Mocha in April, 1820, consigned to John W. Rogers, touched at Madagascar on her passage, and brought from there a small quantity of tallow. This appears to be the first American vessel to trade at Madagascar. The brig "Climax," G. W. Grafton, master, entered in March, 1822, consigned to Robert Brookhouse. The brig "Thetis," William Bates, master, made three voyages, entering in January, 1823, in February, 1824, and in January, 1825, consigned to Richard S. Rogers. The brig "Reaper," Robert Brookhouse, Jr., master, entered in December, 1824, consigned to Robert Brookhouse. The brig "Nereus," B. W. Brookhouse, master, entered in December, 1825, consigned to Nathaniel L. Rogers. The brig "Susan," Stephen Burchmore, master, entered in August, 1826, consigned to Robert Brookhouse.

At the time of the opening of the trade with Madagascar Zanzibar was a small settlement, and no trade was carried on there, gum-copal, the principal staple, being carried to India by the Sultan's vessels, to be cleaned. The trade with Zanzibar was an extension of the Madagascar trade. The vessels subsequently engaged in that trade usually touched at Madagascar and Mocha, and made up their cargoes in part in each place. In the account of the Zanzibar trade will be found the later arrivals.

THE ZANZIBAR TRADE.—As Salem had been first at Sumatra and Madagascar, so she was first at Zanzibar. But little of the uncleaned gum-copal, which was the staple article of export, was brought to this country until after the "Black Warrior," belonging largely to N. L. Rogers, and commanded by John Bertram, was there in 1831. Captain Bertram arrived at Zanzibar while the Sultan's frigate was lying in the harbor, ready to carry the gum-copal to India, and made a bargain for what was on hand and for future cargoes. The "Black Warrior" arrived in Salem in March, 1832, with the first large quantity of uncleaned gum-copal that had been imported into this country. For some time thereafter the gum-copal trade was monopolized by Salem merchants, and all the gum-copal used was distributed from the port of Salem.

But the "Black Warrior," although taking the first large cargo from Zanzibar, was not the first vessel to open trade with that port. The brig "Ann," Charles Millett, master, and owned by Henry Prince & Son, left Salem March 12, 1826, for Mocha. When she arrived there, in June, Captain Millett found a great scarcity of bread-stuffs, and, leaving a clerk in charge of the business, he left Mocha for Zanzibar and Lamo, where he obtained a cargo of small grain, and purchased ivory and other articles for the homeward cargo. The "Ann" went from Zanzibar to Mocha, and from thence to Salem, arriving May 9, 1827. This was the opening of American trade with Zanzibar. The same vessel made a second voyage to Zanzibar, leaving Salem August 9, 1827, arriving home April 10, 1829, having visited many new ports on the east coast of Africa. On the passage home, February 20, the "Ann" lost her masts and was otherwise badly wrecked. She also lost her mate and two men. For their skill in navigating the vessel into port the insurance companies presented the commander with a service of plate; his clerk, John Webster, with a silver pitcher; and the rest of his men with three hundred and thirty dollars.

The three-masted schooner "Spy," Andrew Ward, master, ninety-one tons, appears to be the first vessel to enter at the Salem Custom-House from Zanzibar. She arrived at Salem August 11, 1827, one hundred and ten days from Zanzibar, with a cargo consigned to Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers. Captain Ward reported that the "Susan," Burchard, master, touched at Zanzibar about the 1st of March, and that the "Fawn," of Salem, had also been there. The "Spy" was built at Essex in 1823, and was the first three-masted schooner of which there is any record. On the 12th of January, 1825, the brig "Laurel," Lovett, master, owned by Robert Brookhouse, left Salem for South America. Finding markets dull, the captain sailed for ports east of the Cape of Good Hope, and, about the 10th of July, left Port Louis, Mauritius, for Zanzibar, stopping at the island of Johanna on the way. This was the first time the American flag was displayed at that Island, and the king gave a reception in honor of the event. The vessel arrived at Zanzibar the 20th of July, 1825, and, although not the first to open trade, seems to be the first to have displayed the American flag at that port. From Zanzibar the "Laurel" proceeded to Mombas, and from there to Patta, Lamo and other small places, in all of which she appears to have displayed the American flag for the first time. The "Laurel" arrived in Salem, on her return passage, June 3, 1826.

From the year 1827, when the "Spy" entered from Zanzibar, to the year 1870, when the last entry from that port was made at Salem, there were one hundred and eighty-nine arrivals from Zanzibar. The period from 1840 to 1860 was the time of the greatest activity in this trade, one hundred and forty-five of the one hundred and eighty-nine entries being made be-

tween those years. Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers, John Bertram, Michael Shepard, David Pingree, Joseph Peabody, Andrew Ward, Nathaniel Weston, James B. Curwen, Ephraim Emmerton, Tucker Daland, Michael W. Shepard, George West and Benjamin A. West were among those engaged in this trade.

Among the earlier arrivals were the brig "Cipher," S. Smith, master, in March, 1834; the brig "Tigria," John G. Waters, master, in July, 1834, consigned to David Pingree; the brig "Thomas Perkins," J. P. Page, master, in November, 1834, consigned to Putnam I. Farnham; the brig "Leander," J. S. Kimball, master, in April 1836, and again in August, 1837, consigned to Joseph Peabody; the brig "Palm," N. W. Andrews, master, in November, 1836, consigned to John Bertram; the brig "Cherokee," W. B. Smith, master, in April, 1837, consigned to Michael Shepard; the bark "Star," E. Brown, master, in November, 1839, again in 1842, W. B. Smith, master, and again in September, 1846, in October, 1847, and in January, 1849, William McFarland, master, consigned to Michael Shepard; the brig "Richmond," William B. Bates, master, in October, 1840, to Ephraim Emmerton; the brig "Rolla," A. S. Perkins, master, in January, 1841, and again in January, 1843, consigned to David Pingree; the brig "Rattler," F. Brown, master, in May, 1841, and again in 1843, J. Lambert, master, consigned to Michael Shepard; the bark "Brenda," Andrew Ward, master, in March, 1844, with one hundred and forty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-four pounds of dates and other merchandise, consigned to Michael Shepard and John Bertram; the brig "Richmond," William B. Bates, master, entered in December, 1845, consigned to Ephraim Emmerton; the bark "Eliza," A. S. Perkins, master, entered in May, 1846, consigned to George West and David Pingree; the bark "Orb," W. Cross, master, entered in November, 1846, and again in March, 1848, C. F. Rhoades, master, consigned to Tucker Daland; the bark "Sophronia," B. R. Peabody, master, entered in January 1849, and again, E. A. Emmerton, master, in October, 1850, consigned to Ephraim Emmerton; the bark "Iosco," Groves, master, entered in January, 1852, consigned to Michael W. Shepard, and again in December, 1852, consigned to John Bertram.

Space will not permit the enumeration of any large proportion of the arrivals from this port, but enough have been given to indicate the merchants who were engaged in the Zanzibar trade. Many of the vessels touched at Madagascar and Mocha, and obtained a part of their cargoes at those places. For years this trade was largely in the hands of Salem merchants, and Salem was the principal point of distribution for ivory, gum-copal and Mocha coffee.

Among the vessels lost while engaged in this trade was the bark "Peacock," Joseph Moseley, master, and owned by John Bertram, which was wrecked on

a reef near Majunga, Madagascar, August 6, 1855, and with the cargo was a total loss. The bark "Arabia," John Wallis, master, and owned by Benjamin A. West, sailed from Salem, on her first voyage, July 4, 1857. On the passage home, May 9, 1858, while off the Cape of Good Hope, she fell in with the "Ariadne," bound from Bombay to Boston. This being in a crippled and sinking condition, her crew, twenty-three in number, were taken on board the "Arabia." The supply of water was inadequate for so large an addition to their number, and Captain Wallis thought it prudent to enter Table Bay and procure an additional supply. At the entrance to the bay the "Arabia" was becalmed. The night was dark, and about 2 A.M., the vessel struck on a reef and became a total loss. The cargo was saved and sold. The bark "Iosco," Claussen, master, and owned by John Bertram, was wrecked on a reef off Zanzibar, July 7, 1858. Both vessel and cargo were lost. The bark "Guide," McMullen, master, and owned by John Bertram, was wrecked on the Ras Hoforn, east coast of Africa, on the night of September 4, 1860, and with her cargo was a total loss. The bark "Jersey," James S. Williams, master, owned by John Bertram, was built at Salem in 1869, and was wrecked at Madagascar on her first voyage.

The large importation of uncleaned gum-copal, an article which, prior to 1832, had been sent to India to be cleaned, led to the establishment by Jonathan Whipple of a factory at the foot of Turner Street, in Salem, to clean and prepare the gum for the market. Prior to the establishment of Mr. Whipple's factory, Daniel Hammond had been engaged in cleaning the gum, but Mr. Whipple was the first to establish the business on an extensive scale. At first the gum was cleaned by being scraped with a knife. Mr. Whipple soon introduced the process of washing it with an alkali. The uncleaned gum was deposited in tubs of alkali liquor and allowed to stand over night. It was then taken and placed upon large platforms in the open air, and carefully dried and brushed. The gum was then sorted as to size and color.

This business was established about 1835, and increased very rapidly. Mr. Whipple commenced by employing four or five men, but at the time of his death, in 1850, the number of men employed averaged thirty-five or forty, and the amount of gum cleaned each year was about one million five hundred thousand pounds, the gum losing in weight about one-quarter part during the process of cleaning. Mr. Whipple was succeeded by his sons, who continued the business under the name of Stephen Whipple & Brothers. The business was prosperous until the year 1861, when an import duty of ten cents a pound was imposed on the uncleaned gum. The gum was thereafter cleaned on the coast of Africa before shipment, and the business diminished until it was finally abandoned altogether.

The trade with Zanzibar, Madagascar, Arabia and

the east coast of Africa has been continued by Salem merchants from the summer of 1826, when the "Ann" was there, to the present day. In 1846, Salem had nine vessels there. The successors of the firm of John Bertram still continue the trade, but their vessels no longer enter the port of Salem. The last arrival at Salem from Zanzibar was the bark "Glide," May 1, 1870, and this was also the last arrival at Salem of any vessel owned in Salem from beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TRADE.—When the merchants of Salem, at the close of the Revolutionary War, sent their vessels on long voyages, the Cape of Good Hope was among the first places visited. In this as in most other trades established with distant countries Elias Hasket Derby was the first to lead the way. In 1781 he built at the South Shore a fast sailing ship of three hundred tons called the "Grand Turk" for use as a privateer. She carried twenty-two guns, and was remarkably successful in capturing prizes. In November, 1784, Mr. Derby despatched this vessel, under command of Jonathan Ingersoll, on the first voyage from Salem to the Cape of Good Hope. The cargo of the "Grand Turk" consisted, in part, of rum, which was sold to an English East India-man and delivered at the Island of St. Helena. From there she returned to Salem, via the West Indies, arriving in 1785. He bought in the West Indies, Grenada rum enough to load two vessels, sent home the "Grand Turk," and returned himself in the "Atlantic."

A striking incident is connected with this voyage of Captain Ingersoll. On his passage to Salem he rescued the master and mate of the English schooner "Amity," whose crew had mutinied and set their officers adrift in a boat. After their arrival at Salem, Captain Duncanson of the "Amity" was sitting one day with Mr. Derby in his counting-room, and while using his spy-glass he saw his own vessel in the offing. Mr. Derby promptly manned one of his own brigs, put two pieces of ordnance on board of her, and, taking with him the English captain, boarded and recaptured the "Amity."

Mr. Derby purchased a vessel which had been captured from the British during the Revolutionary War. He named her the "Light Horse." This bark he sent, in January, 1787, to the Cape of Good Hope, under command of John Tucker.

The captain wrote his first letter from Table Bay, dated May 15, 1787, giving an account of a sale of part of the cargo. From the Cape he went to the Isle of France, sold the remainder of his cargo, loaded with coffee and some India goods, and returned to Salem, arriving in January, 1788.

The brig "Hope," of one hundred and sixty tons burden, carrying eight men, made an annual voyage between Salem and the Cape of Good Hope for six consecutive years, entering at Salem in February, 1790, in August, 1791, in July, 1792, in June, 1793,

in May, 1794, and in July 1795. She was commanded on the first three voyages by Jonathan Lambert, and on the last three by Samuel Lambert, and her cargo was consigned, on each voyage, to Jacob Ashton and others. The schooner "Ruth," Jonathan Lambert, Jr., master, entered in July, 1796, consigned to Jacob Ashton and others. The ship "Betsey," Jeremiah L. Page, master, entered in May, 1804, consigned to Abel Lawrence & Co.

Coffee, wine, pepper, sugar, ivory and aloes were among the articles imported. Most of the direct trade with the Cape of Good Hope, was carried on before the commencement of the present century, and Jacob Ashton and Jonathan Lambert appear to have been largely engaged in it.

THE AUSTRALIAN TRADE.—Wherever a new channel of trade was opened for Americans, Salem was either the first to open it, or her vessels followed closely after the pioneers. She was found asking for admission to the port of Sydney, in 1832, and by a special order of the council, passed that year, the ship "Tybee," Charles Millett, master, was allowed to enter that port. This vessel was owned by Nathaniel L. Rogers and others, and was the first American vessel to enter the ports of Australia. The "Tybee" entered at Salem from Sydney January 20, 1835, again in March, 1836, and again in June, 1837. Joseph Rogers commanded her on these voyages, and her cargo consisted mainly of wool. The ship "Black Warrior," William Driver, master, entered from Sydney in September, 1835, and the ship "Shepherdess," J. Kinsman, master, in May, 1836, both bringing cargoes of wool. All the above-mentioned cargoes were consigned to Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers. This trade did not prove profitable and it was not long continued, the direct entries at Salem, from Sydney, being confined to the years 1835, '36 and '37.

THE FEEJEE ISLANDS TRADE.—The enterprise of Salem merchants seems not to have been confined by the limits of the civilized world, but to have extended to all habitable countries, however remote and however peopled. Salem was as familiar a name to the cannibals of the Feejee Islands, during the first half of the present century, as it was to the savages of Africa and Madagascar. In many of those wild countries, the untutored natives thought Salem comprised all the remainder of the outer world about which they knew so little. Captain William P. Richardson, of Salem, was at the Feejee Islands in the bark "Active," in 1811. He sailed from Salem June 1, 1810, and left the Feejee Islands July 26, 1811, for Canton. He arrived at Salem March 27, 1812, one hundred and eighteen days from Canton. This was the first trading voyage from Salem to the Feejee Islands. Commercial intercourse with these islands began about 1806, probably by the vessels of the East India Company.

When Commodore Wilkes went on his famous exploring expedition, he took with him as pilot and inter-

preter, Captain Benjamin Vanderford, a Salem ship-master, who, having made many voyages to these islands, was familiar with the customs and language of the natives. Captain Vanderford died March 23, 1842, on the passage home; and the commodore, writing of him says: "During the cruise I had often experienced his usefulness. He had formerly been in command of various vessels sailing from Salem, and had made many voyages to the Feejee Islands. During our stay there, he was particularly useful in superintending all trade carried on to supply the ship." Commodore Wilkes was indebted to another Salem captain for bringing one of the vessels of his squadron,—the "Peacock,"—safely into port, on the 12th of July, 1840. Captain J. H. Eagleston, of Salem, who was trading there at the time, rendered him this important service. The commodore, in his report to the government, says: "The squadron is much indebted to Captain Eagleston for his attention and assistance. I am also indebted to him for observations relating to gales."

Captain Eagleston made voyages to these islands between 1830 and 1840, in the bark "Peru," the ship "Emerald," the brig "Mermaid" and the ship "Leonidas." On one of his passages in the "Leonidas" he caught several albatrosses, and tied to the neck of each a quill containing a slip of paper, on which was written "Ship Leonidas, of Salem, bound to New Zealand." One of these birds was caught by a French vessel off the Cape of Good Hope, several hundred miles away from the spot where it was first caught by Captain Eagleston. The news reached Salem March 21, 1840, and was the first news of this vessel since she sailed, on the 9th of August. Captain Eagleston sailed for Stephen C. Phillips, who was a prominent merchant of Salem from about 1828 to the time of his death, in 1857. Mr. Phillips was largely engaged in trade with the Feejee Islands, with Manila and other Eastern ports. In 1846 Salem had six vessels engaged in trade with the Feejee Islands. The usual voyage was from Salem to the Feejee Islands, where the vessel would remain, collecting the *beche-de-mer*, a sort of sea slug, found on reefs and in shallow water, and after drying and preparing them for the market, carry them either to Manila to exchange for sugar and hemp, or to China to exchange for tea, the voyage usually consuming about two years. Salem almost monopolized this trade, and, in a work written in London, in 1858, by Thomas Williams and James Calvert, missionaries at these islands, it is stated that the traffic in sandal-wood, tortoise-shell and *beche-de-mer*, "has been, and still is, chiefly in the hands of Americans from the port of Salem." There are many curious articles at the Peabody Academy of Science at Salem, which were brought from the Feejee Islands during the early voyages.

Among the Salem merchants engaged in this trade were Nathaniel L. Rogers & Bros., Stephen C. Phil-

lips, Samuel Chamberlain & Co. and Benjamin A. West. The bark "Zotoff," Benjamin Wallis, master, made several voyages to the Feejee Islands. Captain Wallis, on two of these voyages, covering a period from 1844 to 1850, was accompanied by his wife, who, upon her final return, wrote an account of her travels, in a book entitled, "Life in Feejee." She mentions seeing the brig "Elizabeth," the bark "Samos," Captain H. J. Archer, the bark "Pilot," Captain Hartwell and the brig "Tim Pickering," all of Salem, during the first voyage. The "Samos" was afterwards condemned at Manila. The "Tim Pickering," Walden, master, while lying at Ovalou, in the Feejee Islands, was driven ashore in a severe gale, April 5, 1848, and became a total loss. Captain Benjamin Vanderford was at the Feejee Islands about 1819, in the ship "Indus," and about 1822 in the "Roscoe." The bark "Dragon," Thomas C. Dunn, master, sailed from Salem February 22, 1854, and arrived at the Feejee Islands, a distance of sixteen thousand seven hundred and seventy miles, in eighty-five days, making the shortest passage ever made from the United States. She crossed the equator in twenty days, and passed Port Phillip, New Holland, seventy-three days out. She reached Salem from Manila September 4, 1856, with one thousand one hundred and seventy bales of hemp, consigned to Benjamin A. West.

The seamen of Salem, visiting these islands, were exposed to peril of their lives from the ignorant and deceitful inhabitants, and to disaster to their ships from hidden reefs, of the existence of which they were unaware. In August, 1830, the brig "Fawn," James Briant master, and owned by Robert Brookhouse, was lost at the Feejee Islands, and Captain Charles Millett, of the ship "Clay," gave captain and crew a passage to Manila. The ship "Glide," in March, 1832, was driven ashore at Tackanova, and lost. Her boat's crew were attacked by the natives, at Ovalou, December 26, 1831, and two of them killed. In the same gale which destroyed the "Glide," another Salem vessel, the brig "Niagara," was lost, at an island one hundred and forty miles from Tackanova.

The brig "Charles Doggett," owned by Nathaniel L. Rogers & Bros., and commanded by George Batchelder, was at Kandora, one of the Feejee Islands, in September, 1833, and her crew were curing the *beche-de-mer* for the East India market. They were attacked by the natives for the sake of plunder, and five of the crew were killed, including Charles Shipman, the mate. The remainder escaped in the boats, but were all more or less injured. James Magoun, of Salem, who had lived among the islanders several years, was dangerously wounded. On the way to Manila, the vessel touched at the Pelew Islands, and the crew were again attacked by the natives, and a boy was killed. The vessel reached Salem, from Manila, in October, 1834.

The story of a previous voyage of the "Charles Doggett," under the command of William Driver, is one of most romantic interest, and deserves a place in history. As an introduction, it may be well to give a brief account of the mutiny of the "Bounty," which, though an oft-repeated tale, is still one of thrilling interest. Captain William Bligh was sent by the British Government in the "Bounty" in December, 1787, to Tahiti. He reached that island in October of the following year, and remained there six months, collecting bread-fruit plants, with which he started for Jamaica. Twenty-four days out, on the 28th of April, 1789, a part of the crew mutinied, and forced Captain Bligh and eighteen men into the ship's launch, which they cast adrift, turning their own course back to Tahiti. The captain and his companions arrived on the 14th of June, after suffering almost incredible hardships, at the island of Timor, a distance of three thousand six hundred nautical miles from the place where they were abandoned. The mutineers, after staying at Tahiti for some time, fearing pursuit, sailed eastward, taking with them eighteen natives, six men and twelve women, and leaving part of their comrades at Tahiti. They landed at Pitcairn Island, a solitary island in the Pacific Ocean, lying at the southeast corner of the great Polynesian Archipelago, having an area of only one and a quarter square miles. Here they took up their residence, and burned the "Bounty." From the time they left Tahiti, in 1792, nothing was heard of them, until an American, Captain Folger, touched at the island in 1808. At this time, all the men, save Alexander Smith, and several of the women, were dead. The island was visited by British vessels in 1825 and 1830.

In 1831 their numbers had increased to eighty-seven, and the island was scantily provided with water. At their own request, they were transported by the British Government to Tahiti. All the original settlers were dead, and their descendants had been reared away from contact with the world, and were, despite their wild ancestry, virtuous and religious. Never having looked upon vice, they found themselves among a people where virtue was unknown. Disgusted with the immoralities of the Tahitians, the most loose, voluptuous and unchaste people that exist under the tropic sun, they yearned with a homesick longing for the isolation and quiet of the little island that had so recently been their home.

It was at this time that the brig "Charles Doggett," William Driver, master, and owned by Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers, arrived at Tahiti. These poor homesick people besought Captain Driver to take them back to their native island. For their own sake, but above all for the sake of their children, they desired to leave this land of sensual indulgence. Captain Driver finally consented to carry them, sixty-five in number, back to the island, fourteen hundred

miles away, from whence they had so recently arrived, taking in pay some old copper, twelve blankets and one hundred and twenty-nine dollars in missionary drafts. They left on the 15th of August, 1831, and were landed on Pitcairn Island on September 3rd, after an absence of about nine months. In 1855, finding their numbers again too large for the island, for they now numbered two hundred and two, they petitioned the British Government, and, in 1856, were removed to Norfolk Island. In 1859, two families, in all seventeen, returned to Pitcairn Island. An English writer, in speaking of them, says: "From their frequent intercourse with Europeans, the Pitcairn Islanders have, while retaining their virtuous simplicity of character and cheerful, hospitable disposition, acquired the manners and polish of civilized life, with its education and taste."

May it not well be said that a Salem vessel saved this people from sinking into the immoral life that surrounded them at Tahiti, and that in their strange and romantic history there is no chapter more important than that which records the assistance rendered them by Salem in their time of need?

THE SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.—The trade between Salem and South America has been quite extensive. This trade began early, and continued to be prosecuted after trade with other foreign countries had been abandoned. On the 25th of August, 1789, the schooner "Lark" arrived from Surinam with sugar and cocoa. The brig "Katy," Nathaniel Brown, master, cleared for Cayenne in April, 1798, with fish, flour, bacon, butter, oil, tobacco, candles and potter's ware. The schooner "Sally," Daniel Proctor, master, cleared for Cayenne in March, 1802. For forty years, from 1820 to 1860, there was constant commercial intercourse between Salem and the ports of South America.

Para was the port most frequently visited, there having been four hundred and thirty-five arrivals at Salem from that port, mainly between the years 1826 and 1860. The largest number of arrivals in a single year was in 1853, when twenty vessels entered. The last entries were in 1861. Rubber, hides, cocoa, coffee and castana nuts were among the articles imported. A few of the entries from Para are given, to indicate the merchants engaged in this traffic: The schooner "Betsey," James Meagher, master, entered from Para in March, 1811, with cassia, coffee and cocoa, consigned to John Howard; the schooner "Four Sisters," Joseph Ervin, master, in August, 1811, with one hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds of cocoa, to William Orne; the schooner "Resolution," Edward Brown, Jr., master, in July, 1812, consigned to Jeremiah L. Page; the brig "Mercator," Samuel B. Graves, master, in September, 1817, to Robert Upton; the schooner "Cyrus," Benjamin Russell, master, in March, 1820, to Robert Upton; the schooner "Charles," Richard Smith, master, in August, 1822, to Michael Shepard; the schooner

"Phoebe," Benjamin Upton, master, in December, 1824, to Robert Upton; the schooner "Leader," Nathaniel Griffen, master, in April, 1826, to Richard Savory; the schooner "Dollar," Thomas Holmes, master, in April, 1826, to David Pingree; the schooner "Cepheus," Charles Holland, master, in August, 1826, to Joseph Howard; the brig "Romp," Clarke, master, in December, 1828, to Thomas P. Pingree and Michael Shepard; the schooner "Gazelle," Warren Strickland, master, in August, 1830, to James Brown; the brig "Abby M.," R. Wheatland, master, in October, 1830, to Gideon Tucker; the brig "Amethyst," John Willis, master, in July, 1831, to Robert Upton; the brig "Fredonia," S. K. Appleton, master, in September, 1832, to Benjamin Creamer; the brig "Deposit," G. E. Bailey, master, in January, 1842, to James Upton (this vessel made regular trips between Salem and Para); the brig "Mermaid," C. Conway, master, in April, 1842, to P. I. Farnham; the brig "Eagle," M. S. Wheeler, master, in December, 1842, to Benjamin Upton; the brig "Deposit," under command of Charles Upton, entered in March, 1844, and made several voyages thereafter, consigned to Luther Upton; the brig "Granite," S. Upton, master, entered in October, 1844, and made regular trips, to S. F. Upton; the brig "Rattler," C. W. Trumbull, master, entered in July, 1846, and made a number of voyages, consigned to John Bertram; the brig "M. Shepard," H. B. Manning, master, entered in March 1853, and continued for some time in the trade, consigned to John Bertram. Messrs. Phippen and Endicott were the last among the Salem merchants engaged in this trade. There were two entries in the year 1861, and these entries closed the trade of Salem with Para.

There has been a large trade between Salem and Cayenne, beginning in the last century. The whole number of arrivals from this port between the years 1810 and 1877 was about three hundred. The largest number of entries in a single year was in 1835, when there were eleven entries from that port. From 1835 to 1840 inclusive, there were fifty-eight entries. The Cayenne trade was the last foreign trade engaged in by Salem merchants at the port of Salem.

Among the entries from that port was that of the brig "Trial," Eben Learock, master, in June, 1810, with molasses and coffee, consigned to Francis Quarles; the schooner "Rachel," Mark Knowlton, master, in August, 1812, to John Winn; the brig "Return," Henry King, master, in March, 1813, to Thomas Perkins; the schooner "Essex," Thomas Cloutman, master, in May, 1816, with cocon, molasses and almonds, to William Fabens; the brig "Rambler," W. D. Shatswell, master, in February, 1821, to William Fabens, and in February, 1828, to Benjamin Fabens; the brig "Cynthia," in July, 1821, to J. H. Andrews; in 1824, to Michael Shepard, and in 1825, to David Pingree; the brig "General Jackson," Shatswell, master, in May, 1826, to P. I. Farnham;

the brig "Jeremiah," Joshua F. Safford, master, in June, 1821, to David Pingree; the brig "Rotund," Joseph R. Winn, master, in May, 1825, to Benjamin Fabens; the schooner "Betsey and Eliza," Benjamin Pickering, master, in August, 1829, to Joseph Shatswell; the schooner "Numa," D. R. Upton, master, in March, 1833, to Robert Upton; the brig "Romp," Peter Lassen, master, in September, 1851, to Joseph Shatswell; the brig "Eather," W. H. Fabens, master, in February, 1850, to Benjamin Fabens, Jr., and in August, 1850, Peter Lassen, master, to Charles H. Fabens; the bark "Lawrence," Fabens, master, in September, 1851, to Charles H. Fabens.

David Pingree and Joseph Shatswell were largely engaged in this trade. The Fabens family for four generations have carried on the trade between Salem and Cayenne. William Fabens began it about 1816, Benjamin Fabens about 1825, Charles H. Fabens about 1850, and Charles E. and Benjamin H. Fabens about 1869. The successive generations have prosecuted the trade continuously from 1816 to the present day. The last named removed the business to Boston in 1877, and now carry it on from that port. The last arrival at Salem from a South American port was the schooner "Mattie F.," which was entered from Cayenne, by Messrs. C. E. & B. H. Fabens, March 21, 1877. The entry of the "Mattie F." closed the foreign trade of Salem.

The trade between Salem and Buenos Ayres is the next in importance. From 1816 to 1860, inclusive, there were one hundred and twenty-one arrivals at Salem from this port. The period of greatest activity was from 1841 to 1860. Robert Upton, James Upton, David Pingree and Benjamin A. West were among the merchants principally engaged in this trade. The entries from this port include that of the brig "Nancy Ann," John B. Osgood, master, in April, 1816, to Stephen Phillips; the ship "Diomedes," Samuel L. Page, master, in March, 1817, to Philip Chase; the brig "Cambrian," H. G. Bridges, master, in June, 1823, to Joseph Peabody; the brig "Bolivar Liberator," James Garney, master, in January, 1831, to P. I. Farnham; the bark "Chalcedony," J. E. A. Todd, master, entered in April, 1841, and made several voyages thereafter, commanded by Captain Todd, and a number after 1849, with George Upton as master (she was consigned on these voyages to James Upton); the bark "Three Brothers," Welch, master, entered in May, 1843, consigned to David Pingree; the brig "Cherokee," Mansfield, master, entered in October, 1843, consigned to Michael Shepard; the brig "Gazelle," Dewing, master, in November, 1843, to John Bertram; the brig "Olinda," S. Hutchinson, master, in December, 1843, to Gideon Tucker; the bark "King Philip," George Upton, master, in June, 1844, to James Upton; the brig "Gambia," G. E. Bailey, master, in September, 1848, to Benjamin A. West; the bark "Maid of Orleans," Charles Upton, master in September, 1848, and on several subsequent voy-

ages, consigned to James Upton; the bark "Manchester," S. Upton, master, in May, 1853, to Robert Upton; the brig "Russell," in August, 1854, to Geo. Savory; the bark "Salem," in August, 1860, to Jas. Upton. The last entry at Salem from Buenos Ayres was in 1860.

Rio Grande was a place with which Salem merchants traded quite extensively. Hides and horns were the principal articles imported. From 1817 to 1860 there were one hundred and fifty-five arrivals at Salem from that province, and of that number, one hundred were during the period from 1845 to 1854 inclusive. The largest number of arrivals in a single year was seventeen, in the year 1851. The Uptons were largely interested in this trade, as they were in most of the Salem trade with the ports on the eastern coast of South America. Robert Upton, James Upton, Benjamin Upton, Luther Upton and H. P. Upton and David Pingree, George Savory, Thomas P. Pingree, Benjamin Webb and David Moore were among those engaged in trade with Rio Grande.

From the list of entries from that place at Salem a few are given. A complete list would hardly interest the general reader. The brig "Trader," John Eveleth, master, entered in June, 1817, with tallow consigned to Edward Lander; the brig "Rotund," John Ingersoll, master, in July, 1822, to Gideon Tucker; the brig "Cynthia," Shillaber, master, in October, 1828, to David Pingree; the brig "Abby M.," R. Wheatland, master, in October, 1829, to Putnam I. Farnham and others; the brig "Quill," Thomas Farley, master, in November, 1831, to Nathaniel L. Rogers & Bros.; the brig "Mermaid," George Savory, master, in May, 1841 to Benjamin Upton; the brig "Northumberland," Kane, master, in November, 1842, to Thomas P. Pingree; the bark "Chalcedony," J. E. A. Todd, master, in October, 1846, to James Upton, and in May, 1847, to Luther Upton; the brig "Russell," R. F. Savory, master, in May, 1847, to H. P. Upton; the bark "William Schroder," J. E. A. Todd, master, in March, 1848, to Robert Upton; the bark "Wyman," J. Madison, master, in July, 1849, to James Upton (this vessel made many trips between Salem and Rio Grande, commanded by George Harrington); the bark "Sophronia," E. A. Emmerton, master, in July, 1849, to Ephraim Emmerton; the schooner "Maria Theresa," O. Baker, Jr., master, in August, 1849, to D. R. Bowker; the brig "Draco," E. S. Johnson, master, in October, 1849, and in April, 1850, to David Moore; the brig "Prairie," E. Upton, master, in November, 1850, to George Savory and others; the bark "Delegate," D. Marshall, master, in January, 1851, to Benjamin Webb and others; the bark "Arrow," in June, 1860, to James Upton. There were two entries from Rio Grande in 1860, and with those entries the Salem trade with that place closed. There was a single entry from Rio Grande in 1870, but neither vessel nor cargo was owned by Salem merchants.

The Salem trade with Montevideo began about 1811, and ended in 1861. There was no entry from this port between 1811 and 1823. The largest number of entries was during the years 1847, '48 and '53. Robert Upton, James Upton and Benjamin A. West were among those engaged in trading with that port. Hides and horns were the principal articles imported. The brig "Hope," Benjamin Jacobs, master, entered in June, 1811, consigned to Thomas Perkins; the ship "Glide," Nathan Endicott, master, entered in November, 1823, consigned to Joseph Peabody; the brig "Chalcedony," George Upton, master, in May, 1839, and in October, 1847, to James Upton; and in March, 1848, to Luther Upton; the bark "Zotoff," G. E. Bailey, master, in January, 1853, and again in August, 1853, to Benjamin A. West; the bark "Peacock," Upton, master, in April, 1853, to Robert Upton; the bark "Argentine," George Upton, master, in June, 1853, to James Upton; the bark "Miquelon," S. Hutchinson, in July, 1853, to E. H. Folmer; the brig "Mary A. Jones," in January, 1860, and again in July 1860, to Benjamin A. West. There was a single entry in 1861, the last entry at Salem from Montevideo.

In the years 1824 and 1825 there were twenty-four entries from Maranham. From 1817 to 1858 there were one hundred and ten entries. Joseph Howard and James Brown were among those most largely interested in this trade. The brig "Henry," George Burchmore, master, entered from Maranham in January, 1817, consigned to Stephen White; the brig "Anson," Haskett D. Lang, master, in May, 1819, to P. & A. Chase; the brig "Alonzo," George K. Smith, master, in August, 1819, to Joseph Howard; the brig "Betsey," Timothy Ropes, master, in August, 1819, to George Nichols; the schooner "Mermaid," John Willis, master, in April, 1824, to Pickering Dodge; the schooner "General Brewer," George Gale, master, in August, 1825, to Stephen White; the brig "Stork," Stephen Gale, master, in November, 1825, to James Brown and others; the brig "Calliope," George Creamer, master, in March, 1826, to Robert Upton; the schooner "Spy," Benjamin Russell, master, in April, 1826, to Nathaniel L. Rogers & Bros.; the brig "Edward," Thomas C. Whittredge, master, in May, 1826, to Thomas Whittredge; the schooner "Sally Barker," F. Quarles, master, in June, 1826, to Michael Shepard; the brig "Stork," Oliver Thayer, master, in July, 1826, to Joseph Howard; the brig "Cynthia," Benjamin Shillaber, master, in April, 1827, to David Pingree; the brig "Wm. Penn," S. K. Appleton, master, in January, 1836, to John F. Allen; the brig "Amethyst," R. Hill, Jr., master, in February, 1837, to James Upton; the brig "Palm," in September, 1840, to Thomas P. Pingree; the schooner "East Wind," in June, 1858, to Phippen & Endicott; and this entry closed the Salem trade with Maranham.

Surinam was visited early by Salem vessels. The

period of the greatest activity in this trade was between the years 1797 and 1810. There were twelve arrivals at Salem from this place in 1799, and the same number in 1804. There were two entries in 1860, the last made at Salem from Surinam. Coffee, cocoa, sugar, cotton, molasses and distilled spirits, were the principal articles imported.

The schooner "Saint John," W. Grafton, master, entered from Surinam in October, 1791, consigned to Joseph Waters. The brig "Lydia," Eben Shillaber, master, in August, 1796, to William Gray. The brig "Three Friends," John Endicott, master, in October, 1796, to Jonathan Gardner and Joseph Peabody. The schooner "Cynthia," Hezekiah Flint, master, in December, 1796, to Joseph Peabody and Thomas Perkins. The schooner "Diligent," James Buffington, master, in February, 1797, to Joseph Sprague & Sons. The brig "Katy," Nathaniel Brown, master, in August, 1798, to Benjamin Pickman, Jr. The schooner "Fame," Downing Lee, master, in April, 1798, to Samuel Gray and John Osgood. The brig "Neptune," Robert Barr, master, in May, 1797, to John Barr. The ship "Henry," Stephen Webb, master, in June, 1799, to Elias H. Derby. The ship "Belisarius," Edward Allen, master, in August, 1799, to George Crowninshield & Sons. The schooner "Helen," Samuel King, master, in November, 1799, to Benjamin West. The ship "Atlantic," Eben Learock, master, in April, 1804, to Joseph Peabody. The bark "Active," John Endicott, master, in July, 1804, to Benjamin Hodges. The schooner "Union," Moses Yell, master, in December, 1807, to Michael Shepard. The brig "Nabby," Hardy Phippen, master, in April, 1808, to Samuel Archer, 2d. The brig "Union," Timothy Ropes, master, in October, 1823, to John H. Andrews. The brig "Rambler," S. Upton, master, in March, 1829, to Benjamin Fabens. The brig "Cynthia," John G. Waters, master, in August, 1829, to David Pingree. The ship "William and Henry," C. H. Fabens, master, in January, 1838, to David Pingree. The brig "Mary Francis," in July, 1855, to Joseph Shatswell. The bark "Lawrence," in April, 1857, to Charles H. Fabens. The brig "Elizabeth," in April, 1860, and in August, 1860, to Benjamin Webb. The above-mentioned entries show the names of the Salem merchants engaged in trade with Surinam.

There were three entries at Salem from Rio Janeiro in 1810. The largest number of entries in a single year was in 1824, when six vessels entered from that port. The schooner "Mercury," Edward Barnard, Jr., master, entered from that port in June, 1810, consigned to Nathaniel West. The brig "New Hazard," Edward Stanley, master, in July, 1810, to John Gardner, Jr. The ship "Marquis de Someruelas," Thomas Russell, master, in July, 1810, to John Gardner, Jr. and Michael Shepard. The ship "John," Jeremiah Briggs, master, in March, 1811, to George Crowninshield. The brig "Cora," P. P. Pinel, master, in De-

cember, 1811, to Jerathmael Pierce. The brig "Alonzo," Philemon Putnam, master, in April, 1823, to Joseph Howard. The ship "Friendship," Richard Meek, master, in November, 1823, and again in November, 1824, to George Nichols. The brig "Pioneer," Andrew Ward, master, in April, 1824, to John W. Rogers. The brig "Edward," Thomas C. Whittredge, master, in August, 1824, to Thomas Whittredge. The brig "Roscius," J. Kinsman, master, in November, 1824, to Robert Upton. The brig "Thomas Perkins," B. Shillaber, master, in September, 1832, to Michael Shepard. The bark "Richard," J. Hodges, master, in November, 1832, to Joseph Hodges. The bark "Imaun," Batchelder, master, in April, 1852, to Benjamin A. West. The entry of the "Imaun" closed the Salem trade with Rio Janeiro. The principal articles imported were coffee and sugar.

In August, 1832, the brig "Mexican," of Salem, owned by Joseph Peabody, and commanded by John G. Butman, of Beverly, left Salem for Rio Janeiro, having on board twenty thousand dollars in specie. On September 20th, between the hours of eight and nine A. M., she was hailed by the piratical Spanish schooner, "Pinda," Commander Gilbert. The pirates came on board the "Mexican," and threatened all hands with instant death unless the specie was immediately produced. They obliged the crew to bring the boxes containing it on deck, when they at once transferred it to the schooner. They then ransacked the cabin and rifled the captain's pockets, taking his watch and money. Not being successful in finding any more specie aboard the brig, the pirates returned on board their schooner. In eight or ten minutes they came back, apparently in great haste, shut all the crew below, fastened the companion-way, fore scuttle and after hatchway; stove the compasses to pieces in the binnacles, and cut away tiller-ropes, halliards, braces and most of the running rigging. They then took a tub of tarred rope-yarn, and what they could find combustible about the deck, put it into the caboose-house and set it on fire. As soon as the pirates left, the crew of the "Mexican" reached the deck through the cabin scuttle, which the pirates had neglected to secure, and extinguished the fire, which, in a few moments, would have set the main sail on fire and destroyed the masts. The crew immediately repaired damages, as far as possible, and set sail for home, where they arrived October 12th. It was, doubtless, the intention of the pirates to burn the brig, but seeing another vessel in the distance, and being eager for more plunder, they did not stop to fully accomplish their design, and the crew thus escaped a horrible fate. The "Mexican" had a crew of thirteen men; among those now living are John Battis, Jacob Anderson and Thomas Fuller, all of Salem.

Our government ordered a vessel to cruise in pursuit of the pirate, but she soon gave up the chase as hopeless. The piratical vessel was afterwards cap-

tured by an English vessel, and on August 27, 1834, H. B. M. brig "Savage," Lieutenant Commander Loney, commanding, from Portsmouth, England, arrived in Salem harbor with sixteen of the pirates as prisoners. They had an examination in Salem, and then were taken to Boston, and tried before Chief-Justice Story. Five of them were hanged June 11, 1835. Bernardo de Soto, the mate of the "Pinda," when master of the Spanish brig, "Leon," had, in 1831, at great personal risk, rescued seventy-two persons from the burning ship "Minerva," of Salem, Captain George W. Putnam, and for the bravery and humanity displayed by him on this occasion, he was pardoned by President Jackson.

Pernambuco was a port at which many Salem vessels touched for orders. There were not a great many direct entries at Salem from that port. The largest number was in 1826, when there were six entries. Among the entries were the brig "Welcome Return," Jeremiah Briggs, master, in September, 1809, consigned to Josiah Dow. The schooner "Hannah," Edward Briggs, master, in June, 1810, to Josiah Dow. The brig "Alonzo," Isaac Killam, master, in August, 1811, to John Derby. The schooner "Rising States," Samuel Lamson, master, in March, 1812, to James Cook. The ship "Endeavor," Nathaniel L. Rogers, master, in May, 1812, to John Forrester. The brig "Levant," Samuel Rea, master, in October, 1812, to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Cora," Philip P. Pinel, master, in September, 1815, to Jerathmael Peirce. The brig "Eliza," Stephen Gale, master, in November, 1819, to Benjamin Barstow. The brig "Eliza and Mary," S. Benson, master, in November, 1825, to S. White and F. H. Story. The brig "Olin-da," R. Wheatland, master, in December, 1825, and in June, 1826, to Gideon Tucker. The brig "Washington," A. Marshall, master, in August, 1826, to William Fettyplace. The brig "Amethyst," R. Hill, Jr., master, in May, 1836, to Robert Upton. The brig "Mermaid," George Savory, master, in May, 1840, to Putnam I. Farnham. The brig "Gazelle," J. Dewing, master, in March, 1841, to Joseph Shatswell. The entry of the "Gazelle" closed the direct trade between Salem and Pernambuco. The principal article imported thence was sugar.

Bahia, Paraiba and Patagonia on the eastern coast, and Valparaiso, Lima and Guayaquil on the western coast of South America, were among the places from which vessels entered at the port of Salem. The trade with these places was not very extensive. The brig "Blakely," Benjamin Fabens, master, entered from Bahia in July, 1819, with molasses, consigned to William Fabens. The brig "Lion," J. P. Felt, master, entered from Bahia in June, 1821, consigned to John Dike. The brig "Augusta," Seth Rogers, master, entered from Bahia in March, 1824, consigned to Gideon Tucker. The brig "Mercator," Aaron Miller, master, entered from Bahia in September, 1826, consigned to John F. Andrew. The schooner

"Generous," E. B. Hooper, master, made several voyages in 1832 and '33 between Salem and Paraiba, consigned to Michael Shepard. The ship "China," H. Putnam, master, entered from Lima in July, 1828, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Herald," Aaron W. Williams, master, entered from Guayaquil in August, 1824, consigned to George Nichols. The brig "Phoenix," George Hodges, Jr., master, entered from Guayaquil in December, 1826, with one hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred and twenty pounds of cocoa, consigned to Moses Townsend. The brig "Java," Nathaniel Osgood, master, entered, from Guayaquil in January, 1829, and proceeded to New York.

THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA TRADE.—If the natives on the west coast of Africa have been temperate they have been so in spite of the efforts of the Salem merchants, to supply them with the materials for intemperance. The trade opened early, and October 6, 1789, the schooner "Sally," and October 8, 1789, the schooner "Polly," cleared for Senegal, each with a cargo of New England rum; and from that time forward, Salem has contributed largely to spread a knowledge of the potent qualities of New England rum, of the astounding effects of gunpowder and of the consoling influences of Virginia tobacco, among the savage tribes of the West Coast. The Salem trade with this coast has been quite extensive. The period of the greatest activity was between the years 1832 and 1864. During that time, there were five hundred and fifty-eight arrivals at Salem from the West Coast of Africa. From 1844 to 1860, only the years 1854 and 1855 show less than twenty entries. Robert Brookhouse, Daniel Abbot, Putnam I. Farnham, David Pingree, William Hunt, Charles Hoffman, Edward D. Kimball and George West, were among those engaged in this trade. Hides, palm-oil, peanuts and gum-copal, were the principal articles imported. Among the entries were the brig "St. John," Thomas Bowditch, master, which entered from Sierra Leone in June, 1796, consigned to Henry Gardner & Co. The brig "Sukey," John Edwards, master, which entered from Senegal in July, 1801, consigned to Henry Prince & Co. The brig "Star," Richard J. Cleveland, master, entered from Goree in July, 1808, consigned to John Derby. The brig "Siren," James Vent, master, entered in March, 1828, consigned to Robert Brookhouse. The schooner "Fredonia," Charles Hoffman, master, in September, 1829, to Daniel Abbot. The brig "Shawmut," J. Emerton, master, in July, 1831, to Robert Brookhouse. The schooner "Complex," J. Burnham, master, in June, 1832, to Richard S. Rogers. The schooner "Dollar," John Stickney, master, in September, 1835, to Putnam I. Farnham. The brig "Selina and Jane," Joseph Rider, master, in August, 1836, to David Pingree. The brig "Elizabeth," N. Frye, master, in March, 1837, and in November, 1837, J. A. Phipps, master, consigned to William Hunt.

The brig "Cipher," J. Rider, master, in August, 1839, to Charles Hoffman. The brig "Tigris," N. A. Frye, master, in December, 1840, to Robert Brookhouse. The brig "Malaga," S. Varney, master, in October, 1844, to E. G. Kimball. The brig "Herald," P. Ayres, master, in February, 1845, to William Hunt. The brig "Hamilton," H. Tufts, master, in March, 1847, to Edward D. Kimball. The brig "Fawn," J. Rider, master, in June, 1847, to George West. The brig "Tam O'Shanter," J. R. Francks, master, in February, 1848, to Benjamin Webb. The brig "Ohio," Josiah Webber, master, in April, 1848, to Edward D. Kimball. After 1848 the trade was largely in the hands of Robert Brookhouse, Edward D. Kimball and Charles Hoffman. The last arrival at Salem from the West Coast of Africa was the brig "Ann Elizabeth," from Sierra Leone, which was entered by Charles Hoffman in July, 1873. Salem merchants are still engaged in this trade, but their vessels do not enter the harbor of Salem.

THE WEST INDIA TRADE.—The early trade of Salem was mainly in the product of her fisheries. The first settlers came hither for the purpose of establishing a fishing and trading post, and among their first acts was the building of stages on which fish could be dried and prepared for consumption. The islands of the West Indies offered a market for the exchange of the fish for other products, such as sugar, cotton and tobacco, and it was natural that a trade between Salem and those islands should commence at a very early period. The island of Barbadoes, one of the Carribbean group, was one of the earliest places at which Salem vessels traded. Salem was trading with Barbadoes as early as 1647. William Hollingworth, then a merchant in Barbadoes, writes to his mother, Mrs. Eleanor Hollingworth, at Salem, under date of September 19, 1687, that "fish now att present bares a good rate by reason ye Newfoundland men are not yet come in but I believe itt will be low anuffe about three months hence. Oyle will be ye principal commoditie. Pray lett my brother see this letter. I cannot tell what to advise him to send as yett besides oyle but in a short time wee shall see what these Newfoundland men will doe, what quantity of fish they bring in, and then I will advise him further."

The ketch "Providence," John Grafton, master, on her passage from Salem to the West Indies, in September, 1669, was cast away on a rock in a rainy night, and six of the crew were drowned. The master, mate and a seaman remained on the rock till morning. They then succeeded, with difficulty, in reaching an island about half a mile away, where they found another of their company. There they remained eight days sustained by salt fish; and the last four days by cakes made from a barrel of flour which had been washed ashore. After four days they found a piece of touch-wood and a flint, and with the aid of a small knife, they struck fire. They framed a boat with a tarred mainsail and some hoops, and then fas-

tened pieces of boards to them. With this boat, so made, they sailed ten leagues to Anguilla and St. Martin's, where they were kindly received. Joshua Ward was one of these sufferers.

The dangers to which these early navigators were exposed we can hardly realize. With no correct charts and with the rudest instruments, they had no method of fixing their exact location while at sea. The dangers of approaching coasts were also vastly greater, owing to the want of light-houses. Boston light-house was first lit up in 1716; Thatcher's Island light-house in 1771; and Baker's Island light-house in 1798. It is related that in 1788 a schooner from Bilboa, bound for Marblehead, was only saved from shipwreck by a seaman first seeing the rock in our harbor called "Satan," close to the bows (there was a snowstorm at the time), and shouting the fact to the crew; the captain being then for the first time aware of his true longitude on the coast.

Salem was trading with the Barbadoes for cotton in 1685, for in September of that year, as the small-pox raged there, the selectmen order "that all cotton-wool imported thence shall be landed on Baker's Island." In 1686 the Governor issues a pass to the pink "Speedwell," Thomas Beadle, master, to go to Barbadoes; to the ketch "Hannah," John Ingersoll, master, for Fayal and Barbadoes; to the ketch "Industry," Lewis Hunt, master, for St. Christopher's; and to the ketch "Penelope," Edward Hilliard, master, also for St. Christopher's. In 1688 a similar pass is issued to the ketch "Diligence," Gamaliel Hawkins, master, and the ketch "Virgin," John Allin, master, both bound for Antigua; and in 1689, to the pink "Dove," Zebulon Hill, master, and the ketch "James Bonaventure," Philip France, master, both bound for Barbadoes. In 1688 Philip English is trading with St. Christopher's.

The records of our early commerce are vague and fragmentary, but enough is known to indicate that the Salem trade with the West Indies was continued, in a greater or less degree, from the year 1638, when the ship "Desire" made a voyage to New Providence and Tortuga, and returned laden with cotton, tobacco, salt and negroes (slaves), the latter the first imported into New England, to a very late period in her commercial history. In 1639 the first importation of indigo and sugar seems to have been made, and in 1642 eleven vessels sailed from New England for the West Indies with lumber. The custom-house records prior to the Revolution have disappeared. Possibly they were destroyed in the great fire of 1774, when the custom-house was burned, or, it may be, carried to Halifax at the breaking out of the war. They have never been found, and we must content ourselves with such information as can be gleaned from other sources.

The law imposing a tax on sugar and molasses created great dissatisfaction among the Salem merchants, and there were many forfeitures in conse-

quence. It was upon a petition of James Cockle, Collector at Salem, for a warrant to search for smuggled molasses, heard at the old State House in Boston, February, 1761, that James Otis made his immortal plea against writs of assistance.

The temper of the usually law-abiding people of Salem regarding the imposition of these duties may be judged by their treatment of poor Thomas Row, who seems to have performed only his duty as a customs officer. From a local paper under the date of September 13, 1768, the following extract is made:

"One Row, a Custom House waiter, on Wednesday last, by informing an officer of the Customs that some measures were taken on board a vessel in this Harbor, to elude the payment of certain duties, engaged the attention of a number of the inhabitants, who determined to distinguish him in a conspicuous manner for his conduct in this service. Between the hours of ten and eleven A. M. he was taken from one of the wharves and conducted to the Common, where his head, body and limbs were covered with warm tar, and then a large quantity of feathers were applied to all parts which, by closely adhering to the tar, exhibited an odd figure, the drollery of which can easily be imagined. The poor waiter was then exalted to a seat on the front of a cart, and in this manner led into the Main Street, where a paper, with the word 'Informer' thereon, in large letters, was affixed to his breast, and another paper with the same word to his back. The scene drew together, within a few minutes, several hundred people, who proceeded with Huzzas and loud acclamation, through the town; and when arrived at the bounds of the compact part, opened to the Right and Left, when the waiter, the confused object of their ridicule descended from his seat, walked through the crowd and having received the strongest assurances that he should, the next time he came to this place, receive higher marks of distinction than those which were now conferred upon him, went immediately out of town."

While the trade between Salem and the West Indies was probably continuous from 1638 down to quite recent times, the last entry from Havana being in 1854, the period of the greatest activity was from 1798 to 1812. The entries from Havana and Martinico were four each in the year 1797, while in 1798 there were twenty-one from Havana and thirteen from Martinico. The largest number of arrivals from Havana in a single year was in 1800, when there were forty-one entries from that port. During that year there was imported into Salem over eight million pounds of sugar. In 1805 there were twenty-eight entries from Havana, and forty-four from Martinico. Between 1798 and 1812 there were three hundred and thirty-two entries from Havana, and two hundred and thirty-two from Martinico. There was a large trade in the latter part of the last century between Salem and Aux Cayes, Port-au-Prince and the other ports of the island of St. Domingo, and with the island of St. Eus-

tatia. But while Salem vessels were found in almost every port in the West Indies, Havana and Martinico were the principal places with which trade was carried on.

A list of the merchants engaged in this trade would include the names of almost every one interested in commerce during the years that the West India trade flourished. Benjamin Pickman was engaged extensively in this trade and amassed a large fortune in it.

It is not possible, in the space allotted to this chapter, to give any extended list of the vessels entering from the West Indies. In the palmy days of this trade Salem was a point of distribution for large quantities of sugar and coffee, and the buyers from all parts of the country must have given a bustling and busy aspect to streets now quiet and almost deserted. It was a custom in those days to make up the cargo of a large vessel by inducing various persons to send adventures, the owner of the vessel getting a commission for buying and selling. The brig "Massafuero," Andrew Haraden, master, entered from Havana in September, 1805, with 150,000 pounds of sugar consigned to Joshua Ward, Jr.; 9000 to Timothy Wellman; 6000 to Eben Seccomb; 62,000 to S. B. Doane; 2000 to William Monroe; 20,000 to Robert Hooper & Sons; 4000 to John Jenks; 65,000 to William Gray; 4000 to Benjamin H. Hathorne; 5000 to Joshua Pope; 3000 to Joshua Phippen, Jr., and with a small quantity of merchandise consigned to Benjamin West. Among other entries from Havana, we find the ship "Mount Vernon," Elias H. Derby, Jr., master, which entered in May, 1799, with five hundred thousand pounds of sugar, consigned to Elias Hasket Derby, and paying a duty of \$12,842.15, and the ship "Martha," Nicholas Thorndike, master, which entered in December, 1799, with four hundred thousand pounds of sugar; the two vessels landing nearly a million pounds of this commodity. In October, 1809, the schooner "Neutrality," Benjamin Fabens, master, entered from St. Bartholomew's with sugar and coffee consigned to William Fabens. The Fabens family for several generations have been engaged in trade with the West Indies as well as Cayenne. The last vessel to enter at Salem from Havana was the brig "Vincennes," on June 29, 1854, consigned to Phillips, Goodhue & Bowker.

THE RUSSIA TRADE.—Salem vessels opened the American trade with St. Petersburg. On the 15th of June, 1784, the bark "Light Horse," Captain Buffinton, was sent by Elias Hasket Derby with a cargo of sugar, and she was the first American vessel to trade at St. Petersburg.

Salem merchants, in the palmy days of her commerce, were largely engaged in trade with Russia. There have been two hundred and eighty-nine arrivals from the ports of Russia at Salem. The period of the greatest activity in this trade was from 1797 to 1811 inclusive, one hundred and sixty-two of the two hundred and eighty-nine entries having been made during that time. The largest number in a single year

was in 1811, when there were thirty-one entries. The war caused a suspension of the trade, and in 1812 there were but three entries and none in 1813 and 1814. In 1815 there were nine entries, and the trade continued till 1829, when it ceased almost entirely, there having been but about six entries after that year. The last vessel to enter from St. Petersburg was the ship "Eclipse," Johnson, master, to H. L. Williams, in September, 1843. All the East India merchants carried on more or less trade with Russia, and brought from there duck, hemp and iron, with which to make up their cargoes for the East. Elias Hasket Derby, William Gray, Joseph Peabody, Nathaniel West, William Orne, Nathaniel Silsbee, Gideon Barstow, Thomas Perkins, Pierce & Waite, Stephen Phillips, Joseph White, Pickering Dodge, Simon Forrester, William Silsbee, Stephen White, Dudley L. Pickman, John H. Andrews, James Devereux and Samuel Orne were among the Salem merchants engaged in this trade. A few of the earlier entries are given, showing the ports from which the vessels arrived.

The brig "Ceres," Thomas Simmons, master, entered from Russia, in October, 1789, with 1,546 pieces of sail-cloth and sheeting, 180 bundles of hemp, 948 bars of iron, and 359 hundredweight cordage. The brig "Iris," Benjamin Ives, master, entered from St. Petersburg in October, 1790. The brig "Hind," John Bickford, master, cleared for the Baltic, June 17, 1790, with 600 barrels of tar, 10 barrels of turpentine, 4 hogsheds tobacco, 27 casks of rice, 21 hogsheds New England rum and 73 chests of Hyson tea, and entered from St. Petersburg, on her return, in November, 1790. The ship "Commerce," John Osgood, master, entered from St. Petersburg in December, 1790, again in November, 1791, and again in September, 1792. All these vessels were owned by William Gray. The brig "Good Intent," M. Haskell, master, entered from Russia in December, 1791, again in November, 1792, and again in November, 1793, consigned to Simon Forrester. The brig "Polly and Betsey," Gamaliel Hodges, master, entered from St. Petersburg in November, 1794, consigned to Joseph White. The bark "Essex," John Green, master, entered from Russia in January, 1795, and again in October, 1795, consigned to William Orne. The bark "Vigilant," Richard Wheatland, master, entered from Russia in October, 1795, consigned to Simon Forrester. The brig "Hopewell," James Dowling, master, entered from St. Petersburg in September, 1797, consigned to Nathaniel West. The bark "William," Benjamin Beckford, Jr., master, entered from St. Petersburg in January, 1798, and again in August, 1798, consigned to William Gray. The brig "Neptune," Robert Barr, master, entered from Russia in October, 1798, consigned to John Barr.

The first entry from Archangel appears to be that of the ship "Perseverance," Richard Wheatland, master, in October, 1798. She proceeded to Boston with her cargo. The brig "Funny," Jesse Smith, master,

entered from Archangel in November, 1798, with hemp, cordage, candles and soap, consigned to John Derby, Jr. The ship "Cincinnatus," Samuel Endicott, master, entered from St. Petersburg in November, 1799, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Good Hope," Nicholas Thorndyke, master, entered from St. Petersburg in October, 1801, consigned to Nathaniel West. The ship "Mount Vernon," Samuel Endicott, master, entered from St. Petersburg in September, 1804, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Admittance," C. Sampson, master, entered from St. Petersburg in September, 1805, consigned to John Osgood. The brig "Augusta," Timothy Haraden, master, entered from Archangel in September, 1810, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The ship "Friendship," Edward Stanley, master, entered from this same port in September, 1811, consigned to Jerathmael Peirce. The ship "America," Samuel Briggs, master, entered from Riga in April, 1812, consigned to Benjamin W. Crowninshield. The ship "Herald," Eleazer Graves, master, entered from Archangel in August, 1815, consigned to Nathaniel Silsbee. The brig "Saucy Jack," Nathaniel Osgood, master, entered from Archangel in November, 1815, consigned to Pickering Dodge.

Among the later arrivals was the brig "Niagara," Oliver Thayer, master, which entered from Cronstadt in September, 1828, consigned to Joseph Peabody.

The last two arrivals from Archangel appear to have been the ship "Diomedes," Samuel L. Page, master, which entered from that port in October, 1820, and the schooner "Regulus," George Chinn, master, which entered in November, 1820, consigned to Edward Lander and others. The last arrival from Cronstadt was the brig "Mexican," H. Johnson, master, which entered in August, 1836, consigned to Joseph Peabody. There was no other arrival from Russia until September, 1843, when the ship "Eclipse," Johnson, master, entered from St. Petersburg, the last vessel to arrive at Salem from that port.

TRADE WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Among the earliest ports to which Salem sent the products of her fisheries for a market, were those of Spain and Portugal. This trade began before the year 1700, in which year Higginson speaks of the foreign trade of Salem, as being in "dry merchantable codfish for the markets of Spain and Portugal." Bilboa and Lisbon were among the ports earliest visited. In 1710 the ship "Macklesfield," a frigate of three hundred tons, belonging to London and from Lisbon, was cast away outside of Baker's Island and lost. In February, 1715, the ship "Hopewell," loaded with fish for Bilboa and anchored in the harbor, was driven ashore on the rocks in South Field. Most of her cargo was unloaded before she was got off.

Bilboa and Lisbon are mentioned as ports with which Salem vessels traded from 1714 to 1718.

Philip English was trading at Spanish ports from 1694 to 1720; and Richard Derby, from 1732 to 1757. The last entry from Bilboa was in 1809. The years 1803 and 1807 show each eight entries from Lisbon. From 1800 to 1808 the trade with Spain and Portugal was at its height. Bilboa, Cadiz, Barcelona, Malaga, Tarragona, Alicant, Lisbon and Oporto were among the ports from which Salem vessels brought cargoes. After the War of 1812 there were but few entries from either of those ports, saving that of an occasional cargo of salt from Cadiz.

The ship "Astrea," Henry Prince, master, entered from Alicant in April, 1799, with fifty-eight thousand and three gallons of brandy and four thousand four hundred and forty-six gallons of wine, consigned to Elias H. Derby, and paying a duty of \$20,930.59. The brig "Favorite," Henry Rust, Jr., master, entered from Bilboa in December, 1800, consigned to Peter Lander & Co. The schooner "Willard," from Alicant in July, 1800, with red wine and brandy, to Willard, Peele & Co. The brig "Essex," Joseph Orne, master, from Barcelona in July, 1800, with red wine and soap to William Orne. The brig "Nancy," Thomas Barker, master, from Tarragona in October 1801, with brandy to Samuel Gray. The snow "Concord," William Leech, Jr., master, from Oporto in September, 1802, with port wine, etc., to William Gray. The brig "Hannah," Clifford C. Byrne, master, from Malaga in November, 1802, with wine, etc., to Joseph White. The ship "Restitution," John Derby (3d), master, from Lisbon in April, 1805, with wine, figs and salt to Simon Forrester. The bark "Active," William P. Richardson, master, from Malaga in June, 1807, with twenty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-six gallons of Malaga wine to Timothy Wellman, Jr. The brig "Washington," Nathan Story, master, from Barcelona in July, 1807, with red wine, brandy and soap, consigned to Stephen Phillips. The brig "Sukey and Betsey," Caleb Cook, master, from Malaga in November, 1807, with wine and raisins to Edward Allen. The ship "Sally," Nathan Cook, master, from Lisbon in September, 1824, with salt, etc., to James Cook. The last entry from Lisbon was in 1829. The principal articles imported from Spain and Portugal were salt, wine, brandy and soap.

TRADE WITH OTHER EUROPEAN PORTS.—Prior to the War of 1812 Salem vessels were to be found in all the principal ports of Europe, and Salem merchants were trading with Copenhagen, Gottenburg, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg, Rotterdam, London, Liverpool and Bordeaux. The principal trade with Copenhagen was between 1796 and 1807. There were eight entries in 1799; that with Gottenburg, from 1809 to 1812, and from 1820 to 1823, there being thirteen entries from that port in 1810; that with Antwerp, from 1817 to 1830, there being nine entries from that port in 1827; that with Hamburg, from 1798 to 1802, there being five entries in

the last-named year; that with Amsterdam, from 1802 to 1806, there being five entries in the first-named year; and that with Bordeaux, from 1794 to 1807, there being twelve entries in 1804 and the same number in 1805, the whole period showing sixty-nine entries. There were only occasional entries from the other ports. The last entry from Copenhagen was in 1816: from Amsterdam, in 1823; from Antwerp, in 1836; from Hamburg, in 1828; from Gottenburg, in 1837; from Rotterdam, in 1834; and from Bordeaux, in 1815.

From Copenhagen the brig "Francis," J. Wallace master, entered in March, 1792, and again in November, 1792, with iron and glass, consigned to William Gray. The early trade with Copenhagen seems to have been carried on largely by Mr. Gray. John Fish, Ezekiel H. Derby, Joseph Peabody, Thomas Perkins, and George Crowninshield & Sons were also engaged in this trade. The whole number of entries from Copenhagen was forty-five. The last entry was the schooner "Rover," Josiah Dewing master, in August, 1816, consigned to Pickering Dodge.

The brig "Hector," Captain Lewis, arrived in 1788. While the brig lay at Marlstrand, where she discharged her cargo, a Swedish ship was wrecked on a very rough and rocky part of the island in a violent storm. The crew, with assistance from the land, soon got safely ashore, except the mate, who went overboard with the fore-mast, to the top of which he had retreated for safety. The mast remained attached to the wreck by the shrouds, and the man continued his hold on the mast, the waves continually breaking over him. The sea was in such violent agitation and the shore so rugged that an attempt to recover him was extremely hazardous. About twenty sail of Swedes were then in the harbor, whose boats were many of them employed to succor the distressed object, but returned without effecting it, intimidated by the danger. At length application was made to Captain Lewis's crew for their assistance, with the offer of a considerable pecuniary reward if they would make the attempt, even should it fail of success, but they nobly refused going on a mercenary principle. However, from pure motives of humanity, the mate and six hands went off in a boat, at the utmost hazard of their lives and under the discouraging representations of those Swedes who had before sailed, surmounted every danger, and brought the sufferer, with just the remains of life, ashore, after hanging, as it were, by a straw several hours in the water. The offer of money was now repeated to them, and again refused. The Governor of the place being made acquainted with the transaction, sent for these brave Americans to his house, and, taking each of them by the hand, made the most honorary acknowledgments for their successful exertions to rescue from destruction a subject of Sweden, but a stranger to them, and presented the mate with a golden spoon and each of the others with a silver spoon, as testi-

monies of their heroism and humanity, and also granted them the liberty of walking in any part of the city at any time of day or night, a privilege in which even their own subjects are not indulged. In short, so much was this act admired that it gained them every mark of respect from the citizens, and the name of an American, says the account, became synonymous with that of hero and friend.

From Gottenburg the schooner "Nancy," Richard Derby master, entered in August, 1791, with iron, consigned to E. H. Derby, Jr., & Co. and John Fisk. The ship "Nancy," J. Devereux master, entered in August, 1792, consigned to John Fisk. From 1794 to 1804 there were no entries from this port. The ship "Rising States," Benjamin Beckford, Jr., master, entered in February, 1804, with hemp, to William Gray. The schooner "Saucy Jack," Benjamin Upton master, in September, 1809, with glass, to Timothy Wellman, Jr. The brig "Neptune," Henry King master, in December, 1810, with cordage, steel and sheet-iron, to John Saunders. The ship "China," Hiram Putnam, master, in October, 1820, with iron, to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Jane," Thomas Saul master, in July, 1820, with iron, to Willard Peele. The brig "Roscoe," J. Briggs master, in October, 1825, with iron, to Charles Saunders. The brig "Cynthia," Benjamin Shillaber master, in October, 1826, to David Pingree. The ship "Borneo," I. Nichols master, in September, 1835, with iron, consigned to Z. F. Silabce. The brig "Leander," J. S. Kimball master, in August, 1836, to Joseph Peabody. The whole number of entries from Gottenburg was sixty-one. The last entry was the brig "Mexican," in July, 1837, consigned to Joseph Peabody.

From Antwerp the ship "Messenger," Edward Stanley master, entered in June, 1817, consigned to John Forrester. The brig "Nancy Ann," John B. Osgood master, in August, 1817, to Stephen Phillips. The brig "Naiad," Nathaniel Osgood master, in July, 1823, to Gideon Barstow and others. The brig "Indus," Thomas Moriarty master, in April, 1826, to Pickering Dodge. The brig "Centurion," William Duncan master, in May, 1826, with linseed-oil, to Nathaniel West, Jr. The ship "Friendship," Nathaniel Osgood master, in May, 1827. The brig "Niagara," Oliver Thayer master, in August, 1829, to Joseph Peabody. The whole number of entries from Antwerp was fifty-five. The last entry was the brig "Curlew," J. Cheever master, in October, 1836, consigned to Edward Allen.

From Amsterdam the brig "Peggy," Jonathan Derby master, entered in September, 1794, with glassware, paint, iron, steel and ribbons, consigned to Benjamin Pickman, Jr. The ship "Essex," Solomon Stanwood master, in September, 1800, with forty-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-one pounds of cheese, five thousand pounds of nails and eight thousand gallons of gin, to Nathaniel West and William Gray. The ship "Minerva," Matthew Folger master,

in September, 1802, with gin, steel and cheese, to West, Williams & Crowninshield. The whole number of entries from Amsterdam was twenty-three. The last entry was the ship "Endeavour," James D. Gillis master, in October, 1823.

From Hamburg the schooner "John," Benjamin Webb master, entered in December, 1792, with steel, glass and spirits, consigned to John Fisk. The schooner "Patty," Edward Allen, Jr., master, in October, 1794, with gin, brandy, hemp and Bohea tea, to Nathaniel West. The brig "Hope," Benjamin Shillaber master, in October, 1794, to John Norris. The brig "Salem," Oliver Obear master, in June, 1799, with gin and hemp, to William Gray. The ship "Friendship," Israel Williams master, in July, 1799, to Peirce & Wait. The brig "Thetis," John Fairfield master, in November, 1799, to Jonathan Gardner. The schooner "Cynthia," John H. Andrews master, in November, 1801, to Pickering Dodge and others. The brig "Helen," Samuel C. Martin master, in December, 1816, with iron, to Humphrey Devereux. The brig "Roscoe," Benjamin Vanderford master, in September, 1823. The whole number of entries from Hamburg was thirty-six. The last entry was the brig "Texel," Samuel Wells master, in January, 1828.

From Rotterdam the ship "Peggy," James Very master, entered in August, 1791. The ship "Active," George Nichols master, in August, 1803, with gin, to Benjamin Hodges & Co. The bark "Georgetown," Joshua Safford master, in September, 1806, to Pickering Dodge. The brig "Indus," John Day master, in November, 1823, with white-lead, nutmegs and mace, to Henry Prince. The whole number of entries from Rotterdam was sixteen. The last entry was the ship "Borneo," C. Prescott master, in May, 1834.

From Bordeaux the brig "Essex," John Green master, entered in November, 1790, consigned to Orne & Saunders. The brig "Columbia," Henry Rust master, in April, 1792, to William Gray. The brig "Nancy," Edward West master, in July, 1794, with wine and sweetmeats, to John Derby, Jr. The brig "Favorite," Peter Lander master, in October, 1796, to John Norris & Co. The schooner "Betsey," Israel Williams master, in November, 1796, with brandy, wine and cheese, to Peirce & Wait. The brig "Exchange," William Richardson master, in May, 1797, with claret wine and brandy, to Ezekiel H. Derby. The schooner "Jason," Benjamin West, Jr., master, in June, 1797, to Benjamin West & Son. The brig "Nancy," Jonathan Neal master, in August, 1797, to William Gray. The brig "Catherine," Daniel Gould master, in May, 1803, to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Pompey," James Gilchrist master, in March, 1804, with wine and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two gallons of brandy, to Joshua Ward. The ship "Prudent," Edward Ford master, in July, 1804, to Nathaniel West. The brig

"Edwin," Penn Townsend master, in October, 1804, with wine and prunes, to Moses Townsend. The brig "Industry," J. Cook master, in February, 1805, to William Orne. The ship "Algoi," Thomas Folinsbie master, in October, 1807, with wine, to Nathan Robinson. The whole number of entries from Bordeaux was seventy-five. The last entry was the schooner "Cyrus," Benjamin Upton master, in November, 1815, with brandy, yellow ochre and prunes, to Robert Upton.

From Stockholm the ship "China," H. Putnam master, entered in August, 1823, consigned to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Centurion," Samuel Hutchinson master, in October, 1829, with iron, consigned to Gideon Tucker.

From Christiana the brig "Industry," Samuel Smith master, entered in March, 1812, with iron hoops and window-glass, to William Orne. The brig "Cuba," Josiah B. Andrew master, in November, 1816, with iron, steel and glass, to John Andrew.

On the 7th of January, 1796, the ship "Margaret," of Boston, John Mackey master, with a valuable cargo from Amsterdam, went ashore in Salem harbor, on the Eastern Gooseberry, during a snow-storm. The captain and three others perished on the wreck. The rest were saved by men from Marblehead. On the 11th of the same month the brig "John," Ebenezer B. Ward master, from London, was lost on the Great Misery during a snow-storm. There was at this time no light on Baker's Island, and these shipwrecks led the Salem Marine Society to send a memorial to Congress, dated in February, 1796, in which it is stated that "much of the property and many of the lives of their fellow-citizens are almost every year lost in coming into the harbor of Salem, for want of proper lights to direct their course. No less than three vessels, with their cargoes, and sixteen seamen have been lost the present season." The act authorizing the erection of a light-house on Baker's Island was approved April 8, 1796, and the lights were shown for the first time January 3, 1798.

On the 21st of February, 1802, the ship "Ulysses," Captain James Cook, the "Brutus," Captain William Brown, owned by the Messrs. Crowninshield, and the "Volucia," Captain Samuel Cook, belonging to Israel Williams and others, sailed from Salem for Bordeaux and the Mediterranean. When they departed the weather was remarkably pleasant for the season, but in a few hours a furious snow-storm commenced. After using every exertion to clear Cape Cod, the tempest forced them the next day upon its perilous shore. The "Volucia" struck in the forenoon and the other two in the evening. The first was saved with part of her cargo, but the others were total wrecks. The saddest part of this catastrophe was the loss of life in the "Brutus." One hand was killed by the fore-yard prior to the ship's striking, another was drowned while attempting to reach the shore, and the commander, with six men, perished with the

cold after they had landed. Captain Samuel Cook, of the "Volucia," was associated with mercantile affairs in Salem for a long period. He was born August 3, 1769, and was the son of Stephen and Elizabeth (Newhall) Cook. In 1797 he was commanding a vessel bound for Cadiz. During the palmy days of the East India trade he was engaged in distributing that wealth through the South. He died in Salem December 10, 1861, having lived through the whole period of the rise and decline of the commerce of Salem.

MEDITERRANEAN TRADE.—Besides the Spanish ports on the Mediterranean, Salem vessels visited Marseilles, Genoa, Naples, Leghorn, Messina, Palermo, Smyrna and Trieste. Salt, wine, brandy, figs, raisins, almonds, candles and soap were among the articles imported from those ports. Leghorn and Marseilles were the ports most frequently visited. From 1804 to 1808 there were forty-six entries from the former and twenty from the latter port. From 1821 to 1829 there were forty-one entries from Leghorn and seventeen from Marseilles. The last entry from Leghorn was in 1841 and from Marseilles in 1833. The principal trade with the Mediterranean ports was from 1800 to 1808.

From Leghorn the ship "Martha," John Prince, Jr., master, entered in July, 1799, with 40,893 gallons of wine, 18,490 gallons of brandy and 6744 pounds of soap, consigned to Elias H. Derby, and paying a duty of \$12,840.12. The ship "Lucia," Thomas Meek master, in July, 1800, with brandy, soap, etc., to William Gray, and paying a duty of \$20,301. The brig "Sukey," Samuel Sweet master, in August, 1800, to Simon Forrester. The ship "Friendship," Israel Williams master, in September, 1805, to Peirce & Wait. The brig "Betsy," Andrew Tucker master, in June, 1806, with soap, tallow, figs, currants, raisins, almonds and candles, to Joseph Peabody and Gideon Tucker. The ship "America," Joseph Ropes master, in June, 1807, to Nathaniel Silsbee. The ship "Hope," James Barr master, in November, 1807. The brig "William and Charles," Isaac Killam master, in November, 1807, with soap, candles, currants and wine, to Michael Shepard. There were no entries from Leghorn from 1808 to 1816. The ship "Sophia," Jonathan P. Felt master, entered in April, 1816, consigned to Charles H. Orne. The ship "Eliza," William Osgood master, in January, 1821, to Stephen Phillips. The brig "Essex," William Fairfield master, in January, 1822, with candles, soap, raisins, etc., to Nathaniel Silsbee. The ship "Two Brothers," William Messervy master, in February, 1823, to Holton J. Breed. The brig "Gov. Endicott," H. C. Mackay master, in October, 1823, to Pickering Dodge. The brig "Malay," J. Richardson, master, in May, 1825, with lead and currants, to Nathaniel Silsbee. The bark "Patriot," John Marshall master, in August, 1826, to John H. Andrew. The ship "Janus," Henry G. Bridges master, in August, 1829,

with salt, wine and letter-paper, to Gideon Tucker. The brig "Amazon," Oliver Thayer master, in March, 1832, with salt, etc., to Joseph Peabody. The last vessel to arrive from Leghorn was the brig "Mexican," H. Johnson master. She entered in September, 1839, in March, 1840, and in September, 1841, consigned on each voyage to Joseph Peabody. The whole number of entries from Leghorn was one hundred and thirteen.

From Marseilles the schooner "Union," Stephen Field master, entered in October, 1802, consigned to Edward Allen. The ship "Ulysses," William Mugford master, in August, 1804, with prunes, almonds, 18,199 pounds of soap, 48,233 gallons of wine and 1571 gallons of brandy, consigned to William Gray. The ship "Endeavour," James Buffinton master, in July, 1805, with 44,902 gallons of claret wine, etc., to Simon Forrester. The brig "Industry," Jonathan Cook master, in March, 1806, to William Orne. The brig "Sukey," Samuel B. Graves master, in November, 1807, to Nathan Pierce. The schooner "Agawam," Francis Boardman master, in June, 1816, to John Dodge. The ship "Perseverance," James Silver master, in October, 1816, with salt, brandy and claret wine, to Willard Peete and William Fettyplace. The brig "Cygnets," Samuel Kennedy master, in July, 1823, with wine, to Stephen White. The brig "Java," William H. Neal master, in September, 1823, with 35,295 gallons of red wine, 1045 gallons of oil and 9708 pounds of soap, to Jonathan Neal. The ship "Endeavour," J. Kinsman master, in December, 1827, to Dudley L. Pickman. The ship "Messenger," James Buffinton master, in January, 1828, to John Forrester. The ship "Bengal," J. Richardson master, in August, 1830, to Pickering Dodge. The whole number of entries from Marseilles was fifty-three. The last entry was the brig "Roque," T. Seaver master, in February, 1833, with salt, etc., to Joseph Peabody.

From Naples the ketch "John," Stephen Phillips master, entered in March, 1799, with 25,000 gallons of brandy and 46,417 pounds of soap, consigned to Elias H. Derby, and paying a duty of \$11,299. The brig "Cruger," John Burton master, in July, 1800, with soap and wine, to John & Richard Derby. The ship "John," Daniel Bray master, in May, 1804, with 32,437 gallons of wine, to Benjamin Pickman, Jr. The brig "Belleisle," Samuel Leech master, in August, 1805, to Pickering Dodge and Nathan Robinson. The ship "Hercules," Edward West master, was seized in Naples in 1809, but Captain West had the good fortune to obtain her release in order to transport Lucien Bonaparte and family to Malta, thus saving his ship from confiscation. The "Hercules" was owned by Nathaniel West. The schooner "Joanna," Jonathan Hassam master, entered in January, 1810, with brandy, etc., to Samuel Gray. The last entry from Naples was the ship "Francis," William Haskell master, in August, 1810. This vessel

was purchased of the Neapolitan government by the American consul to bring home the crews of American vessels confiscated by order of that government. She brought two hundred and fourteen persons, a large number of whom belonged in Salem. The Salem vessels and cargoes condemned at Naples were valued at seven hundred and eighty-three thousand dollars.

The ship "Margaret," of Salem, William Fairfield master, left Naples April 10, 1810, with a crew, fifteen in number, and thirty-one passengers. On Sunday, May 20th, a squall struck the ship, and she was thrown on her beam-ends. As every person on board was on deck at the time, they all reached either the bottom or side of the ship, the waves at the time making a continual breach over her. Monday morning the sea was tolerably smooth, and one of the boats having been repaired, Captain Fairfield and fourteen men left the ship in her, and were picked up on Saturday, May 26th, by the brig "Poncher," of Boston. The sufferings of those left on the wreck can hardly be imagined. After the long-boat had departed they raised a signal of distress. On the 28th a gale swept away the stage they had erected, and the provisions they had gathered, except a small quantity of wine and salt meat. On the 30th they made another stage over the fore-castle, and so kept themselves out of the water. June 3d one of the number died of fatigue and famine. For seven days they had nothing to drink each day but an allowance of three gallons of wine for all, and a glass of vinegar for each man. Many could not resist the temptation to quench their thirst from a pipe of brandy which had been saved from the cargo. On the 5th twelve of their number, overcome by their hardships and privations, died, and another on the next day. By the sixth the whole of the upper deck had gone, and no food was left but beef and pork, which could not be eaten because there was no fresh water. Since the time of the disaster, May 20th, four vessels had passed in sight of the sufferers on the wreck and added the pangs of disappointed hope to their other trials.

On the 7th, five of the number left the wreck in a small yawl. These were John C. Very, E. A. Irvin, and Jephtha Laytū, of Salem; Henry Larcom, of Beverly; and John Treadwell, of Ipswich. They left about ten survivors on the wreck, and from these no tidings ever came. Who can imagine their agony, as hope gradually faded out, and they died one by one in mid-ocean. The escape of those in the small boat is a remarkable instance of human endurance, amid sufferings and hardships almost incredible. For sixteen days after leaving the wreck they had nothing to sustain them but brandy, a gill in twenty-four hours; and to quench their thirst were obliged to resort to most revolting means. On the night of June 22d there was a fall of rain, and water was caught in handkerchiefs, sufficient to partially allay their thirst.

June 23d, Treadwell, worn out with fatigue, hunger, and thirst, died without a struggle. The same day they caught some rudder fish, which was the first food they had eaten since they had left the wreck. On the twenty-eighth Layth died, leaving three survivors in the boat. The next day, with a heavy sea running, they lost their oars and mast, and having nothing to steer by they gave themselves up for lost. They had already been passed by three vessels, when, on the 30th, they saw another in the distance, and strained every nerve to get in her track. In this they were successful, and Captain Stephen L. Davis, of Gloucester, the master of the vessel, received them and treated them with great care and kindness. Tossed about in a small and shattered boat for twenty-three days, with scarcely any food or water to sustain them, exposed to storms and gales in which it seemed hardly possible that such a craft could keep afloat, their escape from such extraordinary perils and privations is hardly paralleled in the history of marine disasters.

From Messina, the ship "Prudent," Benjamin Crowninshield, master, entered in December, 1803, with 11,406 gallons of red wine, 6,413 gallons of white wine, 4,303 gallons of brandy, and 9,810 pounds of soap, consigned to Nathaniel West. The ship "Two Brothers," John Holman, master, in October, 1804, to Israel Williams. The brig "Louisa," Richard Ward, Jr., master, in August, 1810, to James Cook. The brig "Harriot," Samuel Becket, master, in October, 1811, with soap, raisins, almonds and wine to Nathaniel Silsbee. The brig "Eliza and Mary," Thorndike Procter, master, in August, 1818, to Stephen White. The last entry was the brig "Centurion," Samuel Hutchinson, master, in June, 1831, with currants, oil, &c., to Gideon Tucker.

From Smyrna, the brig "Independence," Nathaniel L. Rogers, master, entered in April, 1810, to Dudley L. Pickman. The brig "Reward," James Hayes, Jr., master, in July, 1810, with almonds, raisins and figs, consigned to Charles H. Orne and Dudley L. Pickman. The brig "Resolution," Samuel Rea, master, in April, 1812, to Joseph Peabody. The brig "Hope," John Beckford, master, in December, 1829, with one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds of figs, to Daniel Abbot and Robert Stone. The last entry was the brig "Leander," James Silver, master, in January, 1831, with salt, figs, raisins and wool, to Joseph Peabody.

From Trieste, the brig "Texel," Charles Hill, master, entered in December, 1825, with olive oil and lead, consigned to John W. Rogers. The bark "Eliza," Samuel Benson, master, in July, 1829, with hemp and glass, to Stephen White.

The brig "Persia," John Thistle, master, from Trieste for Salem, belonging to Silsbee, Stone & Pickman, and having a cargo of rags and sumac, was wrecked in the storm of March 5, 1829, on a rocky shore near Brace's Cove, about a mile and a half below Eastern Point, Gloucester, and all on board perished.

From Genoa, the brig "Nereus," David A. Neal, master, entered in March, 1822, with raisins, &c., to John W. Rogers. The brig "Rebecca," J. P. Andrews, master, in July, 1831, to John H. Andrew.

Among other entries was that of the brig "Telema-chus," Penn Townsend, master, from Constantinople in May, 1810, with cordage figs, raisins and currants, to David Burditt.

Among the last voyages projected by Elias Hasket Derby was one up the Mediterranean, by the ship "Mount Vernon," in 1799. Hostilities had commenced between the United States and France. American trade had been rendered unsafe, and, as a consequence, a great demand for sugar had arisen in the ports of the Mediterranean. At this crisis Mr. Derby had built the ship "Mount Vernon," of three hundred and fifty-six tons, equipped her with twenty guns, manned her with fifty men, and, after loading her with eight hundred cases of sugar, placed her in the hands of his son, Elias Hasket, with a sailing-master. The cargo cost forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy-five dollars. The following letter, written by his son, is interesting as showing the risks attending our commercial ventures at this period:

"GIBRALTAR, 1st August, 1799.

"E. H. DERBY, Esq., Salem:

"Honored Sir: I think you must be surprised to find me here so early. I arrived at this port in seventeen and one-half days from the time my brother left the ship. In eight days and seven hours were up with Carvo, and made Cape St. Vincent in sixteen days. The first of our passage was quite agreeable; the latter light winds, calm, and Frenchmen constantly in sight for the last four days. The first Frenchman we saw was off Tercira—a lugger to the southward. Being uncertain of his force, we stood by him to leeward on our course, and soon left him. July 28th, in the afternoon, we found ourselves approaching a fleet of upwards of fifty sail steering nearly northeast. We ran directly for their centre; at four o'clock found ourselves in their half-moon; concluding it impossible that it could be any other than the English fleet, continued our course for their centre to avoid any apprehension of a want of confidence in them. They soon dispatched an eighteen-gun ship from their centre, and two frigates—one from their van and another from their rear—to beat toward us, we being to windward. On approaching, under easy sail, the centre ship I fortunately bethought myself that it would be but common prudence to steer so far to windward of him as to be a grape-shot distance from him, to observe his force and maneuvering. When we were abreast of him he fired a gun to leeward and hoisted English colors. We immediately bore away and meant to pass under his quarter, between him and the fleet, showing our American colors. This movement disconcerted him, and it appeared to me he conceived we were either an American sloop of war or an English one in disguise, attempting to cut him off from the fleet; for, while we were in the act of wearing on his beam, he hoisted French colors and gave us his broadside. We immediately brought our ship to the wind and stood on about a mile; wore toward the centre of the fleet; hove about and crossed him on the other tack, about half grape-shot distance, and received his broadside. Several of his shot fell on board of us and cut our sails, two round-shot striking us without much damage. All hands were active in clearing ship for action, for our surprise had been complete. In about ten minutes we commenced firing our stern-chasers, and in a quarter of an hour gave him our broadside in such a style as evidently sickened him; for he immediately luffed in the wind, gave us his broadside, went in stays in great confusion, wore ship afterward in a large circle, and renewed the chase at a mile and a half distance, a manoeuvre calculated to keep up appearances with the fleet and to escape our shot. We received seven or eight broadsides from him, and I was mortified at not having it in my power to return him an equal number without exposing myself to the rest of the fleet, for I am persuaded I should have had the pleasure of sending him home, had he been separate from them.

"At midnight we had distanced them, the chasing rocket-signals being almost out of sight, and soon left them. We then kept ourselves in constant preparation till my arrival here; and, indeed, it has been requisite, for we have been in constant brushes ever since. The day after we left the fleet we were chased till night by two frigates, whom we lost sight of when it was dark. The next morning off Cape St. Vincent, in the latitude of Cadiz, were chased by a French lateen-rigged vessel, apparently of ten or twelve guns—one of them an eighteen pounder. We brought to for him; his metal was too heavy for ours, and his position to windward, where he lay just in a situation to cast his shot over us, and it was not in my power to cut him off; we, of course, bore away and saluted him with our long nines. He continued in chase till dark, and when we were nearly by Cadiz, at sunset, he made a signal to his consort, a large lugger, whom we had just discovered ahead. Having a strong breeze, I was determined to pass my stern over him, if he did not make way for me. He thought prudent so to do. At midnight we made the lights in Cadiz City, but found no English fleet. After laying to till daylight, concluded that the French must have gained the ascendancy in Cadiz, and thought prudent to proceed to this place, where we arrived at twelve o'clock, popping at Frenchmen all the forenoon. At ten A. M. off Algeiras Point, were seriously attacked by a large lateen, who had on board more than a hundred men. He came no near our broadside as to allow our six-pound grape to do execution handsomely. We then bore away and gave him our stern-guns in a cool and deliberate manner, doing apparently great execution. Our bars having cut his masts considerably, he was thrown into confusion, struck both his ensign and his pennant. I was then puzzled to know what to do with so many men; our ship was running large, with all her steering-gills out, so that we could not immediately bring her to the wind, and we were directly off Algeiras Point, from whence I had reason to fear she might receive assistance, and my port (Gibraltar) in full view. These were circumstances that induced me to give up the gratification of bringing him in. It was, however, a satisfaction to flog the rascal in full view of the English fleet, who were to leeward. The risk of sending her in is great. Indeed, for any ship short of our force in men and guns—but particularly heavy guns. Two nines are better than six or eight sixes; and two long twelves or thirteen pounders do better than twenty sixes, and could be managed with few men.

"It is absolutely necessary that two government ships should occasionally range the straits and latitude of Cadiz, from the longitude of Cape St. Vincent. I have now, while writing to you, two of our countrymen in full view, who are prizes to these villains. Lord St. Vincent, in a fifty-gun ship, bound for England, is just at this moment in the act of retaking one of them. The other goes into Algeiras without molestation.

"I find that nothing is to be done here with advantage except to obtain information from above. I have been offered thirty dollars to deliver my sugar at Naples, where I think I shall go; but rather expect to sell at Venice, Constantinople or Genoa, in case the French are driven from there. I have concluded to touch at Malaga with Captain Young, of Boston, and obtain what information I can; and think I may direct Mr. White how to lay out the property in his hands, against my return, as I think it for your interest to have it out of Spain. You need have but little apprehension for my safety, as my crew are remarkably well trained and are perfectly well disposed to defend themselves, and I think, after having cleared ourselves from the French in such a handsome manner, you may well conclude that we can effect almost any thing. If I should go to Constantinople, it will be from a passport from Admiral Nelson, for whom I carry a letter to Naples.

"Your affectionate son,

"ELIAS HASKET DERBY."

In subsequent letters Mr. Derby writes: "My sales here amount to about \$120,000, which I have found impossible to invest immediately in a cargo proper for America. I have, therefore, contracted for \$60,000 in silks called ormazene, and about seven hundred casks of wine. In the meantime, whilst the silks are in the loom, I have thought it for your interest to purchase two polacca-rigged ships, of two hundred and ninety and three hundred and ten tons, both of them very fine ships, almost new and great sailers. They are now ready to proceed with the 'Mount Vernon' for

Manfredonia, to take on your account cargoes of wheat to Leghorn, which, from the rising state of the market, I think will more than clear the ships. They cost, with all expenses, about \$16,000. The two ships made a voyage for wheat and cleared nearly \$30,000 in two and a half months." Mr. Derby dined with Lord Nelson and the officers of the fleet at Naples. The beautiful Lady Hamilton was present at this dinner. The "Mount Vernon" arrived home safely, with a cargo of silks, wines and brass cannon, and realized a net profit of more than one hundred thousand dollars on a capital of forty-three thousand, two hundred and seventy-five dollars, the cost of the outward cargo.

The foregoing account illustrates the great disadvantages, in some respects, under which the commerce of that period was prosecuted. Mr. Derby desired to return to Salem from the Mediterranean by the fall of 1799, but his silks must be manufactured and he must wait till the red wine of Port lolo is ready to ship. "Exchange on London," he says, "is very disadvantageous, besides the uncertainty of it, and to leave property in a distracted country like this, where they guillotine six a day, three or four times a week, would be madness." So he must perforce remain till his cargo is ready, and that he may not remain in idleness, he buys two ships and freights wheat to Leghorn, and makes nearly thirty thousand dollars in less than three months. He returned in 1800 with the "Mount Vernon" and a valuable cargo. Great as were the obstacles placed in the way of trade at that period, these very drawbacks made possible the sometimes enormous profits of the voyage, so that although to-day trade is carried on with greater facility, there is no such opportunity for making a fortune in a single venture, as was possible about a hundred years ago.

THE NOVA SCOTIA TRADE.—About the year 1840 the trade between Salem and Nova Scotia, and the other British provinces on the eastern coast of North America, began to be vigorously prosecuted, mainly by English vessels, whose captains often owned both ship and cargo. This trade increased very rapidly. Wood, coal and plaster were among the principal articles of import. In 1840 there were fifteen entries; in 1845, one hundred and seven; in 1850, three hundred and ninety-one; in 1855, three hundred and twenty-eight; in 1860, two hundred and fifteen; in 1865, one hundred and eighteen; in 1870, one hundred and seventeen; in 1875, fifty-nine; in 1878, fifty-three; in 1886, ninety. During the thirty years from 1841 to 1870, inclusive, there were five thousand seven hundred and twenty-four entries. The period of the greatest activity was from 1848 to 1857, inclusive, when there were 3253 entries, or an average of 325 for each year.

THE CALIFORNIA TRADE.—A letter giving definite information of the discovery of gold in California reached Salem in October, 1848. The brig "Mary and Ellen" was then fitting for sea. A cargo suita-

ble for the California trade was at once put on board, by Stephen C. Phillips and others, and the brig, under command of Captain J. H. Eagleston, was cleared October 27, 1848, for the Sandwich Islands *via* California. Salem again takes the lead, for this was the first vessel to sail for California from Massachusetts after the gold discovery. Both vessel and cargo were sold in California. The first vessel that cleared from Massachusetts for San Francisco direct, with an assorted cargo and passengers, was the bark "Eliza," of Salem, loaded by John Bertram and others, and commanded by Captain A. S. Perkins. She left Salem December 23, 1848, and arrived at San Francisco June 1, 1849. Alfred Peabody, of Salem, was among the passengers, and upon his arrival he found that Captain Eagleston had already sold the "Mary and Ellen," and her cargo. John Beadle, Jr., Dennis Rideout, George P. Buffum, George W. Kenney and Jonathan Nichols, all of Salem, were passengers with Mr. Peabody.

The bark "Lagrange," Joseph Dewing, master, sailed from Salem for San Francisco March 17, 1849, taking as passengers the "Salem and California Trading Company," among whom were Joseph Dewing, Anthony Francis, Nicholas Bovey, J. K. Vincent, P. Gilman, John H. Pitman, H. B. Bogardus, H. A. Tuttle, C. R. Story, A. Robbins, John McCloy, George Harris, C. C. Teele, Joseph L. Bartlett, William P. Leavitt, Thomas B. Flowers, Eben Chapman, Charles E. Brown, William H. Sibley, O. A. Gordon, John H. Dakin, Daniel Couch, D. A. Nichols, Moses Prime, Edward Fuller, William Brown, B. F. Symonds, William Sinclair and James Stewart, of the Trading Company, and Nathaniel Osgood and Richard H. Austin, all of Salem. On board the same vessel were twelve passengers from Danvers, four from Lynn, two each from Manchester and Beverly, four from Gloucester and about ten from other places.

The ship "Elizabeth," J. S. Kimball, master, was cleared for San Francisco April 3, 1849, by W. P. Phillips. Brackley R. Peabody and Robert M. Copeland, of Salem, went as passengers. The bark "Ann Parry," Wm. M. Harron, master, was cleared June 20, 1849, for San Francisco, by Benjamin Webb. James C. Briggs and Wm. H. Clark, of Salem, were passengers. The ship "Talma," Wm. B. Davis, master, cleared September 11, 1849, and the bark "Backus," A. D. Caulfield, Jr., master, cleared November 28, 1849, for San Francisco. In the "Backus" Joseph Allen, Charles R. Julyn, Thomas W. Taylor, Wm. Stafford and Wm. H. Brown went as passengers.

The ship "Crescent," John Madison, master, cleared for Benicia, Cal., December 3, 1849. She had been purchased by the Salem Mechanics' Trading and Mining Association, and was loaded with one hundred and thirty thousand feet of lumber, framed and made ready for erection into houses, and the frame-work of a small steamboat. On the 6th of December the "Crescent" left Salem with the following-

named members of the association as passengers: Albert Lackey, Thomas J. Gifford, Dean C. Symonds, John Madison, Thomas Dickson, Jr., John H. Newton, Jonathan Davis, Eben Waters, Nathaniel Jenkins, John D. Chapple, Edward A. Wheeler, George S. Nichols, John P. Dickson, Joshua Pope, Gilman Andrews, Israel Herrick, Charles L. Hardy, Wm. Graves, Wm. P. Buffum, Asa A. Whitney, Wm. H. Searles, James Gardner, Payne Morse, Benjamin S. Boardman, Samuel H. Larrabee and John Nichols, all of Salem, and a number from Lawrence, Fitchburg, Lynn and Newton, in all numbering about sixty-one. She arrived at her destination May 26, 1850, and was sold, with her cargo, very soon after arrival.

During the gold excitement a large number of Salem residents went to California, sailing from other ports. Stephen C. Phillips and John Bertram were among those engaged in the California trade.

SALEM TONNAGE.—In 1793 twelve ships were owned in Salem; in 1807, sixty; and in 1833 only twenty-nine. In 1825 there were thirty-two ships, five barks, ninety-five brigs, sixty schooners, and six sloops owned in Salem, measuring thirty-four thousand two hundred and twenty-four tons—the ship "Nile," of four hundred tons, was the largest; and in 1828 thirty ships, one hundred and two brigs, eight barks and thirty schooners, the largest being the ship "Arabella," of four hundred and four tons. In 1833 there were one hundred and eleven Salem vessels engaged in the foreign trade.

For some time after Salem ceased to be a port to which vessels from foreign countries brought their cargoes, Salem merchants continued to own a large amount of tonnage, but they transacted their business mainly in Boston and New York. At the present time (1887) there are hardly a dozen vessels hailing from Salem engaged in the foreign trade. The ship "Highlander," 1352 tons, owned by Benjamin W. Stone; the ships "Sooloo," 963 tons; "Mindoro," 1021 tons; and "Panay," 1190 tons, owned by Silsbee, Pickman & Allen; the barks "Glide," 493 tons, and "Taria Topan," 631 tons, owned by Ropes, Emmerton & Co.; the three-masted schooners "Benjamin Fabens," 687 tons; "Charles H. Fabens," 301 tons; and "George K. Hatch," 378 tons, owned by C. E. & B. H. Fabens; and the bark "Fury," 310 tons, owned by Henry O. Roberts, are all that are left to carry the name of Salem to foreign lands, and none of these ever enter the port of Salem.

Where once vessels were arriving—sometimes two in a single day—from India or other remote ports, but a solitary schooner found her way into Salem harbor from a foreign port, other than those from the British provinces, during the year ending June 30, 1878, and she brought a cargo of coal from England. At the custom-house, where, in the week ending September 15, 1798, seven Salem vessels—three ships, one bark and three brigs—cleared for Copenhagen, there

was cleared, during the year ending June 30, 1878, one vessel to the West Indies and one to Liverpool, the single entry and the two clearances being in the month of December. The whole number of foreign entries for that year was seventy-nine, of which eight were American vessels and the total tonnage was 8183. The number of foreign clearances was ninety six, of which nine were American vessels, the total tonnage being 10,090.

THE WHALE FISHERY.—After the decline of the foreign commerce of Salem it was hoped that the whale fishery might be successfully prosecuted, and for a short time there was quite a fleet of whalers hailing from this port. Stephen C. Phillips was agent, in 1841, for the ships "Elizabeth," 398 tons, and "Sapphire," 365 tons; and the barks "Emerald," 271 tons; "Eliza," 240 tons; "Henry," 262 tons; and "Malay," 268 tons. John B. Osgood was agent in the same year for the ships "Bengal," 300 tons; "Izette," 280 tons; "James Maury," 395 tons; and "Mount Wollaston," 325 tons; and the barks "Reaper," 230 tons, and "Statesman," 258 tons. Nathaniel Weston was agent for the bark "Palestine," 248 tons. The "Malay" was lost July 27, 1842, on Europa Rocks, in Mozambique Channel. The "Eliza" was condemned at Tahiti, June 15, 1843, and the "Statesman" at Talcahuana, November 3, 1844.

During the year ending April 1, 1837, sperm oil to the value of \$124,440 and 108,065 gallons of whale oil, valued at \$40,866, were landed at Salem. There were 432 hands employed in this business. During the year ending April 1, 1845, there was landed at Salem 45,705 gallons of sperm oil, valued at \$39,306, and 18,345 gallons of whale oil, valued at \$5686, the number of hands employed being 110. The hopes entertained at the outset in regard to the whale fishery were destined never to be realized.

Felt says, in 1847, "There are two whalers from Salem. The prospect is that this perilous employment, recommenced in hope as to its increase, continuance and profit, will soon terminate in disappointment." Benjamin Webb had some vessels engaged in this fishery, and John C. Osgood was agent of the last whalers that hailed from the port of Salem. This business was abandoned several years ago, and to-day no whalers are owned in Salem.

THE COASTING TRADE.—While Salem has lost her foreign trade, the harbor of Salem is not entirely barren of vessels, for a large amount of tonnage—larger even than when she was at the height of her commercial prosperity—now engaged in the coasting trade, brings coal to Salem for distribution to the mills of Lowell and Lawrence. In 1870 there entered the harbor 1812 coasting-vessels, having an aggregate tonnage of 213,514, and 1237 vessels measuring 203,798 tons entered during the year ending June 30, 1878. In 1885 there arrived at Salem 1599 vessels, with a tonnage of 270,000. The Salem and New York Steamship Company maintained a line of steam pack-

ets between Salem and New York from July, 1871, to June, 1872.

The "Massachusetts," the first steamboat to enter Salem harbor, arrived from New York in July, 1817, and was employed for a short time in making excursions in the bay. She was regarded at the time as a great curiosity, and attracted considerable notice from the towns-people. In this connection the fact is worthy of mention that Dr. Nathan Reed, of Salem, was the actual inventor of the first steamboat with paddle-wheels in American waters. Dr. Reed was certainly a most versatile genius. He was successively a student of medicine, apothecary, inventor, member of Congress, and finally chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Maine. He was born in Warren, Mass, in 1759, and graduated at Harvard in 1781. He studied medicine with Dr. E. A. Holyoke, of Salem, and afterwards kept an apothecary shop in that place.

While keeping store in Salem he presented a petition to Congress in 1790, stating, among other discoveries, that he had made one "of the application of steam to the purposes of navigation and land carriages." This petition was accompanied by a recommendation from a select committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was also the inventor of a patent for the manufacture of nails, which originated the building of the Danvers Iron Works. The trial-trip of his newly-invented steamboat was in the summer of 1789, and he had on board such distinguished guests as Governor Hancock, Hon. Nathan Dane, Dr. E. A. Holyoke and the Rev. Dr. Prince. His trip was from his iron works, at Danversport, to the Essex Bridge, at Beverly. Fulton's success on the Hudson was sixteen or eighteen years later. So Salem has not been behind her neighbors in navigation, whether under steam or canvas.

Dr. Reed represented this district in Congress, and in 1807 removed to Maine, where he was for many years chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He died at Belfast in 1790. His house in Salem stood on the site now occupied by Plummer Hall.

THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.—Hand-in-hand with commerce come the collectors and officers of the customs revenue. Before 1819, and during the palmy days of Salem commerce, there was no government building for the accommodation of such officers. Salem has been established as a port of entry at least since 1658. In 1668 Hilliard Veren was collector, and in 1683 Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury and Salisbury are annexed to the port of Salem by order of the Court of Assistants, and it is decreed that this port and Boston shall be lawful ports in this Colony, where "all ships and other vessels shall lade or unlade any of the plantations' enumerated goods, or other goods from foreign ports, and nowhere else, on penalty of the confiscation of such ship or vessel, with her goods and tackle, as shall lade or unlade elsewhere."

At an early period commerce seems to have centred about Creek Street and the locality of the present Granite Railroad Station. This is the supposed location of the "Port House on the South river," mentioned in an order of the Quarterly Court in 1636. All the "cannowes of the South Syde are to be brought before the Port House att the same time, to be viewed by the Surveiors." These "cannowes" were used for transporting passengers to North and South Salem before the days of bridges, and in them they sometimes went fowling "two leagues to sea." There was another port-house on North River, and much business was done in former years on that side of the town.

The custom-house for thirty-four years was in a building on the corner of Gedney Court, erected in 1645, and known as the French house, having been tenanted at some time by French families. In 1774 the custom-house seems to have been on Essex Street, between Washington (then School) and North Streets, and to have been burnt in the great fire of October 6, 1774, which destroyed the Rev. Dr. Whitaker's meeting-house, eight dwellings and fourteen stores. It is not unlikely that the custom-house records were also destroyed in this fire, thus accounting for the lack of any such records prior to the Revolution.

In 1789 it was on the site of the present bank building in Central Street. Major Hiller was then collector. In 1805 it was removed, under Colonel Lee, to the Central Building, on the opposite side of the street, where a carved eagle and shield, lately restored, still mark the spot. In 1807 it was in Essex Street for a time, opposite Plummer Hall; in 1811 it was on the corner of Essex and Newbury Streets, and, in 1813, in the Central Building again, where Colonel Lee resided, and whence, in 1819, it was removed to the government building erected for the purpose at the head of Derby Wharf, where it now remains. This building stands upon land bought of the heirs of George Crowninshield, and was the site of the Crowninshield mansion-house, which was removed to make way for the present structure. It was, says Hawthorne, "intended to accommodate a hoped-for increase in the commercial prosperity of the place—hopes destined never to be realized—and was built a world too large for any necessary purpose, even at the time when India was a new region, and only Salem knew the way thither." This custom-house is a substantial, two-story, brick building, with a large warehouse in the rear, the whole surmounted by a cupola, from which the inspectors can watch for incoming vessels. It is now out of all proportion to the business of the port, and the time is not far distant when it will be abandoned for some smaller quarters.

There has been collected in imposts at the port of Salem, since the organization of the Union in 1789, more than twenty-five millions of dollars. From

August 15, 1789, to 1791, the amount collected was \$108,064.48, and the number of foreign entries was 205. From 1791 to 1800, inclusive, the duties were \$2,949,817.19, and the foreign entries 1508. From 1801 to 1810, inclusive, the duties were \$7,272,633.31, and the foreign entries 1758. From 1811 to 1820, inclusive, the duties were \$3,832,894.81, and the foreign entries 835. From 1821 to 1830, inclusive, the duties were \$4,685,139.58, and the foreign entries 1226. From 1831 to 1840 the duties were \$1,987,509.12, and the foreign entries 903. From 1841 to 1850 the duties were \$1,534,558.58, and the foreign entries 2327. From 1851 to 1860, inclusive, the duties were \$1,816,676.42, and the foreign entries 3693. From 1861 to 1870, inclusive, the duties were \$846,741.74, and the foreign entries 1,420. The large increase in the number of foreign entries since 1841 is due to the large trade then carried on between Salem and Nova Scotia. From 1871 to 1878, inclusive, the duties were about \$223,911.96. The duties for the quarter ending December 31, 1807, when the embargo was officially announced in Salem, were \$511,000, which is the largest amount ever collected at Salem in a single quarter. The goods were imported in twenty-two ships, three barks, nineteen brigs and twenty-three schooners. In 1868 there was collected in duties \$118,114.37, of which \$30,000 was paid in a single month. In 1878 the whole amount collected was only about \$11,000, of which only about \$3600 was for direct imports. In 1886 the amount collected was about \$28,767.

Collectors of Customs.—The successive collectors since the Revolution have been Warwick Palfray (born October, 1715; died October 10, 1797), from 1776 to 1784; Joseph Hiller (born March 26, 1748; died February 9, 1814), 1784 to 1802; William R. Lee (born 1744; died in office, October 26, 1824), 1802 to 1824; James Miller, 1825 to 1849; Ephraim F. Miller, 1849 to 1857; William B. Pike, 1857 to 1861; Wilbur P. Phillips, 1861 to 1865; Robert S. Rantoul, 1865 to 1869; Charles W. Palfray, 1869 to 1873; Charles H. Odell, 1873 to 1885; Richard F. Dodge, 1885 to the present time.

Deputy Collectors.—The deputy collectors, under the present organization, have been: Charles Cleveland, from 1789 to 1802; William W. Oliver, 1803 to 1839; John B. Knight, 1839 to 1843; Ephraim F. Miller, 1843 to 1849; J. Linton Waters, 1849 to 1854; Henry K. Jenks, 1854 to 1857; Chipman Ward, 1857 to 1859; Henry Derby, 1859 to 1861; Ephraim F. Miller, 1861 to 1864; Charles S. Osgood, 1864 to 1873; J. Frank Dalton, 1873 to 1881; A. Frank Hitchings, 1881 to the present time.

Surveyors.—The surveyors during the same period have been Bartholomew Putnam, from 1789 to 1809; George Hodges, 1809 to 1817; John Saunders, 1818 to 1839; James Dalrymple, 1839 to 1834; Joseph Noble, 1834 to 1838; Edward Palfray, 1838 to 1841; Stephen Daniels, 1841 to 1843; Nehemiah Brown, 1843 to 1846; Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1846 to 1849; Allen Putnam, 1849 to 1854; Lewis Joselyn, 1854 to 1857; Ebenezer Dodge, 1857 to 1861; William C. Waters, 1861 to 1863; Charles F. Williams, 1863 to 1865; Joseph Moseley, 1865 to 1871; Charles D. Howard, 1871 to 1875, when the office was abolished.

Naval Officers.—The naval officers have been William Pickman, from 1789 to 1803; Samuel Ward, 1803 to 1812; Henry Eklin, 1812 to 1829; John Swasey, 1829 to 1842; Abraham True, 1842 to 1846; John D. Howard, 1846 to 1849; William Brown, 1849 to 1853; Charles Millett, 1853 to 1858; John Ryan, 1858 to 1860; Joseph A. Dalton, 1861 to 1865, when the office was abolished.

The two most prominent names in this list are those of Nathaniel Hawthorne and James Miller, —the one, the unequalled master of romance; the

other, "New England's most distinguished soldier." Nathaniel Hawthorne was born in Salem July 4, 1804, in the house now numbered twenty-one, on Union Street. He was a descendant of Major William Hawthorne, who came with Governor Winthrop, in the "Arbella." The name is an old and honored one in Salem, and prominently connected with its early history. On the death of his father, in 1808, he lived for a time with his maternal grandfather, Richard Manning, on Herbert Street. For a year he lived in Raymond, Me., and then returned to Salem. He was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1825, in the same class with the poet Longfellow. He was appointed weigher and gauger at Boston in 1838, and was removed in 1841 for political reasons; he was surveyor at Salem from 1846 to 1849; and consul of the United States at Liverpool from 1852 to 1856.

The growing interest in Hawthorne as a writer brings to the Custom-House a crowd of curious travelers from far and wide. The room he occupied, the desk on which he wrote, the stencil-plate with which he put his name on packages, the room in which he tells us he found the manuscript, telling the sad, strange story of Hester Prynne, were, until a few years since, preserved and examined with interest by tourists. The Custom-House was refurnished in 1873, and his desk was deposited by his successor in office with the Essex Institute. He died in Plymouth, N. H., May 19, 1864, while making a short journey, in the company of his friend and classmate, President Franklin Pierce.

James Miller was born in Peterboro', N. H., in 1776. He was bred to the law, and left the courts for the camp, on being appointed by Jefferson, in 1808, a major in the Fourth United States Infantry. He was with General Harrison throughout his famous western campaign of 1811; after this followed Brownstown, Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, and from the last dates his national fame and his brigadier's commission. At that battle Major-General Brown was in command, and was disabled; and Scott, of the First Brigade, was also disabled. It was plain that a certain hill, whose frowning front bristled with artillery, was the key to victory. At this juncture, Colonel Miller was called on to storm the work. "I'll try, sir!" was Miller's reply, and as he says, with his regiment reduced to less than three hundred men, he at once obeyed the order. Two regiments ordered to his support quailed and turned back. "Colonel Miller," says the official record, "without regard to this occurrence, advanced steadily and carried the height." "Not one man at the cannon," says he, in writing to his wife, "was left to put fire to them." The memorable words, "I'll try, sir!" were at once embossed upon the buttons of his shattered regiment, which was presented with a captured gun, for distinguished gallantry. On the following November, Congress voted him a gold medal

bearing his likeness, his famous words, and the names of Chippewa, Niagara and Fort Erie. He was also presented with a sword by the State of New York. General Miller was Governor of Arkansas Territory in 1819. He died July 7, 1851, in Temple, N. H.

Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Oliver are remarkable among the deputy collectors. The former was born in Norwich, Conn., June 21, 1772, and died June 5, 1872, coming within sixteen days of living out the century. At the age of ninety-eight he attended Mr. Oliver's funeral, who died at ninety-one. Mr. Oliver was connected with the Custom-House forty-six years. He was born in Salem December 10, 1778, and died December 29, 1869.

Jonathan Pue, now immortalized in "The Scarlet Letter," became "searcher and surveyor" in 1752, and died suddenly in office, March 24, 1760. In 1734 William Fairfax, whose name was afterwards pleasantly associated with that of Washington, left the collectorship of this port and removed to Virginia.

MARINE INSURANCE COMPANIES.—The rapid increase in the shipping at this port which took place after trade was opened between Salem and the East Indies led to the organization of a number of insurance companies where the merchants could insure ship and cargo. At the different offices of these companies the merchants assembled in the evening to transact their business, to read the papers and to hear the general gossip of the day. Here the shipmasters recounted the perils they had encountered, and compared notes with each other regarding the voyages from which they had just returned; and here, in the busy days of Salem's commerce, all was bustle and activity and life. Many of the offices were retained long after the business had greatly diminished, and became a place where the retired shipmasters of Salem resorted to discuss the news of the day, and recount the departed glories of the past.

The Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company was incorporated March 7, 1803, William Gray and others incorporators, and was located in the building on Essex Street, facing Central Street; Nathaniel Bowditch was its president for many years. The Merchants' Insurance Company, Peter Lander, president, was located in the store now occupied by Thomas B. Nichols, on the west side of Essex House yard. The Salem Commercial Insurance Company was incorporated in 1818, N. Silsbee, Joseph Story and others incorporators; George Cleveland, for many years, president. The Mercantile Insurance Company, incorporated in 1825, John Winn, Jr., president, was located on the western corner of Essex and St. Peter's Streets. After that company gave up business the Essex Insurance Company was formed and occupied the same location. The Oriental Insurance Company, incorporated in 1824, was located in the East India Marine building, and subsequently removed to Asiatic Bank building. The Social Insur-

ance Company was incorporated March 1, 1808, and revived June 5, 1830, for ten years, to settle old claims. The Salem Marine Insurance Company, which was incorporated in February, 1856, and commenced business in February, 1857, is the only marine insurance company now doing business in Salem. William Northey is president, and F. P. Richardson secretary.

SHIP-BUILDING.—It was natural that early attention should have been given to ship-building in a settlement where the staple article of trade was the product of the fisheries. In 1629 the Home Company sent six ship-builders to Salem, of whom Robert Moulton was chief. Salem Neck was used for ship-building from the very earliest period. So many people were located in that vicinity in 1679 that John Clifford was licensed to keep a victualling house for their convenience. In 1636 Richard Hollingworth, a ship-builder, who came to Salem in 1635, gets a grant of land on the neck from the town, and builds a ship of three hundred tons there in 1641. It is most probable that prior to 1637 Robert Moulton and his shipwrights built several small decked vessels for the fisheries and for trading. The Home Company ordered three shallops to be built in Salem in 1629, doubtless for fishing purposes. From 1629 to 1640 Salem had not much shipping of her own; but in the latter year the Rev. Hugh Peters, of the First Church, a man of great energy and sagacity, interested the people in ship-building, and in a few years an abundant supply of vessels were built. Salem became noted as one of the principal places in the colony for building vessels.

From 1659 to 1677 there appear to be four noted ship-builders in Salem, one of whom, Jonathan Pickering, gets a grant of land about Hardy's Cove from the town, to himself and heirs forever, to build vessels upon. From 1692 to 1718 seven ship-builders appear prominent in Salem, among whom are Joseph Hardy and William Becket. In 1662 the town authorities endeavor to accommodate, at Burying Point, near the foot of Liberty Street, those desirous of graving vessels. In 1676 Salem is said to be one of the principal places for building vessels, at four pounds per ton. Of the twenty-six vessels belonging to Salem in 1698-99, seventeen were built here. From 1700 to 1714, inclusive, registers were granted to four ships, three barks, nine brigs, twenty-four sloops and nineteen ketches belonging to Salem. They ranged from fifteen to ninety tons, and forty of them were built here. In 1705 the ship "Unity," of two hundred and seventy tons, was built in Salem, for Boston and London merchants, and in 1709 Joseph Hardy built the brig "American Merchant," of one hundred and sixty tons burden. In 1712 a sale is recorded by Ebenezer Lambert, shipwright, of Salem, of ye good sloop "Betty," lately built, of about eighty tons burden, to Benjamin Marston, of Salem, for two hundred and forty pounds, or three pounds per ton.

Vessels were built or repaired in Salem on the neck, including Winter Island; on the creek running into South River, near the foot of Norman Street; at the Burying Point near the foot of Liberty Street, and at other places on the South River; at Frye's Mills on the North River; and at Hardy's Cove. Referring to the creek running into the South River, Felt says, writing in 1842, that "its course was from the South River, below the mills, and up between Norman and High Streets. A century since boys would go in boats from its waters to a swamp in Crombie Street, and collect eggs from blackbirds' nests. Britton's Hill, running from Summer Street, formerly had a ship-yard, whence vessels were launched into the creek. An octogenarian vividly remembers a brig of one hundred and fifty tons, which was built on the margin of the same waters." It seems hardly credible that the principal ship-building of the town was at one time carried on in this locality, for scarcely a vestige remains to-day of the creek or cove, and the South River is gradually disappearing from view, and at this point runs through a covered culvert.

The Becketts have been famous as ship-builders in Salem. The ship-yard of the Becketts was situated between Phillips' Wharf and Webb's Wharf. This place has been known as Becket's Beach, and is directly in front of the old mansion-house built by John Becket about 1655. It was occupied by the Becketts as a ship-yard from 1655 to 1800, a period of one hundred and forty-five years. After 1800 Retire Becket built his vessels on land farther to the eastward.

The most famous vessel built by Retire Becket was the yacht "Cleopatra's Barge," of one hundred and ninety-one tons burden, whose owner, Captain George Crowninshield, spared no expense in her construction or in her appointments. She was built for a pleasure-trip to the Mediterranean, and excited wonder, even at Genoa, for her beauty, luxury and magnificence. She was launched October 21, 1816, in the presence of an immense concourse of people. During the winter of 1817 the harbor was frozen over to the Haste and Coney Island, and this vessel having returned from her voyage, a great many people drove over the ice in sleighs to visit her. Retire Becket also built, in 1799, the brig "Active," of two hundred and six tons, in which William P. Richardson made the first trading voyage from Salem to the Feejee Islands, in 1810; and in 1800 the ship "Margaret," of two hundred and ninety-five tons, which made the first voyage from Salem to Japan, leaving Salem November 10, 1800, under command of Samuel Derby; and in 1794, for Elias H. Derby, the ship "Recovery," of two hundred and eighty-four tons, which, under the command of Joseph Ropes, first displayed the stars and stripes at Mocha. He also built for Elias H. Derby, in 1798, the ship "Mount Vernon," of three hundred and fifty-six tons; for George Crowninshield & Sons, 1804, the ship "America," of four hundred

and seventy-three tons, famous as a privateer in the War of 1812; for Z. F. Silsbee and James Devereux, in 1807, the ship "Herald," of two hundred and seventy-four tons. The last vessel built by Mr. Becket was the brig "Becket," of one hundred and twenty-eight tons, for John Crowninshield, in 1818.

Ebenezer Mann came to Salem from Pembroke in 1783, and in the same year commenced building vessels in a yard near Frye's Mills, on North River, and continued in the business until about the year 1800. Among the vessels built by Mr. Mann was the brig "William," of one hundred and eighty-two tons, in 1784, for William Gray; the brig "Fanny," of one hundred and fifty-two tons, in 1785, for Benjamin Goodhue; the bark "Good Intent," of one hundred and seventy-one tons, in 1790, for Simon Forrester; the schooner "Betsey," of one hundred and eight tons, in 1792, for Jerathmael Peirce; the brig "Hind," of one hundred and fifty-seven tons, in 1795, for William Orne; the ship "Good Hope," of one hundred and eighty-eight tons, in 1795, for Nathaniel West; the bark "Eliza," of one hundred and eighty-seven tons, in 1796, for Joseph White; and the ship "Prudent," of two hundred and fourteen tons, in 1799, for Nathaniel West.

Christopher Turner, who came to Salem from Pembroke, where he was born in 1767, continued the business of ship-building at Frye's Mills after Mr. Mann retired. He built, among others, the schooner "Essex," of one hundred and fourteen tons, in 1800, for William Fabens, for the West India and Cayenne trade. The ship "Pompey," of one hundred and eighty-eight tons, in 1802, for William Orne. She was afterwards sold to Joshua Ward, made into a brig, and commanded by James Gilchrist. The ship "Hope," of two hundred and eighty-two tons, in 1805, for J. & J. Barr. The ship "Hunter," of two hundred and ninety-six tons, in 1807, for Jerathmael Peirce. The brig "Romp," of two hundred and thirty-two tons, in 1809, for Nathaniel Silsbee. She was commanded by William Lander, and was confiscated at Naples, in 1809, on her first voyage. The ship "Rambler," of two hundred and eighty-six tons, in 1811, for George Nichols. She was captured by the British in 1812, while commanded by Timothy Bryant. Mr. Turner built, at Union Wharf, for George Crowninshield, the sloop "Jefferson," of twenty-two tons, for a pleasure-yacht. She was launched in March, 1801, and is believed to have been the first real yacht built in the United States.

David Magoun built, on the neck, between the gate and Colonel John Hathorne's house, in 1805, the ship "Alfred," two hundred tons, for Joseph White.

Barker & Magoun built, at the same place, the schooner "Enterprise," two hundred tons, in 1812, and the schooner "Gen. Stark," in 1813.

Enos Briggs was one of the most noted ship-builders in Salem. He came here from Pembroke in 1790, and built the ship "Grand Turk," of five hundred and

sixty tons, for Elias Hasket Derby. She was built on the lot of land next east of Isaac P. Foster's store, and was launched May 19, 1791, and replaced the ship "Grand Turk," of three hundred tons, which was sold at the Isle of France in 1788. A Salem paper at the time of the launching calls her "the largest ship ever built in this country."

Having built the "Grand Turk," Mr. Briggs returned to Pembroke for his family. They arrived at Salem July 4, 1791, and the sloop in which they came brought, also, the frame of a dwelling-house, which he erected on Harbor Street, and which, for many years after his decease, was occupied by the family of his daughter, Mrs. Nathan Cook. Mr. Briggs was born in Pembroke July 29, 1746, and died in Salem October 10, 1819. His ship-yard in Salem was located between Peabody and Harbor Streets, west of the Naumkeag Cotton-Mills. Here he built for Elias Hasket Derby, in 1792, the ship "Benjamin," of one hundred and sixty-one tons, which was afterwards commanded by Nathaniel Silsbee; in 1794, the ketch "Eliza," of one hundred and eighty-four tons, which, under command of Stephen Phillips, made some of the early voyages to Calcutta and the Isle of France; in 1795 the ketch "John," of two hundred and fifty-eight tons, and the ketch "Brothers," of one hundred and forty-eight tons; and, in 1796, the ship "Martha," of three hundred and forty tons. For George Crowninshield & Sons he built, in 1794, the ship "Belisarius," of 261 tons. For Peirce & Wait, in 1797, the ship "Friendship," of 342 tons, afterwards commanded by Israel Williams. For Joseph Peabody, in 1798, the schooner "Sally," 104 tons; in 1798, the brig "Neptune," 160 tons; in 1801, the brig "Catherine," 158 tons; in 1803, the ship "Mount Vernon," 254 tons; in 1804, the ship "Janus," 277 tons; in 1805, the ship "Augustus," 246 tons; in 1807, the ship "Francis," 297 tons; in 1811, the ship "Glide," 306 tons; in 1812, the brig "Levant," 265 tons; and in 1816, the ship "China," of 370 tons. For Nathaniel West, 1794, the schooner "Patty," 111 tons, which, under command of Edward West, made one of the earliest voyages from Salem to Batavia; and in 1801, the ship "Commerce," 239 tons. For Benjamin Pickman, in 1803, the ship "Derby," of 300 tons. For Simon Forrester, in 1805, the ship "Messenger," 277 tons. For William Gray, in 1806, the ship "Pactolus," 288 tons. Mr. Briggs built, while in Salem, fifty-one vessels of 11,500 tons, among them the famous frigate "Essex," of 850 tons, built in 1799.

Elijah Briggs, on the death of his cousin Enos, continued the business of ship-building at the yard in South Salem. He built for Pickering Dodge, in 1819, the ship "Gov. Endicott," 279 tons; in 1828, the ship "Lotos," 296 tons; in 1828, the ship "Mandarin," 295 tons; and in 1829, the ship "Rome," 344 tons. For Jonathan Neal, in 1820, the brig "Java," 225 tons. For John Forrester, in 1823, the ship "Emerald," 271 tons. For Joseph Peabody, in 1824, the brig

"Mexican," 227 tons, and the brig "Amazon," 202 tons. For Gideon Tucker, in 1825, the brig "Olinda," 182 tons. Mr. Briggs was born in Scituate July 17, 1762, and died in Salem May 29, 1847.

Elias Jenks and Ichabod R. Hoyt continued the business of ship-building in South Salem down to 1843, and built their vessels a little to the westward of the spot occupied by Enos Briggs. They built for Joseph Peabody, in 1827, the ship "Sumatra," 287 tons; in 1831, the ship "Eclipse," 326 tons; in 1833, the ship "Naples," 309 tons; and in 1837, the ship "Carthage," 426 tons. For Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers, in 1828 the ship "Crusoe," 350 tons. For the Messrs. Silsbee, in 1831, the ship "Borneo," 297 tons; and in 1840, the ship "Sooloo," 400 tons. For Thorndike Deland, in 1836, the schooner "William Penn," 125 tons. For David Pingree, in 1843, the bark "Three Brothers," 350 tons.

In 1834, there had been built in Salem for the foreign trade since 1789, sixty-one ships, four barks, fifty-three brigs, three ketches, and sixteen schooners, measuring 30,557 tons.

On the 1st of December, 1825, there was launched from the ship-yard of Mr. Cottle, in North Salem, near Orne's Point, a schooner of 40 tons, built for the use of the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. She was called the "Missionary Packet," and sailed from Boston January 17, 1826, for the Sandwich Islands.

Samuel Lewis built, in 1849, the bark "Argentine," for Robert Upton, and in 1850 the brig "M. Shepard," 160 tons, for John Bertram.

John Carter built, in 1854, under the superintendence of A. H. Gardner, on the eastern side of Phillips Wharf, for Edward D. Kimball, the bark "Witch," 417 tons; and subsequently, at the same place, for other parties, the ship "Europa," 846 tons.

Edward F. Miller, whose ship-yard was at the point of land in South Salem opposite the end of Derby Wharf, built for R. W. Ropes & Co., in 1855, the brig "Mary Wilkins," 266 tons; and in 1859, the bark "La Plata," 496 tons. For Benjamin A. West, in 1857, the bark "Arabia," 380 tons. She was lost at the Cape of Good Hope on her first voyage. For John Bertram, in 1856, the bark "Guide;" in 1861, the bark "Glide," 493 tons; in 1869, the bark "Jersey," 599 tons, which was lost at Madagascar on her first voyage; and, in 1870, the bark "Taria Topan," 631 tons. For John C. Osgood and others, in 1862, the brig "Star," 250 tons.

Joshua Brown built, near Miller's ship-yard, the schooner "Prairie Flower," 106 tons. This vessel was launched on the 27th of April, 1858. She sailed from Salem Tuesday, June 8, 1858, for Boston, to obtain a part of her fishing outfit. A large party of young men were on board, invited by the owners to make the trip to Boston. About 2 P.M., when in the Broad Sound and entering Boston harbor, the schooner was struck by a sudden gust of wind and capsized. The

water rushed into the cabin, filling it, and of those there at the time, seven were drowned. They were all under thirty years of age, and all of Salem. Osgood Sanborn was 28; Daniel R. Fitz, 24; George C. Clarke, 24; Francis Donaldson, 21; William H. Russell, 20; William H. Newcomb, 20; and Lewis B. Smith, 14. The remainder of the party were rescued by vessels that chanced to be near the scene of the accident. No such calamity had occurred in Salem since the 17th of June, 1773, when the King's boat, belonging to the custom-house, was capsized in Salem harbor during a squall, and three men and seven women, all of Salem, were drowned. Mr. Brown built a number of other vessels, among them the schooner "David B. Newcomb," 92 tons, in 1860, and the brig "Albert," 325 tons, in 1862.

SALEM MERCHANTS.—This chapter should not be closed without some notice of the men whose enterprise and daring made for Salem her brilliant commercial record.

Among the earliest of the merchants was Captain George Curwin, who was born in England in 1610. He settled in Salem about 1638, and was extensively engaged in commerce. His books of account show that he had embarked in the London trade previous to 1658. He died on the 3d of January, 1685, leaving a large estate, comprising four ware-houses and two wharves in Salem, and a ware-house and wharf in Boston, and the ketches "George," "Swallow," "John" and "William," valued at £1050.

Captain Walter Price, who died in 1674, and Captain John Price, who died in 1691; John Turner, who died in 1680; William Bowditch, who died in 1681; Joseph Grafton, Sr., who died in 1682; William Brown and John Brown, who died about 1687, '88; Henry Bartholomew, who died in 1691; Richard Hollingworth and his son, William Hollingworth, were all engaged in commerce in Salem.

Philip English came to Salem before 1670, and in 1675 married the daughter of another Salem merchant, Mr. William Hollingworth. In 1676 he is at the Isle of Jersey, commanding the ketch "Speedwell." He had so flourished in 1683 that he put up a stylish mansion on the eastern corner of Essex and English streets. It was one of those ancient mansion houses, for which Salem was once noted—a venerable many gabled, solid structure, with projecting stories and porches. Down to 1753 it was known as English's great house. It stood until 1833, long tenantless and deserted, and when torn down a secret room was found in the garret, supposed to have been built after the witchcraft furor, as a place of temporary security in case of a second outcry.

In 1692 Philip English was at the height of his prosperity. He was trading with Bilboa, Barbadoes, St. Christopher's and Jersey, as well as with several French ports. He owned twenty-one vessels, besides a wharf and warehouse on the neck, and fourteen buildings in the town. It is probable that his wife

was over-elated by their prosperity, and forgot her humble friends of former days, for she is now called "aristocratic," and the prejudice thus engendered against her doubtless led to her being "cried out" against for withcraft. Both Mr. English and his wife were so accused. From 1694 to 1720 Mr. English sends ketches to Newfoundland, Cape Sable or Acadia to catch fish, and sends these fish to Barbadoes or other English West Indies, Surinam and Spain. He also had a number of vessels running between Salem and Virginia and Maryland.

Mr. English was put into Salem jail, so says Felt, in 1725, for refusing, as an Episcopalian, to pay taxes for the support of the East Church. About 1734 he retired from trade, and in 1735 he was put under guardianship as being clouded in mind. He died in 1786, aged about eighty-six years, and was buried in the Episcopal church-yard.

The name of Derby is intimately associated with the commerce of Salem—Roger Derby, born in 1643, emigrated to America in 1671 from Topsham, in the South of England. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and first settled in Ipswich, but having been fined for non-conformity, he removed to Salem where he embarked in trade. At his decease in 1698 it appears by his inventory, that he possessed a house, wharf and warehouse. His son Richard, born in 1679, engaged in maritime affairs, but died in 1715, leaving, among other children, a son Richard, born in 1712, whose son, Elias Hasket Derby, was the most eminent among Salem's merchants. The last-named Richard, in 1736, at the age of twenty-four, was the master of the sloop "Ranger," bound from Salem to Cadiz and Malaga. In 1739 he sails in the "Ranger" to St. Martin's, and in 1742 he is master and part owner of the "Volant," bound for Barbadoes and the French Islands. In 1757 he retired from the sea and became a merchant of Salem, relinquishing his vessels to his sons John and Richard.

The commerce in which Mr. Derby was engaged was pursued in vessels ranging from 50 to 100 tons. His vessels, laden with fish, lumber and provisions, cleared for Dominica or some Windward Isle in the British West Indies, and then ran through the islands for a market. The returns were made in sugar, molasses, cotton, rum and claret, or in rice and naval stores from Carolina. With the returns from these voyages assorted cargoes were made of oil, naval stores, and the produce of the islands for Spain and Madeira, and the proceeds remitted partly in bills on London, and partly in wine, salt, fruit, oil, iron, lead and handkerchiefs to America. The commerce of these days was bold and adventurous. Few vessels exceeded 60 tons burden, and they were exposed not only to the dangers of the seas, but also to the buccaneers and French and English cruisers. During the French War, from 1756 to 1763, Mr. Derby owned several ships as well as brigantines, carrying each eight or ten cannon. He was owner of part of the

cannon which Col. Leslie was sent down from Boston by Gen. Gage to capture, in 1775. His son John carried to England the first news of the battle of Lexington, and returned to Salem with the first intelligence of the effect it produced in London.

Mr. Derby was born in Salem September 16, 1712, and died there November 9, 1783.

The second son of the last named Richard Derby, Elias Hasket, was born in Salem August 16, 1739, and was Salem's most eminent merchant. He was the pioneer, and led the way while others followed. His vessels were the first from New England at India and China, and largely to his courage and sagacity Salem is indebted for the prominent place she held as a commercial port. Until his coming, the trade of Salem was narrow and limited. He opened the ports of the whole globe to the Salem ships, and made the name of Salem familiar wherever trade penetrated or civilization ventured.

At an early age he entered the counting-room of his father, and from 1760 to 1775 he took charge of his father's books, and engaged extensively in trade with the English and French islands. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, he had seven sail of vessels in the trade of the West Indies. Many of the rich men clung to the mother country, but Mr. Derby espoused the cause of the colonists. His trade and that of Salem was ruined by the war. Indignant at the oppressive course of Great Britain, Mr. Derby united with his townsmen, and Salem fitted out at least one hundred and fifty-eight armed vessels during the Revolution.

From 1771 to 1785 the tonnage of Salem declined, and did not revive till the opening of the India trade, when it increased with astonishing rapidity.

On the 15th of June, 1784, the barque "Light Horse" was sent by Mr. Derby to St. Petersburg with a cargo of sugar, and opened the American trade with that place.

In November, 1784, he despatched the ship "Grand Turk," of 300 tons, Captain Jonathan Ingersoll, on the first voyage from Salem to the Cape of Good Hope. Although this voyage was not very successful, it gave Mr. Derby an insight into the wants and prices of the Indian market, and Nov. 28, 1785, he cleared the same vessel under command of Ebenezer West, for the Isle of France, with the purpose to visit Canton, went to the Isle of France, Batavia and China, and returned to Salem in June, 1787, with a cargo of teas, silks and nankeens, making the first voyage from New England to the Isle of France, India and China.

In December, 1787, Mr. Derby again despatched his ship "Grand Turk" on a voyage to the Isle of France under the charge of his son, Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. The "Grand Turk" was sold at a great profit, and the son remained at the Isle of France until the arrival, about a year afterwards, of the ship "Atlantic," when he proceeded to Surat, Bombay,

and Calcutta, and first displayed our ensign at those ports. He bought, at the Isle of France, the ship "Peggy," sent her to Bombay for cotton and then back to Salem, where she arrived June 21, 1789, with the first cargo of Bombay cotton. One of his vessels was the first to display the American flag at Siam and another made the first voyage from America to Mocha.

In February, 1789, Mr. Derby sent, for the first time, the ship "Astrea" on a direct voyage to Canton. American ships were now following the lead of the "Grand Turk," and we find fifteen there in 1789, five of them belonging to Salem, and four to Mr. Derby. In 1790 he imported into Salem 728,871 pounds of tea. In May, 1790, the brig "William and Henry," Captain Benjamin Hodges, owned by Gray & Orne, entered this port with a cargo of tea, which was among the first of such cargoes imported in an American bottom. When Mr. Derby first engaged in the India trade there were no banks, and he rarely purchased or sold on credit. While his large ships were on their voyages to the East he employed his brigs and schooners in making up the assortment for cargoes by sending them to Gottenburg and St. Petersburg for iron, duck and hemp; to France, Spain and Madeira for wine and lead; to the West Indies for spirits; and to New York, Philadelphia and Richmond for flour, provisions, iron and tobacco. In the brief space of fourteen years (from 1785 to 1799), he made one hundred and twenty-five voyages, by at least thirty-seven different vessels, of which voyages forty-five were to the East Indies or China. Among the officers of his ships, who were afterwards distinguished, were the Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, late United States Senator from Massachusetts and Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch.

In 1798 the nation appeared to be on the eve of a war with France, and was without a navy. John Adams was President, and the administration, in June, 1798, passed an act authorizing the President to accept such vessels as the citizens might build for the national service, and pay for them in a six per cent. stock. Subscriptions were opened in Salem, and Mr. Derby and Mr. William Gray each subscribed ten thousand dollars, and William Orne and John Norris each five thousand dollars, and in a brief period some seventy-four thousand, seven hundred dollars were subscribed. Mr. Enos Briggs, who had built many of Mr. Derby's fastest ships, was instructed to build a frigate, to be called the "Essex." The keel was laid April 13, 1799, and September 30th following she was successfully launched. She proved the fastest ship in the navy, and captured property to the amount of two million dollars. Admiral Farragut served on the "Essex" as a midshipman.

Mr. Derby made one more brilliant voyage before he closed his career, although he did not live to ascertain its results. Hostilities between France and the United States had commenced when Mr. Derby sent

a ship of four hundred tons, called the "Mount Vernon," equipped with twenty guns, manned by fifty men and loaded with sugar, to the Mediterranean. The cost of the cargo was forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy-five dollars. The vessel was attacked by the enemy, but escaped, and arrived safely in America with a cargo of silks and wines, and realized a net profit of one hundred thousand dollars. Before her arrival Mr. Derby died, September 8, 1799, and left an estate which exceeded a million dollars, and was supposed to be the largest fortune left in this country during the last century.

The mansion in which Mr. Derby lived while acquiring his fortune still stands on the corner of Washington and Lynde Streets, and was, for a long time, occupied by another Salem merchant, Robert Brookhouse. Mr. Derby erected an elegant and costly edifice on the site now occupied by Derby Square, and laid out walks and gardens from Essex Street to a terrace which overhung the South River. The mansion was finished, but was occupied by Mr. Derby but a few months before his death. For some twelve years thereafter it was in the possession of his oldest son, but with the embargo and war there came a check to the prosperity of Salem, and no one was willing to incur the expense incident to living in such a palatial structure. The buildings and gardens were closed for years, and finally gave place to the square and market which now bear the name of Derby.

Crowninshield is another family name whose members contributed to the commercial prosperity of Salem. John Crowninshield was born in 1696, was a Salem captain in the West India trade about 1724 and died in 1761. He was the father of George Crowninshield, who was born in Salem in 1734, and who married a sister of Elias Hasket Derby. George Crowninshield built a mansion-house on Derby Street, which was demolished to make room for the present Custom-House in 1816. After the Revolution, and until the embargo, he was engaged in commerce with his sons, and in the War of 1812 was successful in privateering, the most famous of his vessels being the "America." He died in 1815.

His son George was the owner of the famous pleasure yacht, the "Cleopatra's Barge," in which he visited the ports of Europe. It was the first American vessel to cross the ocean solely on a pleasure excursion. He returned in October, 1817, and on the 26th of the following November, while the yacht was lying at the port of Salem, he died suddenly in her cabin at the age of fifty-one.

Jacob Crowninshield was a member of Congress, and was appointed Secretary of the Navy in 1805, but declined on account of ill health. Benjamin W. Crowninshield was Secretary of the Navy from 1814 until 1818, and a member of Congress from 1823 until 1831. He built and lived in the house which is now the Home for Aged Women, on Derby Street. He died in 1851.

The Pickmans were among Salem's successful merchants. Col. Benjamin Pickman, who was born in 1706, was largely interested in the West India trade, and as the principal article of export to those islands was the product of the fisheries, he engaged extensively in the prosecution of that industry. His fish-flakes extended from North Street through Federal to Boston Street, and down to the river. He amassed a large fortune in this business, and, in recognition of the service rendered him by the codfish, he had a carved and gilded effigy of that fish placed on the side of each stair in the principal hall of his house, which he built in 1750, and which still stands on Essex Street, next the East India Marine Building. The front of this house is now hidden by a block of stores. Col. Pickman died in 1773. His sons, Benjamin and William, were merchants of Salem, and his grandson, Dudley L. Pickman, a son of William, who was born in 1779, and died in 1846, was largely engaged in the East India trade, and was an eminently successful merchant.

Silsbee is a name prominent in the annals of Salem's commerce. Nathaniel Silsbee, an eminent master mariner and confidential agent of Elias Hasket Derby, was born in Salem November 9, 1748. At a very early age Mr. Silsbee was entrusted with the charge of a vessel and cargo to the West Indies, and subsequently he was owner of several vessels employed in that trade. He commanded the "Grand Turk" on a voyage to the West Indies and afterwards to Spain. In the course of a few years he embarked in business on his own account, and soon acquired an independent fortune, which unfortunately was lost by reverses in business. He died June 25, 1791, leaving three sons, each of whom were masters and supercargoes of ships while in their teens, and became eminent and successful merchants. Nathaniel, born in 1773; William, born in 1779; and Zachariah F., born in 1783.

The eldest son, Nathaniel, followed his father in the command of the ships of Elias Hasket Derby, and in 1793, at the early age of twenty was on a voyage to the Isle of France as captain of the new ship "Benjamin," of one hundred and sixty-one tons. From the Isle of France he proceeds to the Cape of Good Hope, returns to the Isle of France, and brings his ship home with large profits. In 1796 Mr. Derby dispatches him in the ship "Benjamin" to Amsterdam, and thence to the Isle of France, with a credit of ten thousand dollars for his own private adventures. After selling his cargo at a great profit he purchases a new ship of four hundred and fifty tons and returns to Salem, with a full cargo of East India goods for his owner, and such favorable results for himself as to enable him to commence business on his own account, in which he soon achieves a fortune.

After the attainment of a competency, Mr. Silsbee devoted many years to the civil service of his country. He was chosen a member of Congress in 1816, and served in the House until 1821, and in the United

States Senate from 1826 to 1835. In 1823, '24 and '25 he was president of the Massachusetts Senate. He died in Salem, July 14, 1850.

Captain Nathaniel West and his elder brother, Ebenezer, and his younger brother, Edward, were prominent in the early commercial days. Ebenezer was, for nearly four years, during the Revolution, a prisoner of war, and was exchanged shortly before peace was declared. He subsequently had command of E. H. Derby's famous ship, the "Grand Turk," and in her made the first voyage from New England to Canton. Edward, while in command of his brother Nathaniel's ship "Hercules," was seized at Naples in 1809, but had the good fortune to obtain her release, in order to transport Lucien Bonaparte and family to Malta, thus saving his ship from confiscation. In 1775, Nathaniel, at the age of nineteen, being in command of a merchant vessel in the West India trade, was captured by a British frigate and compelled to serve as midshipman in the British navy. Not long after he escaped and went to Spain, where he embarked for Salem in the privateer "Oliver Cromwell," Captain Cole, of this port. He made several cruises in the "Oliver Cromwell," and took many prizes. He participated with the famous Captain Haraden in several contests, and made successful cruises as captain of the privateer "Black Prince," carrying eighteen guns, and one hundred and fifty men. On one occasion, with Captain Nathaniel Silsbee as his lieutenant, he put into Cork, on a dark night, and cut out and took away a valuable prize.

Captain West subsequently embarked in commerce, and pursued it with continued success until he had amassed a large fortune. In 1792 he built and despatched the schooner "Patty," under command of his brother Edward, and she was the first American vessel to visit Batavia. His ship "Minerva" was the first Salem vessel to circumnavigate the globe. His ship "Hercules," under his brother Edward's command, on the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, in 1815, was the first vessel to sail from the United States for the East Indies, under the terms of the treaty. He was born in Salem January 31, 1756, and died here December 19, 1851. In person he was of fine figure and of majestic mien and gait. He never forgot the dignity which belonged to his years and station. He was a gentleman of the old school in manners and dress, and adhered with scrupulous tenacity to the costume of his early years.

William Gray was a prominent merchant of Salem. He was born in Lynn, June 27, 1760, moved to Salem at an early age, and entered the counting-room of Richard Derby. He became one of the largest ship owners in Salem, and followed the lead of Mr. E. H. Derby in sending ships to Canton and ports in the East Indies. In 1805 Salem had fifty-four ships, eighteen barks, seventy-two brigs and eighty-six schooners, five ships building and forty-eight vessels round the cape. In 1807 sixty ships, seven barks,

forty-two brigs, forty schooners and three sloops in the merchant service, and one hundred fishermen and schooners; and of these William Gray owned fifteen ships, seven barks, thirteen brigs and one schooner, or one-fourth of the tonnage of the place.

From 1801 to 1810, inclusive, the duties collected at Salem amounted to \$7,272,633.31, and these were the years of Mr. Gray's greatest activity.

His former mansion, is now the Essex House. About 1808 he left the Federal party and joined the Democrats, upholding Jefferson in the Embargo Act of that year. Party feeling ran high, and Mr. Gray, finding a growing coolness towards him among many of his former associates, left Salem in 1809 and moved to Boston, where, in 1810 and 1811, he was chosen lieutenant-governor, and where he died November 3, 1825. During his life he accumulated a great property. As a merchant he was industrious, far-seeing and energetic; as a citizen patriotic and public-spirited, and he may well be classed among Salem's "princely merchants."

Joseph Peabody was another eminently successful merchant, who lived to see the decline of that commercial prosperity to which he had contributed so largely. He was born in Middleton December 9, 1757, and during the Revolutionary War he enlisted on a privateer, and made his first cruise in E. H. Derby's "Bunker Hill," and his second in the "Ranger." In 1782 he made a trip to Alexandria in the "Ranger" as second officer, and on his return the vessel was attacked by the enemy, and Mr. Peabody was wounded. After peace was restored he was promoted to a command in the employ of the Messrs. Gardner, of Salem, and soon realized a sufficient sum to purchase the vessel known as the "Three Friends." He retired from the sea in 1791, and engaged actively in commerce. The brig "Three Friends," Joseph Peabody, master, entered from Martinico in June, 1791, with a cargo of molasses and sugar consigned to Mr. J. Gardner, and this was probably his last voyage. During the early years of the present century he built and owned a large number of vessels, which in every instance he freighted himself. His vessels made thirty-eight voyages to Calcutta, seventeen to Canton, thirty-two to Sumatra, forty-seven to St. Petersburg and thirty to other ports of Europe. He shipped, at different times, seven thousand seamen, and advanced thirty-five to the rank of master, who entered his employ as boys.

The disastrous effects of the embargo and war were shown in the diminution of vessels in the foreign trade of Salem from one hundred and fifty-two, in 1807, to fifty-seven in 1815. In 1816 forty-two Indiamen had sailed and sixteen returned since the war. In 1817 Salem had thirty-two ships, two barks and eighteen brigs in the India trade; and from 1808 to 1817 the arrivals from foreign ports were nine hundred and thirty six, which yielded an annual average of duties of three hundred and seventy-eight thousand

five hundred and ninety dollars. In 1821 one hundred and twenty-six vessels were employed in foreign commerce, fifty-eight of them in the India trade, the largest being the ship "China," H. Putnam, master, three hundred and seventy tons.

A few facts relating to the connection of Mr. Peabody about this time with the China trade are interesting. In 1825 and 1826, the "Leander," a little brig of two hundred and twenty-three tons, brought into Salem cargoes from Canton, which paid duties amounting, respectively, one to \$86,847.47 and the other to \$92,392.94. In 1829, 1830 and 1831, the "Sumatra," a ship of only two hundred and eighty-seven tons, brought cargoes from the same port, paying duties of \$128,363.13, in the first case; \$138,480.34, in the second, and \$140,761.96 in the third, the five voyages paying duties to an aggregate of nearly \$587,000. No other vessel has entered Salem paying \$90,000 in duties. Both brig and ship were owned by Mr. Peabody, and were commanded on each voyage by the same gentleman, Captain Charles Roundy, a good type of that class of master mariners whose energy and fearlessness carried the name of Salem to the remotest ports, and whose uprightness and business integrity made that name an honored and respected one in those far-off countries. Mr. Peabody died at Salem, January 5, 1844.

Nathaniel L. Rogers was an enterprising and prominent merchant of Salem, and opened the American trade with Madagascar, Zanzibar and Australia. He was born in Ipswich, August 6, 1785, and died July 31, 1858. Associated with him in business was Richard S. Rogers, another successful merchant, who was born in 1790, and died in Salem June 11, 1873.

Robert Brookhouse was engaged in trade with Madagascar, Patagonia, the Feejee Islands and largely with the West Coast of Africa. He was very successful as a merchant, and accumulated a large property. He was born December 8, 1799, and died June 10, 1866. After his death his son Robert, with William Hunt, Joseph H. Hanson and Nathan A. Frye, continued the trade with the West Coast of Africa.

These brief notices of a few of the prominent merchants of Salem should not be closed without some reference to the last of their number, whose vessels arrived in her harbor from ports beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

John Bertram was born on the Isle of Jersey, February 11, 1796, and died in Salem March 22, 1882. Mr. Bertram came to Salem at an early age; and in December, 1813, we find him sailing from Boston in the schooner "Monkey" as cabin boy. He arrived in Charleston, S. C., early in 1814, and left there in an American privateer in March. The privateer was captured, and he was taken to Bermuda and confined in the Bermuda and Barbadoes prison-ships. Having been born on the Isle of Jersey, and being familiar with the French language, he was released,

as a Frenchman, after which he shipped on an American schooner and started for home, but was again taken prisoner, and carried to England, where he arrived in April, 1815, after peace had been declared.

In 1824, with P. I. Farnham and others, Mr. Bertram chartered the schooner "General Brewer," and, in company with Captain W. B. Smith, sailed for Saint Helena. When a few days out, he met the brig "Elizabeth," of Salem, Story, master, bound also for Saint Helena. Captain Story came on board the "General Brewer," and took tea with Captain Bertram; and each was desirous that the other should not know his destination. They each announced themselves as bound for Pernambuco. Captain Bertram suspected, however, that the "Elizabeth" was bound to Saint Helena, and he was extremely anxious to arrive there first, and dispose of his cargo. As night came on, in order to lighten his vessel, he had his entire deck-load of lumber passed aft and thrown overboard, and by crowding on all sail, day and night, he arrived at Saint Helena, disposed of his cargo, and was coming out of the harbor, just as the "Elizabeth" arrived. From Saint Helena, Captain Bertram went to Pernambuco, on his way to Salem. After his return home, he purchased the "Velocity," 119 tons burden, and, with Captain W. B. Smith, again set sail for Saint Helena. He went from there to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the Rio Grande and the Coast of Patagonia, at which latter place he remained, engaged in trading for hides, while Captain Smith made trips up and down the coast in the "Velocity." After being at Patagonia for some time, Captain Bertram and Captain Smith both sailed for Pernambuco in the "Velocity," and there found Captain Thomas Downing, of Salem, in the brig "Combine," of 133 tons burden. They purchased the "Combine" of Captain Downing, and Captain Bertram returned in her to Patagonia. Captain Smith came back to Salem in the "Velocity," and arrived there in August, 1826, with a cargo of two hundred and eight thousand two hundred and ninety-one pounds of beef, consigned to Peter E. Webster. After trading for awhile on the coast, Captain Bertram returned to Salem in the "Combine," arriving December 14, 1826. He afterwards made another trip to Patagonia in the "Combine," returning to Salem in July, 1827, with one hundred and thirty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-two pounds of beef. He was on the coast of Patagonia for about three years.

On his final return to Salem the firm of Nathaniel L. Rogers & Bros. offered him an interest in the ship "Black Warrior," of 231 tons burden, and he sailed in command of her from Salem in December, 1830, for Madagascar, Zanzibar and Mocha. Captain Henry F. King, of Salem, was with him on this voyage, serving as his clerk. He loaded with a large quantity of gum-copal in bulk, and established a trade there which continues to the present time. He returned from this voyage March 31, 1832. Mr. Bertram was connected in this business in the early years with Michael Shepard, Nathaniel Weston and Andrew Ward.

From 1845 to 1857 he was trading with Para. He sent, in December, 1848, one of the first vessels from Massachusetts to California after the gold discovery, and the favorable accounts he received from her induced him to send three vessels from Salem the next spring with full cargoes, and two others shortly after. He also engaged in the California trade with Messrs. Glidden & Williams, of Boston. While Captain Bertram was engaged in the California trade he built, with others, the ship "John Bertram," 1100 tons, at East Boston, and she was launched in sixty days from the time of laying her keel, and in ninety days was on her way down Boston harbor with a full cargo on board, bound for San Francisco. Although many predicted that a vessel built so hastily would not last long, their predictions have not been verified, and the ship is still afloat, sailing under a foreign flag. She sailed for San Francisco on her first voyage January 10, 1851. Captain Bertram has been connected with the building and management of several railroads in the West. He founded, and has maintained at his own expense, the "Old Men's Home," and he was largely instrumental in establishing the Salem Hospital. As a merchant, he was enterprising and energetic; as a citizen, public-spirited and charitable. His name worthily closes the long list of eminent merchants who have given Salem a history unparalleled in the annals of American commerce.

The foregoing notices of Salem merchants are by no means complete, and doubtless some, equally worthy of extended mention, are omitted. The names of others, particularly of those of the latter period of our commerce, will be found in the accounts of the different trades. It is not possible, in the limits of a single chapter, to do full justice to all, but the sketches just given will serve as an example of the class of men who made the name of Salem famous in the commercial annals of the State and nation.

CHAPTER IV.

SALEM—(Continued).

THE BANKING INTEREST.

BY HENRY M. BATCHELDER.

The Essex Bank—The Salem National Bank—The Merchants' National Bank—The Commercial Bank—The National Exchange Bank—The Asiatic National Bank—The Mercantile National Bank—The Mechanics' and Traders' Bank—The Newmarket National Bank—The Bank of General Interest—The North American Bank—The Salem Savings Bank—The Salem Five Cents Savings Banks.

THERE are nine banks in Salem—seven banks of deposit and discount, and two savings banks.

In 1782 a branch of the Bank of North America was located in Boston, and in 1784 the Massachusetts Bank was established in that city. Eight years later the first bank was opened in Salem. It was styled the "Essex Bank," and commenced business July 2, 1792, with a capital of about three hundred thousand dollars.

It was in 1786 that, by Congressional order, accounts were kept in dollars, dimes and cents instead of pounds, shillings and pence. On account of business troubles, specie payments were suspended from 1837 to 1839, and again at the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861. This last suspension lasted until 1876.

THE ESSEX BANK, occupied a room in the building now known as the "Central Building," on Central Street, which street was for a time known as Bank Street. It expired in 1819, though its affairs were not fully wound up till 1822.

THE SALEM BANK now the Salem National Bank, was incorporated March 8, 1803, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars. This was increased to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in 1823; reduced in 1859 to one hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred dollars; restored to two hundred thousand dollars in 1865; increased in 1873 to three hundred thousand dollars, which is the present capital. Its presidents have been Benjamin Pickman, 1803; Joseph Peabody, 1814; George Peabody, 1833; Benjamin Merrill, 1842; George Peabody, 1847; William C. Endicott, 1858; Augustus Story, 1875; S. Endicott Peabody, 1882. Its cashiers: Jonathan Hodges, 1803; John Moriarty, 1810; Charles M. Endicott, 1835; George D. Phippen, 1858.

The bank was originally located in a brick building on the south side of Essex Street, next west of the Benjamin Pickman estate, nearly opposite St. Peter Street. This building stood in from the street, and was erected for the accommodation of the Salem Bank and the Salem Marine Insurance Company on the lower floor, and the East India Marine Museum on the second.

The Salem Bank adopted the national system in 1864, and moved to the Holyoke Building, Washington Street, in 1866, where it is still located.

THE MERCHANTS' BANK was incorporated June 26, 1811, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, which was afterwards increased to four hundred thousand dollars, and reduced in 1845 to the original figure. The bank was first located in the Union Building, on the corner of Essex and Union Streets, later in the Bowker Block, and in 1855 removed to the second floor of the then newly-built Asiatic Building on Washington Street. In 1883 it was removed to its present location, in the Northey Building, on the corner of Essex and Washington Streets. Its presidents have been Benjamin W. Crowninshield, 1811; Joseph Story, 1815; John W. Treadwell, 1835; Benjamin H. Silsbee, 1851; George R. Emmerton, 1880. Its cashiers: John Saunders, 1811; John W. Treadwell, 1813; Francis H. Silsbee, 1835; Benjamin H. Silsbee, 1848; Nathaniel B. Perkins, 1851; George R. Jewett, 1883; Henry M. Batchelder, 1883. The bank became the Merchants' National Bank, December 30, 1864.

THE COMMERCIAL, now FIRST NATIONAL BANK, was incorporated February 12, 1819, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars, which was reduced to two hundred thousand dollars in 1830, and restored in 1851. This bank first opened its doors at its present location, in the Central Street Bank Building. Its presidents have been Willard Peele, William Sutton and Eben Sutton. Its cashiers: Nathaniel L. Rogers, Zachariah F. Silsbee and Edward H. Payson. It was the first bank in the city to enter the national system, becoming the "First National Bank" in June, 1864.

THE EXCHANGE BANK was incorporated January 31, 1823, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars, which was afterwards reduced to the present amount, two hundred thousand dollars. It commenced business in a building on the site of William Gray's garden, No. 172 Essex Street, the building extending to the corner of St. Peter Street. It was removed to the First Church building in December, 1864, occupying at that time the rooms on the corner of Washington Street, but was transferred to the southwest corner of the building in 1875. The bank is now numbered 109 on Washington Street. Its presidents have been Gideon Tucker, John Webster, Henry L. Williams, Nathan Nichols. Its cashiers: John Chadwick, Joseph H. Webb. It became the National Exchange Bank February 18, 1865.

THE ASIATIC BANK was incorporated June 12, 1824, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, which was increased to three hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. It commenced business in the Central Street Bank Building; removed from there to the East India Marine Building, on Essex, opposite St. Peter Street, and in 1855 changed its quarters to the Asiatic Building, on Washington Street, where

it is still located. Its presidents have been Stephen White, Nathan W. Neal, Thomas P. Pingree, Joseph S. Cabot, Leonard B. Harrington; and its cashiers: Henry Pickering, Joseph S. Cabot, William H. Foster and Charles S. Rea. Mr. Foster, who retired from the office of cashier in 1884, had been in the service of the bank for sixty years, since its organization. It became the Asiatic National Bank December 8, 1864.

THE MERCANTILE BANK was incorporated March 4, 1826. Its capital has always been two hundred thousand dollars, and it has always been located on Central Street, first in the Central Building, on the west side of the street, and since 1827 in its present quarters in the Central Street Bank Building, nearly opposite. Its presidents have been Nathaniel L. Rogers, David Putnam, John Dwyer, Aaron Perkins, Charles Harrington. Its cashiers: John A. Southwick, Stephen Webb and Joseph H. Phippen. The bank became the Mercantile National Bank January 10, 1865.

THE MECHANICS' AND TRADERS' BANK was incorporated March 10, 1827, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, but never commenced business.

THE NAUMKEAG BANK was incorporated March 17, 1831, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, which was subsequently increased to five hundred thousand dollars. It commenced business in the store of Benjamin Dodge, on Essex Street, opposite the Essex House, thence was removed to the Manning Building, now Bowker Place, from there to the East India Marine Building, and in 1872 to its present quarters, on the second floor of the Asiatic Building, Washington Street. Its presidents have been David Pingree, Edward D. Kimball, Charles H. Fabens, William B. Parker, David Pingree, (Jr.) and Joseph H. Towne. Its cashiers have been Joseph G. Sprague, Joseph H. Towne and Nathaniel A. Very. The Naumkeag became the Naumkeag National Bank in December, 1864.

THE BANK OF GENERAL INTEREST was also incorporated March 17, 1831, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars. John Russell was president and William H. Russell cashier. It ceased business in 1842.

THE NORTH AMERICAN BANK was incorporated March 31, 1836, with an authorized capital of three hundred thousand dollars. It never went into operation.

THE SALEM SAVINGS BANK was incorporated January 29, 1818, as the "Institution for Savings in the town of Salem and Vicinity." The name was changed to the Salem Savings Bank in 1843. It commenced business on Central Street, thence removed to the Bowker Building, and in 1855 to the present location in the Asiatic Building, Washington Street.

Its presidents have been Dr. Edward A. Holyoke, 1818; Joseph Peabody, 1830; Nathaniel Silsbee,

1844; Daniel A. White, 1851; Zach. F. Silsbee, 1861; John Bertram, 1864; Joseph S. Cabot, 1865; Benjamin H. Silsbee, 1875; Peter Silver, 1879; William Northey, 1883. The treasurers have been William P. Richardson, 1818; William Gibbs, 1820; William Dean, 1821; Peter Lander, Jr., 1822; Daniel Bray, 1823; Benjamin Shreve, 1837; Henry Ropes, 1839; William Wallis, 1861; Charles E. Symonds, 1865; William H. Simonds, Jr., 1879. In 1855 the bank removed to the Asiatic Building, Washington Street, which it now owns. Its depositors number between sixteen and seventeen thousand, and the amount on deposit averages \$6,500,000.

THE SALEM FIVE CENTS SAVINGS BANK was incorporated in 1855. It opened for business in the second story of the Downing Block, No. 175 Essex Street, removing from there into its present quarters on the second floor of the Northey Building. Its presidents have been Edward D. Kimball, 1855; Edmund Smith, 1861; Henry L. Williams, 1862; John Kinsman, 1879; William H. Jelly, 1882. Its treasurers: J. Vincent Browne, 1855; Charles H. Henderson, 1868. The number of depositors is over eight thousand, and the amount on deposit averages more than \$2,500,000.

The aggregate capital of the national banks of Salem is \$2,015,000, and the combined surplus funds and undivided profits on August 1, 1887, was over \$900,000. The amount on deposit on the same date was over \$1,700,000.

CHAPTER V.

SALEM.—*Continued.*

THE PRESS.

BY GILBERT L. STREETER.

THE history of the press in any community, if properly executed, is a chronicle of the times, a correct narrative of the passing events of the period. It is the business of the journalist to "catch the manners living as they rise," but the correctness of the picture will depend, of course, upon the skill of the artist.

It is difficult to appreciate the condition of our early colonial community before the days of the newspaper, which now seems so essential to a proper knowledge of events. It is manifest that the ordinary gossip of the community, and the verbal narration of events transpiring elsewhere, satisfied every want. There were printing presses in the colony long before sufficient patronage could be obtained to warrant the establishment of a newspaper. There was a printing press in Cambridge as early as 1639, and as the infant university was located there, as well as the local government of the colony, the persons concerned in it were encouraged by grants of land from the General

Court. Subsequently, in 1674, a printing press was "set up" in Boston, and this was by special leave of the General Court, which had previously ordered, in 1664, that there should be no other press than that in Cambridge; for, besides the cost of importing a printing press from England, and the great cost of paper and other materials, the early printers had to encounter the objections of the Puritan authorities, who, although ready to patronize the press to some extent, looked upon the freedom of printing with a jealous eye. They early appointed certain trusted clergymen to act as licensers of the press.

The first attempt to establish a newspaper in North America was made in 1690, when (September 25th) a single number of a small sheet was printed in Boston by Richard Pierce for Benjamin Harris. It was condemned at once by the public authorities, and it is believed that a second number was never issued. It was fourteen years after this before another party ventured to try the experiment, and this person was John Campbell, the postmaster of Boston, who succeeded in establishing the *Boston News Letter*.

While, therefore, Salem was the third town in the colony, in the order of time, to enjoy the advantages of a public printing press, it was nearly a century later than Boston in getting one. The arrival of this press in Salem, in 1768, was a great event. Although the town contained many literary persons of distinction, and the inhabitants were generally well educated, the literary resources of the town which were available by the public were quite limited. There were few books, for they were very costly, and these were in possession of the wealthy families. Most families were esteemed fortunate if they possessed the Bible, the almanac and a few approved sermons. The first attempt to collect a library in Salem was when the Social Library was formed, and this was after the printing press was established.

But the decade preceding the Revolution was one of great intellectual activity. The press in the colony had been relieved from the supervision and control of the clergy, and its absolute independence was nearly secured. Several newspapers had been commenced in Boston, and there was a general disposition to encourage and sustain such publications.

The person who undertook to establish the printing business in Salem was Samuel Hall, a young man, a native of Medford, and one who, from his qualities of mind and energy of character, was well suited to perform the task of a pioneer in this matter. He was a practical printer, and had learned his trade of his uncle, Daniel Fowle, who was the first printer in New Hampshire. Before coming to Salem he had been concerned with Mrs. Anne Franklin, sister-in-law of Benjamin Franklin, in the publication of the *Newport (R. I.) Mercury*, a newspaper originally established by James Franklin, and which has been continued until this time.

Mr. Hall was in sympathy with the rising party of

young men who were becoming restive under the yoke of the mother-country, and he was afterwards active in the Revolution; and it is quite probable that he was assisted in his enterprise by leading persons of the patriotic party.

Mr. Hall opened his office in Salem in April, 1768. It was located on Main Street, a few doors above the Town-House—about where the Creamer block is situated. This locality was then, as now, near the centre of business. The Town-House was a wooden building of two stories, next above the First Church, on the spot between the present church and the parapet of the railroad tunnel. It was where the town-meetings were usually held (in the lower story), and was also occupied, in the second story, as a court-house. It was afterwards called the State-House, as the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts convened therein in 1774, with John Hancock as president. It was a building of humble pretensions, its chief claim to notice arising from the circumstance that it was a painted building, which was an uncommon distinction in those days. In front of the building, extending on either side of the door, was a wooden bench, where the elderly men of the town were accustomed to assemble to gossip and converse on public and private matters.

1. THE ESSEX GAZETTE.—Mr. Hall soon resolved to commence a newspaper here. Salem was the principal place in the colony outside of Boston. It was a town of about five thousand inhabitants, largely engaged in the fisheries and in the coastwise and West India trade, and was generally prosperous. There were many wealthy and eminent people here, some occupying important positions in the colonial or in the royal service. The town was also noted for its intellectual culture and the elegance of its society.

Proposals were issued by Mr. Hall in July, 1768, for publishing a paper to be entitled *The Essex Gazette*, to be issued weekly, on Tuesday, at 6s. 8d. per annum. The prospectus was full and explicit in regard to the character of the proposed paper; and, as indicating the spirit in which the enterprise was started, we quote the following passage:

"I shall exert myself to obtain as general and fresh a Collection of News as will lay in my Power, both Foreign and Domestic, and insert it with accuracy and in due order; and I shall at all times assiduously endeavor to procure and carefully publish, as I may have room, any Compositions that may have a tendency to promote Religion, Virtue, Industry, good Order, a due sense of the Rights and Liberties of our Country, with the Importance of true and genuine principles of patriotism, and whatever may serve to enliven and animate us in our known Loyalty and Affection to our gracious Sovereign. In short, any Pieces that may be productive of Public Good, or contribute to the innocent Amusement and Entertainment of my Readers, will be inserted with Pleasure; and any writings of a Contrary Nature will, if offered for Insertion, be instantly rejected."

These comprehensive, patriotic and emphatic statements of his intentions, with more of a similar character, constituted Mr. Hall's introduction to his readers. And all that he here promised he thoroughly performed, for he was prompt and faithful in the

execution of all his contracts, devoting himself with great energy and spirit to the discharge of his duties.

The first number of the paper appeared August 2, 1768, and was a very creditable publication in its typographical execution and the general character of its contents. It was printed upon a crown sheet, folio, ten by sixteen inches, three columns to the page. This diminutive sheet, less than one-third the size of the *Gazette* of to-day, was spoken of in the prospectus as "four large pages, printed in folio." It was doubtless considered as large at that time. The head was adorned by a rude wood cut, comprising the figures of two Indians, with a codfish overhead, and a dove with a sprig in its bill in the centre. This device bears some resemblance to the Essex County seal, and was probably intended to be emblematical of peace, the fisheries and successful emigration. A portion of this device is contained in the seal of the city of Salem. The head-line assured the reader, in the common phraseology of that day, that the sheet contained "the freshest advices, both foreign and domestic." It bore as a motto a quotation from Horace, "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci."

The contents of the paper were such as were looked for in public prints at that time, chiefly items of political news from various parts of the world, very concisely stated, and selected with care and good judgment. Foreign news occupied a large share of the columns. Domestic news was given simply, under the names of the several towns in the colonies, whence it was received. A few advertisements filled out the sheet. The contents were mostly selected, but few original pieces, either editorial or contributed, appearing in the columns in those days. The public did not estimate so highly at that time as they seem to now, the off-hand remarks, speculations and effusions generally, of editors and their correspondents. Among the contributors to Mr. Hall's paper was Col. Timothy Pickering, then a rising young man, and afterwards an officer in the Revolutionary army and Secretary of State of the United States. He published a series of able and elaborate articles upon the importance of a reorganization of the militia, which had great influence in arousing attention to the subject, and which suggested complete plans for increasing the efficiency of that branch of the public service. His father, Deacon Timothy Pickering, also frequently communicated with Mr. Hall's readers, usually to rebuke some growing evil in the community or to encourage some good work.

Mr. Hall was eminently qualified for the task he had undertaken. He possessed business talents, enterprise, ability, editorial tact and judgment, and withal sympathized entirely with the state of the public mind at that time with respect to the mother-country. He had commenced his paper at an important season. The causes were then actively at work

which soon eventuated in the Revolution. A spirit of independence was growing up in the breasts of the people, and the principles of civil and political liberty were undergoing a thorough discussion. With this condition of popular feeling Mr. Hall sympathized warmly and earnestly.

Subscribers to his *Gazette* were obtained, not only in this town, but also doubtless in most of the principal places in the colony; for a newspaper at that period was a much more important thing than at the present day, when such publications abound in all directions. There were then but five papers in the state, all of which were in Boston, namely, the *News Letter*, *Evening Post*, *Gazette*, *Chronicle* and *Advertiser*. There was none at the eastward except in Portsmouth. No regular stages or other means of transportation having been established, excepting a single stage to Boston, Mr. Hall's eastern subscribers were supplied by a post-rider, who left the office on publication mornings for the towns between here and Newburyport, depositing the papers on the way. To obtain the most recent news from Boston, he incurred the expense of a special messenger from that town, on the previous day, who brought the latest papers. The news from New York was a week old, from Philadelphia a fortnight, and from London two months.

In 1772 Mr. Hall admitted his younger brother, Ebenezer, into partnership with him. Their business connection continued until the death of Ebenezer, in Cambridge, February, 1776, aged twenty-seven.

The *Essex Gazette* was published here nearly seven years, a period which embraced the most important events that immediately preceded the Revolution. All the great questions which agitated the colonies during that time were discussed in its columns. The odious taxes imposed by the King, the non-importation agreements, the Boston Massacre, the Boston Port Bill, the Tea troubles, the doings of the people in their town-meetings and other primary assemblies, the popular hatred of the officers of the crown, and other similar topics were laid before Mr. Hall's readers in the succession of their occurrence.

In October, 1770, an attempt was made to injure the subscription of the paper on account of an alleged partiality in its columns towards the non-importation agreements. But the effort was unsuccessful, and seems to have resulted in the increase rather than diminution of the list. The number of subscribers at this time was about seven hundred.

As indicative of the spirit of the paper, we may quote an article which appeared March 5, 1771. This was the anniversary of the massacre in State Street, Boston. The columns on this occasion were draped in black. On the first page was a mourning tablet, surrounded by heavy black lines, upon which was inscribed the following animated declaration:

"AS A SOLEMN AND PERPETUAL MEMORIAL:

"Of the Tyranny of the British Administration of Government in the years 1768, 1769, and 1770:

"Of the fatal and destructive Consequences of quartering Armies, in Time of Peace, in populous cities:

"Of the ridiculous Policy, and infamous Absurdity, of supporting Civil Government by a Military Force.

"Of the great Duty and Necessity of firmly opposing Despotism at its first Approaches:

"Of the detestable Principles and arbitrary Conduct of those Ministers in Britain who advised, and of their Tools in America who desired, the Introduction of a Standing Army in this Province in the Year 1768:

"Of the irrefragible Proof which those Ministers themselves thereby produced, that the Civil Government, as by them administered, was weak, wicked and tyrannical:

"Of the vile Ingratitude and abominable Wickedness of every American, who abetted and encouraged, either in Thought, Word, or Deed, the establishment of a Standing Army among his Countrymen:

"Of the unaccountable Conduct of those Civil Governors, the immediate Representatives of his Majesty, who, while the Military were triumphantly insulting the whole LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE, and while the blood of the massacred Inhabitants was flowing in the Streets, persisted in repeatedly disclaiming all Authority of relieving the People, by any the least Removal of the Troops:

"And of the savage Cruelty of the IMMEDIATE PERPETRATORS,

"Be it forever Remembered,

That this Day, THE FIFTH OF MARCH, is the Anniversary of PRESTON'S MASSACRE—IN KING STREET—BOSTON—NEW ENGLAND—1770.

In which Five of his Majesty's Subjects were slain and six wounded, By the Discharge of a Number of Muskets from a Party of Soldiers under the Command of Capt. THOMAS PRESTON.

GOD Save the People!

"Salem, March 5, 1771."

In May, 1775, soon after the Concord fight - a full account of which, as well as of Leslie's invasion, etc., had appeared in the *Gazette*—Mr. Hall transferred the publication of his paper from Salem to Cambridge, for political purposes. The last number issued here was dated May 2d, and the next number in Cambridge May 12th. The office was in a building of the college, Stoughton Hall. The title was then enlarged to the *New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette*. This movement was made "at the desire of many respectable gentlemen of the Honorable Provincial Congress," with whom Mr. Hall was in high favor. The paper was continued in Cambridge until the evacuation of Boston by the British, when it was removed thither, and at the same time the title of *Essex Gazette* was dropped.

Before Messrs. Hall left Salem, their printing-office was burnt out by the great fire of October, 1774, which destroyed a meeting-house, custom-house, eight dwellings, fourteen stores and several barns and out-buildings. The meeting-house destroyed was the Rev. Dr. Whitaker's, which was succeeded by the Tabernacle, and stood on King Street just above School Street, about where the Endicott building now is. The custom-house was just above. The printing-office was subsequently located in a brick building on School Street, which was afterward incorporated in the brick block near the corner of Norman Street.

2. THE SALEM GAZETTE AND NEWBURY AND NEWBURYPORT ADVERTISER.—Before Mr. Hall left town another newspaper was commenced, July 1, 1774, with the foregoing elaborate title. It was published by Ezekiel Russell, from Boston, an unsuccessful

printer, who had been an unsuccessful auctioneer also. His antecedents were those of a Tory. In 1771 he had published in Boston a small paper called the *Censor*, which was in the interest of the loyal party, and soon expired. He had also been known, in 1773, as the printer of a hand-bill entitled "The Tradesmen's Protest against the proceedings of the Merchants relative to the new Importation of Tea." This handbill excited so much feeling among the patriotic merchants and tradesmen that, at a large town-meeting in Faneuil Hall, the printer and the authors of it were pronounced as "detestable," and the protest itself as "false, scandalous and base." Mr. Russell's office in Salem was "in Ruck Street, near the State House," somewhere on Washington Street, near the depot, we presume. The head of the paper announced that it was "A Weekly, Political, Commercial and Entertaining Paper—Influenced neither by Court or Country." But the Country decided that it was influenced by the Court. The editor was suspected of a bias in favor of the British, probably on account of his previous course in Boston, and the paper accordingly terminated in a few months an unpopular career.

3. THE AMERICAN GAZETTE, OR THE CONSTITUTIONAL JOURNAL.—This was the title of another paper by Mr. Russell, the author of the previous one; and like that, it failed to command public confidence and support. It was published during the Revolution, commencing June 19, 1776, and closing in a few weeks. It was nominally published by John Rogers, at Mr. Russell's office; but as Rogers was merely Russell's journeyman, and owned neither press nor types, the latter was doubtless the true proprietor. The printing-office at this time was near the upper end of Main Street. The paper was published weekly, on Tuesday, at eight shillings a year. The device at the head of the paper, coarsely cut in wood, was that of an open journal, supported by two figures—one that of fame with her trumpet, and the other an Indian with his bows and arrows. Beneath the volume was a ship under sail.

Some time after the suspension of this paper Mr. Russell removed to Danvers, and printed for a few years near the Bell Tavern, and then returned to Boston. There he continued the printing business, in a small way, until his death, in 1796, at the age of fifty-two.

Mr. Russell seems to have experienced through life a constant succession of the reverses of fortune. Besides the fruitless efforts we have mentioned, he had been a publisher of the *Portsmouth Mercury*, in company with Thomas Furber, and that paper continued but three years. It is said that Mr. Russell's wife was the "better half" of his family, assisting as a practical printer in his office, composing popular ballads for publication, and assuming the business upon his death.

4. THE SALEM GAZETTE AND GENERAL ADVER-

TISER.—For nearly five years during the Revolution there was no paper in Salem. But in 1780 Mrs. Mary Crouch, widow of a printer in Charleston, S. C., removed hither with her press and types, and December 6, 1780, issued a prospectus, in the name of Mary Crouch & Co., for the publication of the *Salem Gazette and General Advertiser*. For this purpose they announced "an elegant assortment of type and printing materials," and stated their purpose to relate such matters as should refer "to the safety and welfare of the United States, to the liberties and independence of which the *Salem Gazette* will be ever sacredly devoted." The first number of the paper was dated January 2, 1781. It was of the crown size, issued weekly at fifty cents a quarter. The paper was more miscellaneous than its predecessors had been. It commenced the publication of stories, tales and other entertaining articles.

Mrs. Crouch exhibited spirit and enterprise, but was unable to succeed with the paper, which lasted only nine months, closing October 11th of the same year. She assigned as reasons for the stoppage, "the want of sufficient assistance, and the impossibility of obtaining house-room for herself and family to reside near her business." Her printing-office was at the corner of Derby and Hardy Streets. Mrs. Crouch afterwards removed to Providence, her native place.

5. **THE SALEM GAZETTE.**—In just a week after the close of Mrs. Crouch's paper Samuel Hall again entered upon a career as publisher in Salem. He had returned from Boston, and probably bought Mrs. Crouch's materials. He commenced a new paper entitled *The Salem Gazette*, the first number of which was dated October 18, 1781. It was of the size and general character of his previous paper. He continued the publication of this series of *Gazettes* for a little more than four years, enlarging the sheet in the third volume, and bringing it to a close in this town November 22, 1785. At that time he removed the paper to Boston.

In finally terminating his connection with Salem, Mr. Hall stated that he did so only under the pressure of stern necessity. His business had been materially injured by a tax upon advertisements, which had been imposed by the Legislature the previous summer. This tax, in conjunction with the decline of trade, had operated so disastrously as to deprive him of nearly three-quarters of the income of his paper from that source, and on this account he accepted the advice of friends, who recommended his removal to Boston. The contracted circulation of the paper, and the great expense attending its publication in Salem, he said, rendered a burdensome tax upon his advertising columns insupportable. The expense of procuring intelligence from Boston alone, by special messenger, was so great that to defray it he would gladly have given more than half the profits of all the newspapers circulated in this town.

The tax on advertisements, of which Mr. Hall

complained so bitterly, was voted by the Legislature July 2, 1785, and had elicited an outcry of indignation from nearly all the papers in the State. It was imposed to aid in liquidating the war debt incurred during the Revolution. It required the payment of *six pence* on each advertisement of twelve lines or less, and *one shilling* on those of twenty or less, and so on in proportion. This act was denounced in severe terms as an infringement of the liberty of the press, as the "Bostonian Stamp Act," etc. When the law went into operation, Mr. Hall spoke of it in the *Gazette* as follows:

"No printer can now advertise, even in his *own* paper, any books or pieces of *piety or devotion*, not excepting the *Holy Bible*, without paying a heavy tax for it. How this accords with His Excellency's late 'Proclamation for the encouragement of *Piety, Virtue, Education and Manners*,' let the framers of the act determine. Were it not for the tax upon advertising *good books*, the Printer hereof would inform the Public that he has just published 'Extracts from Dr. Priestly's *Catechism*,' which he sells at five coppers single, and two shillings the dozen."

In leaving, Mr. Hall said he should always retain the most grateful recollection of favors received in this place, and should "always endeavor to promote the interests and reputation of the town of Salem."

The removal to Boston was executed with characteristic promptness, so that not a single issue of the paper was omitted, the next number, under the new name of *The Massachusetts Gazette*, appearing as a continuation on the regular day, November 28th. Mr. Hall made arrangements to supply his Salem subscribers as usual, by a carrier. He subsequently sold the *Gazette* to other parties. He afterwards printed a paper for a short time in the French language, entitled *Courier de Boston*,—the first paper in that language in New England. In 1789 he opened a book-store in Cornhill, which he sold in 1805 to Lincoln & Edmunds, of which firm Gould & Lincoln were the modern successors.

Mr. Hall, as we have stated was born in Medford November 2, 1740, of Jonathan Hall and Anna Fowle. He died October 30, 1807, aged sixty-seven years. He was an industrious, accurate and enterprising printer, a judicious editor and excellent man. His life was one of active usefulness and of remarkable success. Besides his newspaper publications, he was the printer and publisher of many works of various degrees of importance, some of them of considerable value. The list of his publications during his residence in Salem, and subsequently in Boston, would reflect great credit on him as a man of business enterprise. In his papers he advocated liberal opinions with firmness and discretion, and always commanded the confidence and respect of the best men in the community. "The country," says Mr. Buckingham, "had no firmer friend, in the gloomiest period of its history, as well as in the days of its young and increasing prosperity, than Samuel Hall."

6. **THE SALEM CHRONICLE AND ESSEX ADVERTISER.**—The short interim succeeding Mr. Hall's second series was followed, March 30, 1786, by the

commencement of a weekly paper with the foregoing title, by George Roulstone. It continued less than a year, and possessed no special interest. It was printed on Paved Street, on a crown sheet, at nine shillings.

7. THE SALEM GAZETTE.—The present *Salem Gazette* was commenced October 14, 1786, when John Dabney and Thomas C. Cushing issued the first number of *The Salem Mercury*, which in 1790 (January 5th) assumed the name of *The Salem Gazette*, and has so continued ever since. Mr. Cushing was a native of Hingham. He had served his apprenticeship with Mr. Hall, and had afterwards, in 1785, been connected with John W. Allen in the publication of the *American Recorder* and *Charlestown Advertiser*, in Charlestown. He was twenty-two years of age when he came to Salem, and, from his intercourse with so excellent a master as Mr. Hall, had doubtless been strengthened in the liberal principles and correct habits which he brought to his new undertaking.

The Mercury was printed weekly, on Tuesday, on a demy sheet, four columns to a page, and chiefly in long primer type. The price was nine shillings a year. The contents of the paper gave evidence of care in the selection, and the original communications were from competent writers. Party lines had not been drawn at that early period, and the political character of the paper was simply that of an ardent advocate of the new Federal Constitution, the adoption of which, in our own State, and in other States successively, was recorded in terms of exultation.

Mr. Dabney withdrew from the paper at the close of the third volume, October 6, 1789, and opened a book-store, leaving Mr. Cushing sole proprietor of the business. He continued thus until October 14, 1794, a period of five years, and then transferred the publication to William Carlton, his partner in the Bible and Heart Book-store. This book-store was a noted place of resort for the leading gentlemen of the town, such as Dr. Bowditch, Dr. Holyoke and Dr. Prince, for many years. The store was subsequently carried on successfully by John M. Ives, John P. Jewett and D. B. Brooks, and it is now Mr. Young's music-store. There were formerly wooden figures of a Bible and a heart suspended over the door, which, during the War of 1812, in a time of great political excitement, were torn down in the night by some mischievous persons, and thrown into the harbor. It was upon the occasion of a list of privateers in our harbor being published in the *Gazette* by the foreman of the office.

The excited and virulent political feeling at various times between 1802 and 1815, embracing the events connected with the last war with Great Britain, was fully exhibited in the columns of the *Gazette*. Although Mr. Cushing was himself of a mild and peaceable disposition, he allowed a pretty free use of his columns by writers who did not emulate his own virtues. The Republican party was assailed in vio-

lent and often extremely personal language. Sarcasm, ridicule and severe denunciation were freely employed. Nor was the *Register* at all backward in returning the assault in a similar tone and spirit. This mode of warfare led, on several occasions, to serious personal difficulties.

In the fall of 1802 a violent contest arose between the Federal and Republican parties, concerning the election of a member of Congress from this district. The result was favorable to the Republicans. When it was over, in November, the editors of the *Register* and *Gazette* were called upon to answer for the tone of their papers, the former by a libel suit and the latter by threats of personal violence. Mr. Cushing was visited at his house by Captains Richard and Benjamin Crowninshield and Mr. Joseph Story, and taken into a private room, where he was charged with malicious publications, of a purely personal and offensive character, against the complainants and their friends, designed to injure them in the estimation of the community. After detailing their grievances at some length, Captain Benjamin Crowninshield threatened to shoot Mr. Cushing if he continued to publish such things as they had complained of. Mr. Cushing replied that it had been his endeavor to keep his paper free from undue personalities, though he considered public characters and public conduct as proper subjects of animadversion; and as for the future he should give no pledges, but should be governed by his regard for decency, and endeavor to give no just cause of offense. The conversation became so loud and boisterous that it alarmed the females of Mr. Cushing's family, who called a number of persons into an adjoining apartment, as listeners; and thus the whole affair became a matter of public notoriety. The excitement which ensued was so great that Mr. Cushing was obliged to publish a full account of the interview.

Party politics continued to rage for several years afterwards with a degree of violence which has not been exhibited since.

One of the most amusing circumstances connected with this period was that of the Pictorial Gerry-mander. The Democratic Legislature of 1811-12 had carved and cut up the towns of Essex County in such a manner as to favor the election of a Democratic member of Congress from Essex South. The district thus formed was very strange in its outline, running from Salem all around the line of back towns, Lynn, Andover, Haverhill, etc., and ending at Salisbury. This curious arrangement struck the eye of Gilbert Stuart, the celebrated painter, as presenting the outlines of a natural monster, and he accordingly took his pencil, and by affixing claws to the lower extremities at Salem and Marblehead, wings to the back at Andover, and a 'horrid beak' at Salisbury, produced the figure of a creature which he said would do for a Salamander. But Major Benjamin Russell suggested that it might more properly be

called a "Gerrymander," in allusion to Elbridge Gerry, the Democratic Governor of the State. It ever after received this title. An engraving of the monster was inserted in the *Gazette* and other papers, and printed upon handbills, as an electioneering document. In 1813, when the Democrats were defeated, the Federalists were in high glee over the "Gerrymander," which had been so useful to them, and on the morning after the election in April, a figure of the skeleton of the deceased monster appeared in the *Gazette*, with the appropriate epitaph, "Hatched 1812—killed 1813." This device was executed by Mr. Appleton, the jocose partner of Mr. Cushing in his book-store, who cast a block of type-metal and engraved the figure during the night previous to its publication. There was subsequently published a picture of the nondescript in its coffin, and a fac-simile of the grave-stone, together with an amusing programme of mock ceremonials at its funeral.

Mr. Cushing relinquished the publication of the *Gazette* Dec. 31, 1822, on account of infirm health, and, in retiring from a post he had so long occupied, bade adieu to his friends in a graceful note. He died Sept. 28, 1824, aged sixty. As an editor and publisher, as well as a member of the firm of Cushing & Appleton, he had secured a host of friends, who remembered him as "the amiable and gifted Cushing." His qualities of mind and heart were such as commanded the respect and esteem of all who knew him. He was steadfast and conscientious in his political opinions, a person of thorough integrity in his business affairs, gentle and pleasing in his manners. He is described as having had strong powers of mind, warmth of fancy, various and extensive knowledge, and a familiar acquaintance with the best of English literature, which gave attraction and fascination to his conversation.

Among the writers for the *Gazette* during Mr. Cushing's connection with it was the late Benjamin Merrill, who was a constant and voluminous contributor to its columns, and whose writings contributed largely to its success and influence upon the public mind.

The next publishers of the paper were Caleb Cushing, a son of Thomas C., and Ferdinand Andrews, who commenced at the beginning of 1823. Mr. Cushing withdrew at the end of six months, and Mr. Andrews continued sole publisher until April 1, 1825, when he sold half of the establishment to Caleb Foote. Mr. Foote had served his apprenticeship with Mr. T. C. Cushing, who had himself been an apprentice of Mr. Hall, and thus was established a personal connection between the original *Essex Gazette* and the *Salem Gazette* of to-day. In 1826, Oct. 1st, the other half of the *Gazette* was purchased by William Brown, of Mr. Andrews, who removed to Lancaster and established a paper in that town. He afterwards returned to Salem to publish the *Landmark*, and was subsequently a proprietor of the Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*.

In 1833, Jan. 1st, Mr. Foote became sole proprietor of the *Gazette*. He was assisted for some time by John B. Chisholm, and afterwards for many years by Major William Brown. In 1851, Jan. 1st, Nathaniel A. Horton became associated with Mr. Foote as publisher and editor, and so remains at the present time. From Jan. 1, 1847, until Oct. 3, 1851, the *Gazette* was issued tri-weekly, on Tuesday, Friday and Saturday. At the latter date the Saturday edition was discontinued in favor of an enlarged semi-weekly. Since the modern division of parties the *Gazette* has been a zealous and efficient advocate of the views of the Republican party, in entire harmony with its old antagonist, the *Register*.

The printing-office previous to 1792 was somewhere near its present location, and for two years subsequent to that time in Stearns' Building. It was afterwards removed to the present neighborhood; then to No. 8 Paved Street. From 1825 to 1827 it occupied the rooms now improved by the *Register* office. It was thence removed to Columbian Hall, in Stearns' Building, and in 1831 to quarters in the Holyoke Building, where it remained until January, 1874, when it occupied its present commodious quarters in Hale's Building.

8. THE SALEM REGISTER.—This paper was commenced during the first year of the present century, May 12, 1800, when the first number was issued with the title of *The Impartial Register*. It was published on Monday and Thursday, by William Carlton, who had withdrawn from the *Gazette* and dissolved his partnership in the book business with Thomas C. Cushing several years before, as we have already stated. The *Register* started in opposition to the Federal party, and, during the violent political struggles which ensued, was an able supporter of the Republican cause. It selected for its motto the following lines:

"All parties here may plead an honest, favorite cause,
Whoever reasons best on Nature's, Wisdom's Laws,
Proclaims eternal Truth—gains Heaven's and Men's applause."

Dr. Bentley aided Mr. Carlton in his new publication, as he had previously done in the *Gazette*, and his famous summaries and variety of miscellaneous and local articles soon gave the paper a decided character. In a few months, Aug. 7th, the title was enlarged to *The Salem Impartial Register*. This was continued until Jan. 4, 1802, when the word "Impartial" was dropped, leaving *The Salem Register*. At the same time the original motto gave place to the well-known verse which is still printed in the paper, and which was written impromptu by the late Judge Story, who is said to have scribbled it in pencil on the side of a printer's case.

"Here shall the Free the People's Rights maintain,
Unawed by Influence, and unbribed by Gain;
Here Patriot Truth her glorious precepts draw,
Pledged to Religion, Liberty and Law."

During the autumn of this year (1802) the editor,

Mr. Carlton, was convicted of a libel on Timothy Pickering, and suffered imprisonment therefor. This occurred just after the election of a member of Congress for this district, when Jacob Crowninshield, the Democratic candidate, was chosen over Mr. Pickering, who was the Federal candidate. The *Register* had asserted that "Robert Liston, the British Ambassador, distributed five hundred thousand dollars amongst the partizans of the English nation in America," and intimated that Mr. Pickering might have partaken of "these secret largesses," "some little token, some small gratuity, for all his zealous efforts against liberty and her sons, for all his attachment to the interests of England," at the same time indulging in contemptuous flings toward the distinguished ex-Secretary of State. To answer for this article Mr. Carlton was indicted by the grand jury, and tried before the Supreme Court, at Ipswich, in April, 1803. He was convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred dollars and the costs of prosecution; to be imprisoned in the county jail two months, and to give bonds, with two sureties in four hundred dollars each, to keep the peace for two years. This unfortunate affair is simply illustrative of the acerbity of party feeling at that time.

In a little more than two years after this imprisonment Mr. Carlton died, July 24, 1805, aged thirty-four years. He had suffered from fever during his imprisonment as stated by Dr. Bentley, and continued feeble until the day before his decease, when he was suddenly seized by violent fever and derangement, which terminated his life in twenty-four hours. Mr. Carlton was a native of Salem, and descended from two of the ancient families of the country. His constant friend said of him: "He always possessed great cheerfulness of temper and great benevolence of mind. He was distinguished by his perseverance, integrity and uprightness. To his generous zeal the public were indebted for the early information which the *Register* gave of the most interesting occurrences. To a tender mother he was faithful, and to his family affectionate. The friends of his youth enjoyed the warmth of his gratitude. His professions and friendships were sincere. He was an able editor and an honest man."

Previous to the death of Mr. Carlton the printing-office was removed (January 3, 1803) from its original location in the house on Essex Street, next below the Franklin building, to a room over the post-office, where Bowker's building now stands. At the same time a new head-piece was mounted, a figure of Liberty, with the motto, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

After the death of Mr. Carlton the *Register* was published for his widow, Elizabeth, until the 26th of August ensuing, when she died also. It was then continued "for the proprietors,"—Dr. Bentley and Warwick Palfray, Jr., contributing to its columns for nearly two years. In August, 1806, an advertisement

appeared, stating that "The *Salem Register* having been supported in its editorial department by the voluntary assistance of its friends since the decease of the late editor, Mr. Carlton, the proprietors are desirous of obtaining an editor to conduct the same in future." No new arrangement was commenced, however, until July 23, 1807, when a "new series," entitled *The Essex Register*, was commenced by Haven Pool and Warwick Palfray, Jr., assisted by S. Cleveland Blyden. At this time the famous motto-verse was dropped, and the following sentence adopted as a substitute: "Let the greatest good of the greatest number be the pole-star of your public and private deliberations." [Ramsay.] Mr. Blyden's name remained in the paper only about six months, when, January 6, 1808, it was withdrawn. The publication days were then changed to Wednesday and Saturday, "for various reasons, some of a public and some of a private nature." The favorite motto was again resumed.

On June 28, 1811, Mr. Pool, the eldest proprietor, although only twenty-nine, suddenly died, after a short illness, leaving Mr. Palfray the sole editor and publisher for the next twenty-three years. Mr. Pool was described in an obituary notice as "an affectionate husband, kind parent and dutiful son. He was of a cheerful disposition, constant and ardent in his friendships and excessively fond in his domestic attachments." He is remembered as a genial and gay companion.

The printing-office was located successively in the three buildings next below the Franklin Place until April 28, 1828, when it was transferred to Stearns' Building, and on October 5, 1832, it was finally removed to Central Building, where it now remains.

On February 1, 1823, the old publication days, Monday and Thursday, were resumed. On January 1, 1835, John Chapman, who had entered the office as an apprentice in 1807, was admitted as partner in the business, and continued until his death.

The death of Mr. Palfray, who had been identified with the *Register* as Mr. Cushing had been with the *Gazette*, occurred August 23, 1838, at the age of fifty-one years. He was a native of Salem, a descendant of Peter Palfray, one of the first settlers of this place—having arrived here several years before Governor Endicott. Mr. Palfray served his time as a printer with Mr. Carlton, whose office he entered in 1801. He assumed a share in the charge of the *Register* while yet a minor, and his tact and good judgment, thenceforth exerted, largely increased the circulation of the paper, and gave it popularity and influence. He was the sole conductor during the times of the embargo and the war with England, when political feeling ran very high, and was much embittered by personal hostilities. "Yet, notwithstanding all the excitements of those periods," said his eulogist, the late Joseph E. Sprague, "Mr. Palfray gave as little just cause of offense as any man living could. Possessed of most

generous and honorable feelings, he never willingly gave just cause of offense to a political opponent. Personal allusions were always painful to him—and at those periods of deadly feud, when he was placed at the editorial desk, it was his greatest pleasure to take from the papers handed him for publication the poisoned arrows; and when he could not consistently with political duty, wholly remove personal allusions, to soften them to the utmost limit." . . . "With but slight advantages of education, there were but few who were more useful to society. His heart was the abode of pure thoughts—his life the exemplar of good principles. The tongue of calumny, in the times of bitterest political animosities, never breathed a syllable against the spotless purity of his life and character."

Though Mr. Palfrey never sought office, he held several public trusts. He was a member of the city government at the time of his death, and vice-president of the Mechanic Association. He had served with usefulness in both branches of the Legislature.

After the death of Mr. Palfrey, the paper was continued by the surviving partner, Mr. Chapman,—the family of the former retaining an interest in the publication. Mr. Chapman, by the soundness of his judgment and the integrity of his principles, contributed largely to the continued success of the *Register*, although he was not a regular contributor to its columns. The paper was an able exponent of the purposes of the Whig party during the entire period of its existence, and Mr. Chapman was made a member of the Governor's Council in recognition of the value of his services to his party. And afterwards, when the Republican party triumphed in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States, Mr. Chapman was appointed postmaster of Salem. On January 1, 1839, Charles W. Palfrey, a son of the former proprietor, and a graduate of Harvard University, assumed the place vacated by his father. In 1841, January 1st, the earlier name of *The Salem Register* was again adopted. Eben N. Walton became associate publisher and editor, January 1, 1873, and since the death of Mr. Chapman, April 19, 1873, the paper has been published by Palfrey & Walton.

The *Register* during the more than half-century of its existence has received the contributions of able pens. Dr. Bentley and the late Sheriff Sprague were voluminous and influential writers in its columns for a great many years. Judge Story, during his residence in Salem, was a frequent contributor. So was Andrew Dunlap for many years previous to 1825. The "Summaries" of Dr. Bentley have become famous. These concise and curious medleys were furnished regularly for a quarter of a century. They often extended to a column and a half of close matter, and sometimes to several columns. They were continued until the very close of his life, the last "Summary" appearing in the *Register* published on the very day of his death, the

last day of the year 1819. These contributions from Dr. Bentley's industrious pen were thus constantly furnished without ever a dollar being received by him as compensation. He labored without the expectation or desire of reward.

9. THE WEEKLY VISITANT.—In 1806, during the rage of party politics, a periodical was commenced by Haven Pool, of a purely literary character, though not of great pretensions. It was an octavo, entitled *The Weekly Visitant*, published on Saturday evening "directly west of the Tower of Dr. Prince's Church." Price two dollars per year. It seems to have been designed to afford its patrons more agreeable reading than was furnished in the political papers, an idea which was expressed in the couplet adopted as a motto:

"Ours are the plans of fair, delightful peace,
Unwarped by party rage, to live like brothers."

10. THE FRIEND.—The *Visitant* had a successor the next year in *The Friend*, started by Mr. Pool, in connection with Stephen C. Blyth, as editor, January 3, 1807. It was published weekly, on Saturday evening, of the common newspaper form, at two dollars per year. It was announced as a "new and neutral paper," and was therefore spoken of as "a scheme novel in its design;" nevertheless it was hoped that by avoiding insipidity it might be made interesting. Like its predecessor, this paper indicated a desire for peace in the community by selecting a peaceful motto from Ecclesiasticus: "Sweet language will multiply friends; and a fair speaking tongue will increase kind greetings." The *Friend* lasted about six months, until July 18th, and was then merged in the *Register*, with which the publisher and editor also formed a connection. Mr. Blyth had changed his name to Blyden, during the year, by consent of the General Court. He was a native of Salem, and taught school here. He afterwards removed to Canada, and is believed to have died there.

11, 12, 13. HUMOROUS PUBLICATIONS.—In 1807 and 1808 Mr. John S. Appleton, of the firm of Cushing & Appleton, who was known as a ready wit, got out two or three small humorous publications, which had a temporary run as periodicals. One of these was "*The Fool*, By Thomas Brainless, Esq., LL.D., Jester to his Majesty, the Public. A new and useless paper, of no particular form or size, issued at irregular intervals; and the price to be left at the generosity of the public." This was issued in 1807. Then there was "*the Barber's Shop*, kept by Sir David Razor," published by Cushing & Appleton in 1808 and printed by Joshua Cushing, a brother of Thomas C. Cushing. Another of these ephemeral sheets, the Punches of those days, was *Salmagundi*, from the same source. In all of these the Republican party was the object of ridicule and satire.

14. THE GOSPEL VISITANT.—This was the title of a quarterly octavo magazine, commenced in Salem in 1811, to espouse the doctrine of Universalism. It is

interesting from the circumstance that it was the first regular periodical issued by that denomination in this country. There had been previously an occasional publication in Boston entitled *The Berean*,—containing the proceedings of an association,—eight numbers of which were printed at irregular intervals, without regard to time; but the *Visitant* was the first regular periodical. It was started at the suggestion of a Conference of Universal Ministers, assembled at Gloucester in January of that year. The conductors were Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, Hosea Ballou, of Portsmouth, Abner Kneeland, of Charlestown, and Edward Turner, of Salem, all prominent clergymen of that communion, settled over societies in the places named. The contents of the magazine were chiefly sermons, essays and briefer articles upon religious and doctrinal points. The price was twenty-five cents a number. The numbers for June and September were printed at the *Register* office; that for December, by Ward & Coburn, on North Street; and that for March, 1812, was published in Charlestown. The second volume did not appear until 1817, when it was printed by Warwick Palfrey, Jr. It was now edited by Hosea Ballou and Edward Turner. At the commencement of Vol. 3, April, 1818, the publication was removed to Haverhill and assumed by P. N. Green.

15. THE SALEM OBSERVER.—The first number of *The Observer* was published January 2, 1823, by William and Stephen B. Ives—the former an apprentice of Mr. Cushing, of the *Gazette*. It was of the royal size, and issued weekly on Monday evening, from the Washington Hall building, No. 2 Court Street. Price, two dollars. The paper was designed to be a literary and miscellaneous sheet, eschewing party politics,—a character which it has maintained until the present time. It was edited by Benj. Lynde Oliver, Esq., during the first year. After the fifth number the time of publication was changed to Saturday evening, which arrangement continued for twenty-two numbers, and then Saturday morning became the time of publication, and so continues now. At the commencement of Vol. 2, 1824, the title was changed to *Salem Observer*, and at the same time Joseph G. Waters, Esq., became editor, as successor to Mr. Oliver. At the conclusion of the year Mr. Waters withdrew from the responsibility of the paper, but continued to be a contributor for several years afterwards. In 1825, January 15th, the name was enlarged to *Salem Literary and Commercial Observer*, and this was borne until January 3, 1829, when the title *Salem Observer* was resumed.

The printing-office was removed, November 25, 1826, from its original location to "Messrs. P. & A. Chase's new brick building in Washington Street." There it remained until 1832, February 4th, when it was again removed to quarters in Stearns' Building which it occupied for fifty years. In 1882 the proprietors erected the Observer Building, of three stories, of brick, in Kinsman Place, next to the City

Hall, and these commodious quarters they still occupy. In 1837, January 7th, Mr. George W. Pease, who had served his apprenticeship in the office, was admitted to the partnership, and in 1839, January 5th, Mr. Stephen B. Ives withdrew, leaving the firm of Ives & Pease.

The *Observer* has from the beginning "pursued the even tenor of its way" as a well-established family newspaper, experiencing fewer changes of fortune than some papers we have mentioned, and therefore affording fewer incidents "to make a note of." Established in a time of intense political excitement as a non-partisan paper, it was the first to succeed upon that basis.

At the termination of Mr. Waters' editorship, Solomon S. Whipple became a regular contributor to its columns, and afterwards Wilson Flagg, Rev. E. M. Stone, Edwin Jocelyn and Stephen B. Ives, Jr. Gilbert L. Streeter became associated with the *Observer* on January 1, 1847, and, with the exception of a brief period of two years, has been a regular contributor ever since.

16. SALEM COURIER.—In 1828, September 17th, Charles Amburger Andrews began a weekly paper, the *Salem Courier*, which was published on Wednesday, at three dollars, from an office in the East India Marine Hall building. It proclaimed itself "strictly independent," a supporter of Adams' administration, an opponent of the tariff, etc. It became, however, a theological rather than a political paper, and was a zealous antagonist of the doctrines of Calvinism. Its editor was a pleasant and humorous writer, and had able correspondents. But the paper was continued for only one year. Mr Andrews was a member of the bar, and served as a representative of the city in the Legislature. He died June 17, 1843.

17. THE HIVE.—This was a small weekly publication for children, commenced on Saturday, September 21, 1828, by W. and S. B. Ives. The picture of a bee-hive ornamented its first page, and its contents were mostly selected.

After the fifth number it was issued on Wednesday. It continued for two years. The first volume was 16mo and the second an 8vo. It was one of the earliest of papers intended exclusively for children, which are now so numerous and excellent.

18. LADIES' MISCELLANY.—A small weekly folio, with this title, was commenced January 6, 1829, a specimen number having been issued on the 7th of November preceding. It was printed at the Register office by John Chapman, on Tuesday, at one dollar per year. It was designed "to furnish a supply of amusing, instructive and unexceptionable reading to the Ladies of Salem and vicinity." At the close of the volume the issue was suspended for want of support, but April 7, 1830, a second volume was commenced, on Wednesday, in consideration of a "considerable accession to the list of subscribers." At the close of this volume the publication ceased.

19. **ESSEX COUNTY MERCURY.**—The publication of a diminutive weekly paper by the proprietors of the *Gazette* was commenced in 1831, June 8th, under the name of *Salem Mercury*. It has since been much enlarged, and is now entitled *Essex County Mercury, Danvers, Beverly and Marblehead Courier*. It is made up mainly from the columns of the *Gazette*.

20. **SALEM ADVERTISER.**—The first organ of the modern Democratic party in Salem was *The Commercial Advertiser*, commenced April 4, 1832, by Edward Palfray and James R. Cook. It was started as a semi-weekly, on Wednesday and Saturday. The office was in Central building, over the Savings Bank. It was an earnest advocate of the election of General Jackson to the Presidency, and throughout its existence of seventeen years continued to uphold the views of the Democratic party. After the first year the additional title of *Essex County Journal* was adopted, and it was published as a weekly, on Wednesday, until July 8, 1837, when Palfray & Cook sold out to Charles W. Woodbury, who issued it as a semi-weekly again, under the name of *The Salem Advertiser*. Thus it was continued until February, 1849, when it was a weekly once more until its final close, August 1, 1849. From October 16, 1841, until September 11, 1844, the title was *Salem Advertiser and Argus*, after which the word "Argus" was omitted.

So many persons were connected with the *Advertiser* at various times, as editors and publishers, that we must mention them briefly. During the proprietorship of Mr. Woodbury, Wm. B. Pike served as editor for about six weeks from October 17, 1838. Henry Blaney served two terms as proprietor, first, from March 11, 1840, until October 16, 1841, and again from June 21, 1843, until September 11, 1844. Benjamin Kingsbury, Jr., was editor during the political campaign of 1840. Edward Palfray took a second turn of two years between Mr. Blaney's two periods. H. C. Hobart and F. C. Crowninshield were the editors during the campaign of 1844. Mr. Hobart afterwards went to Wisconsin, and became Speaker of the Assembly. Mr. Crowninshield enlisted for the Mexican War, and was a lieutenant of a company. Messrs. Varney, Parsons & Co. were the next publishers, from November 20, 1844, to December 31, 1845, and were succeeded by Messrs. Perley & Parsons, Mr. Varney having gone to the war as a corporal. The final publisher was Mr. Eben N. Walton, who began February 15, 1847, and continued to the end. Mr. Woodbury, an earlier editor, and once postmaster here, was the third one who went to the war. He was drowned on his way back. Before he came to Salem he published the *Gloucester Democrat*. Edward Palfray, the projector of the paper, and the person who was longest editor of it, died at the Worcester Hospital in 1846, April 14th, aged forty-one. He was a spirited and forcible writer, a zealous Democrat and a kind-hearted man.

21. **SATURDAY EVENING BULLETIN.**—This was

the title of a small neutral paper, published weekly by Palfray & Cook, at the *Advertiser* office. Price, one dollar. It continued for one year, from May 18, 1833, when it was relinquished in favor of a political journal. It was edited by Nicholas Devereux.

22. **THE CONSTITUTIONALIST.**—This was the political journal which followed the *Bulletin*. Its publishers were the same. It was a small weekly. It sustained Marcus Morton for Governor and Joseph S. Cabot for Congress. The duration of this paper was from June 28, 1834, until the close of the year—a little more than six months.

23. **THE LANDMARK.**—In 1834, August 20th, a semi-weekly paper, entitled *The Landmark*, of goodly size and elegant typography, sent out its first number from a new printing-office, corner of Essex and Liberty Streets. It was printed on Wednesday and Saturday by Ferdinand Andrews, formerly of the *Gazette*, and subsequently publisher of the *Boston Traveller*, and was edited by Rev. Dudley Phelps.

The *Landmark* was started in the period of "the Unitarian controversy," and was intended to counteract the influence of Unitarianism, which was prevalent in Salem at that time. It was also intended to give utterance to anti-slavery and temperance sentiments, both of which topics were beginning to attract serious attention. On January 31, 1835, a communication was published in the *Landmark* upon the subject of temperance, which caused more excitement in the community than any other publication either before or since. It was the famous article by Rev. George B. Cheever, then the young pastor of the Branch Church in Howard Street, entitled "Enquire at Amos Giles' Distillery." It set forth in lurid colors the evils attending the manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating liquors, and depicted, with great severity of language, the responsibility of those engaged in the liquor business. It was understood to have personal reference to a prominent and reputable citizen of Salem, a deacon of the First Church, who was a distiller, and was alleged to contain libelous matter. The editor of the *Landmark* apologized in the next number for the appearance of the obnoxious article, but this did not allay the public excitement; and a fortnight afterwards Mr. Cheever was publicly whipped in Essex Street, just above Sewell Street, by Elias Ham, the foreman of the distillery, who used a cowhide for the purpose; and in the evening of the same day an attack was made upon the *Landmark* office, with the apparent design of wrecking it, but it was defended from the inside, and the assault failed. Mr. Ham was fined fifty dollars for the whipping. Mr. Cheever was tried for libel, and, although defended by Rufus Choate, was convicted, and sentenced to a fine of one thousand dollars and imprisonment in Salem jail for one month. He was escorted to jail by his friends, and was furnished with every convenience and luxury. The parties to these events subsequently and consequently

left town. Mr. Ham became an active friend of temperance in after-years. Mr. Phelps retired from the *Landmark*, and Mr. Cheever left the Branch Church and entered upon a distinguished career in New York City. The *Landmark* was not sustained in its advanced position, and its publication ceased November 2, 1836, in a little more than two years from the outset.

24. THE LIGHTHOUSE.—During the time of the *Landmark* a small weekly paper, entitled *The Lighthouse*, was printed at the *Gazette* office, and "edited by an Association of Gentlemen," the design of which was "to represent the sentiments and espouse the interests of liberal Christianity." It was recognized as an antagonist of the *Landmark*, and was continued from June 11th until October 31st of the year 1835. The first nine numbers were issued on Monday; the remainder on Saturday.

25. ESSEX COUNTY DEMOCRAT.—This was the title of a paper removed hither from Gloucester in the fall of 1838, to sustain Joseph S. Cabot, and the interests of the Cabot section of the Democratic party, in distinction from those of the Rantoul section. It was edited and published by Joseph Dunham Friend. The first number was issued November 2d of that year. After continuing for a time as a semi-weekly, on Tuesday and Friday, it became a weekly. It expired in about three months.

26. THE HARRISONIAN.—During the exciting political contest of 1840 a small campaign paper, entitled *The Harrisonian*, containing speeches and documents, was published by the editor of the *Gazette*. It was commenced on Saturday, February 22d, and continued weekly until the election, lending its aid to the Whig nominees.

27. THE WHIG.—This also was a campaign paper, a few numbers of which were published in 1840 at the *Register* office, to promote the election of General Harrison to the Presidency. Such campaign sheets as the *Whig* and *Harrisonian* were numerous during the memorable contest of that year, and exerted a large influence in favor of the election of Harrison and Tyler. They were published at very low rates, and freely purchased by political clubs for gratuitous distribution.

28. GENIUS OF CHRISTIANITY.—This was the title of a small semi-monthly sheet, printed at the *Observer* office, for the Rev. A. G. Comings, for two years from January 1, 1841. It was a religious paper, as its title indicates. Mr. Comings was a preacher of the Campbellite faith, and had a society in a room on Washington Street, opposite the court-house.

29. THE CHRISTIAN TEACHER.—This was substantially the same publication as the *Genius of Christianity*, containing, as it did, the same matter as that sheet, thrown into a quarto form, once a month, for circulation through the mail. It was issued during the year 1832. The printers and editor were of course the same.

30. "THE LOCOMOTIVE, an Independent Journal."—In April, 1842, William H. Perley commenced a weekly paper in Lynn, entitled *The Locomotive*, which was removed to Central building, Salem, December 17, 1842, and published here on Saturday, until July 8, 1843—about six months. A few numbers in February were published semi-weekly, on a diminutive sheet. From May 13th it was published by Perley & Whittier. It was humorous and miscellaneous in its character.

31. ESSEX COUNTY WASHINGTONIAN.—This paper was printed in Lynn, by Christopher Robinson, and was published in Lynn and Salem, on Thursday, during a portion of the year 1842. Its connection with Salem was brief and merely nominal. It was one of the earliest of the numerous temperance periodicals which sprang up at the time of the *Washingtonian* or moral suasion movement. The editor at one time was the Rev. David H. Barlow, of Lynn.

32. SALEM WASHINGTONIAN.—This paper, like the preceding one, had only a nominal connection with our city. It was printed in Boston, by J. B. Hall, published by Theodore Abbott, and edited by Charles W. Denison. Its Salem office was in Washington Hall (then permanently occupied by a temperance society), whence it was circulated on Saturday, for a short time, in 1843, commencing July 8th. It soon afterwards assumed the title *New England Washingtonian*, and was published in Boston under that name for several years.

33. INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT.—A division existed in the Democratic party in 1843, which led to the establishment of a weekly paper here to sustain David Pingree as a candidate for Congress against Robert Rantoul, Jr. It was entitled *Independent Democrat*; was commenced March 6th, and continued for a few weeks only. Wm. H. Perley was the printer.

34. THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.—In 1843, May 7th Sylvanus Brown, who was then in Salem Jail for disturbing a religious meeting, published at the *Locomotive* office three numbers of a small sheet with the foregoing designation, beginning May 7, 1843. Mr. Brown was one of the sect of "Comeouters," then somewhat numerous, so called because they came out from the churches as a protest against the pro-slavery tendencies of the pulpit.

35. VOICE AROUND THE JAIL.—In 1843 Henry Clapp, Jr., issued a small transient publication with the foregoing title, from W. H. Perley's printing-office. Mr. Clapp was editor of the *Lynn Pioneer*, and was then an occupant of Salem Jail under a sentence for libel. His "Voice" in this printed form was in favor of radical reform. Mr. Clapp was a Garrisonian Abolitionist, and a man of genius, and subsequently became prominent as a journalist in New York City.

36. THE EVANGELIST.—For the second time the publication of a Universalist periodical was begun in Salem, Aug. 12, 1843. It was a small weekly, with the foregoing title, issued on Saturday from Samuel

T. Damon's office in Manning's Building. The editors were L. S. Everett, J. M. Austin and S. C. Bulkeley, the first settled over the Universalist society in Salem, and the others pastors in Danvers. *The Evangelist* was sustained only six months.

37. **ESSEX COUNTY REFORMER.**—This was the third temperance paper published here as an aid to *The Washingtonian* or moral suasion movement. It was issued weekly, on Saturday, upon a small sheet, from the office of S. T. Damon. T. G. Chipman was the editor. It lasted three months from September 2, 1843.

38. **THE TEMPERANCE OFFERING.**—The Rev. N. Hervey, who preached to a Free Church in Washington Hall, commenced February, 1845, a monthly 12mo periodical, with the title named above. During that year it was printed at the *Gazette* office. The second and last volume, for 1846, was printed in Boston, of octavo size, and with the additional title of *Youth's Cascade*. The volumes have since been issued in book-form.

39. **SALEM ORACLE.**—In 1848 two numbers of a small advertising sheet, called *The Oracle*, were published for the months of January and February by Henry Blaney. Four more numbers, enlarged, for the four months following, were printed at the *Gazette* office for Jos. L. Wallis, editor.

40. **ESSEX COUNTY TIMES.**—This paper was a Democratic weekly, published in the fall of 1848, by E. K. Averill. It began in Marblehead, where ten numbers were issued, and ended its brief period here with three numbers more. It was issued irregularly. The principal writer for its columns was E. K. Averill, Jr., who was better known as a writer of "yellow covered literature" for Gleason's publishing house in Boston.

41. **THE FREE WORLD.**—This was a spirited campaign paper, published during the Presidential contest in 1848, in support of Van Buren and Adams, the Free-Soil candidates. It commenced August 15th, and continued on Friday until November 10th. The editor was George F. Chever, Esq. It was printed at the *Observer* office.

42. **SALEM DAILY CHRONICLE.**—The first attempt to establish a daily paper in Salem was made by Henry Blaney, who, in 1848, March 1, began the *Salem Daily Chronicle*. It was printed in Bowker's building, and published every afternoon at one cent a copy. It took no part in politics and was short lived.

43. **THE ASTEROID.**—In August, 1848, William H. Hutchinson, a job printer, commenced a small monthly sheet for the entertainment of the young people in our public schools, etc., entitled as above. It was continued here for several months, and was then removed to Boston.

44. **ESSEX COUNTY FREEMAN.**—The Free-Soil movement in 1848-49 led to the establishment of several new papers in different parts of the commonwealth. One of these was the *Essex County Freeman*,

the first number of which was issued by Gilbert L. Streeter and William Porter August 1, 1849. It was designed to aid the political anti-slavery movement, and in pursuance of this purpose sustained the nominations of the Free-Soil party, and subsequently those of the coalition of the Free-Soil and Democratic parties. It was published semi-weekly, on Wednesday and Saturday, at three dollars per year, from an office in Hale's building. In 1850, Nov. 25th, Mr. Streeter withdrew his interest in the paper, but remained as editor. The publication was continued by Mr. Porter until 1852, Feb. 11th, when he withdrew, and the publication was assumed by "Benjamin W. Lander for the Proprietors." At the same time Geo. F. Chever, Esq., associated himself with the former editor as joint conductors of the paper. In the beginning of the next year the establishment was purchased by Rev. J. E. Pomfret, the former editors continuing their services in that department for several months. Mr. Pomfret was the publisher of the paper for one year, after which Edwin Lawrence, of the *Lynn Bay State*, became the proprietor. He issued it weekly until June 14, 1854, when the publication ceased, after a term of five years.

45. **THE NATIONAL DEMOCRAT.**—On Saturday, May 24, 1851, Mr. James Coffin issued a specimen number of the *National Democrat*, but the patronage offered did not warrant a continuance of the paper. It was designed to oppose the coalition of the Free-Soil and Democratic parties.

46. **THE UNION DEMOCRAT.**—The next movement for an anti-coalition Democratic paper was more successful. *The Union Democrat* lasted over ten months. It was commenced by Samuel Fabyan, a printer from Boston, July 31, 1852, and closed October 6th, when it was removed to Boston. The office was in Bowker's building. Published on Wednesday and Saturday.

47. **MASSACHUSETTS FREEMAN.**—This was the title of a weekly Free-Soil paper, published for a short time by J. E. Pomfret, commencing June 8, 1853. It was made up from the columns of the *Essex County Freeman*. Mr. Pomfret, previous to his commencement in Salem, had published several papers, the last of which was the *Ancient Villager*. He was a minister of the Universalist persuasion, and afterwards settled in Haverhill.

48. **THE PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE.**—This paper was begun in Marblehead, in November, 1847, by Rev. Robinson Breare, a Universalist minister, and bore the title of *The Marblehead Mercury*. In 1848 it became the property of James Coffin and Daniel R. Beckford. In 1849 it was entitled *The People's Advocate and Marblehead Mercury*, and in August of that year Mr. Coffin became sole proprietor. In October, 1853, it abandoned its neutral position in favor of the advocacy of the views of the Democratic party. In October, 1854, the printing-office was moved to Salem and the title of the paper was abbreviated to *The People's Advocate*. It was discontinued in 1861.

49. SALEM DAILY JOURNAL.—The second attempt to establish a daily penny paper in Salem was made by Edwin Lawrence in 1854. He published the first number of the *Salem Daily Journal* on the 24th of July of that year. It was published in the afternoon, as the *Chronicle* had been in 1848. The experiment was not successful, and the publication was abandoned November 24, 1855, after a trial of over a year. The *Journal* was at first neutral, afterwards favorable to the Native American party, and in the fall of 1855 approved the Republican nominations. Mr. Lawrence, previous to his removal to Salem, had published the *Newburyport Union*, *Lynn Bay State* and *Essex County Freeman*.

50. THE ESSEX STATESMAN.—These were no newspaper ventures during the unsettled period immediately preceding the outbreak of the Rebellion, and it was not until 1863, the second year of the war, that a new publication was undertaken. This was the *Essex Statesman*, commenced on January 17th, and published on Wednesdays and Saturdays by Edgar Marchant, and afterwards by Benjamin W. Lander. It was announced as a "conservative" paper and was conducted as a moderate opponent of the national administration. It terminated after four years of difficult existence.

51. THE POST.—In July, 1872, Charles H. Webber began the publication of a weekly paper entitled *The City Post*, which was continued under the successive titles of *Salem City Post* and *Salem Evening Post*. Mr. Webber, after a few years, disposed of the paper, which had become a semi-weekly, to Charles D. Howard. The latter proprietor, in 1885, sold the concern to "The Telegram Publishing Co.," a new penny daily. The *Post* was a professed neutral paper with Democratic leanings.

52. THE SALEM EVENING NEWS, a small daily penny paper, begun October 16, 1881, by Robert Daman, issued from a new office on Central Street. The *News*, having become prosperous, was subsequently enlarged and removed to Brown's building, on Essex Street. The main purpose seems to have been to collect the local news and gossip of the town, in which it has been quite successful.

53. THE EVENING TELEGRAM.—This venture of a small penny daily, in rivalry of the *News*, grew out of the suspension of the *Post*, as has been mentioned. The first number was issued by "The Telegram Publishing Company," on February 9, 1885, and it continued until March, 1887, when, becoming embarrassed, the plant was sold out to the publishers of the *Daily Times*.

54. THE DAILY TIMES.—A new trial of the penny plan by parties previously interested in the *Telegram*. The first number was issued March 21, 1887.

55. THE SALEM PUBLIC.—A weekly paper commenced Saturday, April 23d, 1887, by Charles F. Trow, at \$1.50 per year. Devoted chiefly to the interests of the Grand Army of the Republic. Mr.

Trow had been connected with the *Methuen Transcript* and the *Salem Telegram*.

This completes the list of newspapers published in Salem by subscription since the introduction of the printing press by Samuel Hall, more than one hundred years ago. Besides these, several advertising sheets have been issued, such as the *Pavilion*, published by David Conrad for about four years, and the *Fire-side Favorite*, published for a yet longer time and still continued by John P. Peabody. These have been circulated gratuitously, principally for the business advantage of their proprietors.

Another series of periodicals, of a scientific character, deserve to be enumerated. To review the contributions of Salem authors to the literature of science would be an elaborate work, quite beyond the scope of this paper. Benjamin Lynde Oliver was a distinguished contributor to scientific works before the Revolution, and his "Essay on Comets" was published in Salem from Mr. Hall's press. The names of Count Benjamin Rumford, John Pickering, Nathaniel Bowditch, Edward A. Holyoke, Charles L. Page and others more recent would be included in this category. For the periodicals published in Salem for the promotion of scientific knowledge we are indebted to the Essex Institute and the Peabody Academy of Science. The former society has been prolific in publications within the past few years, its priced list showing about one hundred and fifty pamphlets and books. The "Journal of the Essex County Natural History Society," from 1838 to 1852, was followed by the "Proceedings and Communications" of the Institute from 1848 to 1868, and then by "The Bulletin," issued quarterly. These publications contained an account of the regular and field meetings of the society, and papers of scientific value. Besides these, the Institute issues its "Historical Collections," quarterly, at three dollars a year, containing papers of historical, genealogical and biographical interest and of permanent value to students in general and local history. Although no name is given of the editor of these publications, it is well known that the public are indebted for them to the indefatigable industry of Dr. Henry Wheatland, who is, indeed, the founder of the Institute itself.

Another serial originally issued under the auspices of the Institute was "The American Naturalist, an Illustrated Journal of Natural History." This very meritorious magazine is still published. After its first volume it was published under the auspices of the Peabody Academy of Science for four years, and since that time it has been issued in New York and Philadelphia. The original editors at its commencement in March, 1867, were A. S. Packard, Jr., E. S. Morse, A. Hyatt and F. W. Putnam.

Another serial, miniature in size, was begun in May, 1886, by the "Cuvier Natural History Club," under the name of "The Amateur Collector." The price is twenty-five cents a year and it appears

monthly. The youthful naturalists who projected and have maintained this little enterprise design it chiefly to awaken an interest in natural history in the minds of young people.

We have now passed in rapid review the periodical literature of Salem, chiefly its newspapers, during the past century. The reader has observed, doubtless, that only a few of these many enterprises have been permanently successful. Most of the journals which we have named died in early infancy, only three of the whole number having survived a generation. The multiplication of newspapers during this period has been exceedingly rapid, and yet where one has succeeded, perhaps fifty have failed. Often commenced merely as business speculations, rather than to meet the wants of the community, they have not been sustained by the public, because not needed.

When Mr. Hall issued his proposals for the publication of a "Weekly Publick Paper" in this place, such a vehicle of information was greatly desired. Newspapers were few in number and confined to the large seaboard towns. They were looked for and read in the country with the deepest interest. The appearance of the weekly sheet was an event of importance to people of all classes. Now they abound everywhere. Almost every considerable village in the country can boast its local print. Then, the expense attending the publication of a newspaper was very great. Paper was scarce and costly, and other materials obtainable only by importation from the mother-country. The style of the papers, in respect to typographical appearance, was quite inferior. The old *Essex Gazette* is a curiosity of the printer's art, although it was in all respects a superior paper for those days.

During the past fifty years the art of type-making has advanced rapidly, and wonderful improvements have been made in presses and other contrivances and materials employed in the printing business. The art of wood-cutting has been, we might almost say, discovered since the days when grotesque devices, clumsily executed, figured so extensively at the head of the little colonial journals. The rude wood-cuts which then were supposed to adorn the public sheets are curious and amusing exhibitions of the infancy of this delicate art, now so useful in elegant and cheap illustrations. If any one is interested to see the first difficult beginnings of the engraver's skill, he may find many singular specimens in Thomas' "History of Printing," a valuable and rare work, now out of print. A few instances are also given in Mr. Buckingham's interesting *Reminiscences of the newspaper press*, to which work, as well as the former one, we are indebted for some of the statements in this account. A comparison of the uncouth adornments of the papers of the Revolutionary period with the exquisite wood engravings in the monthly illustrated magazines now published affords a contrast nearly as great as that exhibited by the toilsome operations of an old hand-

press beside the wonderful rapidity of the lightning cylinder machines of the present day.

The ancient newspapers were of small dimensions, printed on large types, with clumsy presses and upon coarse paper. Such were the early prints of Salem. They were less various in their contents than those of our time, and were made up without much order or method. They were less full and minute in respect to local and general information. But little effort was made to gather the countless fragments of news which now distend the columns of the public journal. In all these respects there has been a great improvement in the public prints. But in regard to honest industry and enterprise, public spirit, boldness and freedom of expression, patriotic and noble endeavor, we do not know that any superiority can be claimed for the modern journals. In these particulars the publishers of ante-Revolutionary times were generally worthy of the highest praise.

CHAPTER VI.

SALEM—(Continued).

EDUCATIONAL.

BY WINFIELD S. NEVINS.

THE public and private schools of Salem have ever occupied a high place among the educational institutions of the country. If Salem did not establish free schools as early as Virginia, it was, doubtless, because the settlement here was not as early. The first settlement in Virginia was made in 1607, and her first public school is believed to have been established in 1621, fourteen years later. The real settlement of the Massachusetts Bay colony was in 1628, when John Endicott and his fellow-voyagers came to Salem, although Conant and a few others had located here in 1626. In 1637, nine years after the coming of Endicott, John Fiske opened a public school in Salem. In Boston, in 1636, a petition was presented to the authorities asking for a free school. Whether it was established before 1642, at which time we find the first definite mention of it in the records, we know not positively; probably it was. But to whomsoever shall ultimately be awarded the honor of establishing the "first free school," this is true: that while Salem maintained hers from 1637 down to 1887, in unbroken succession, the Governor of Virginia, in 1671, "thanked God there were no free schools, nor printing, and hoped they would not have any these hundred years," and long years thereafter the Old Dominion taxed schoolmasters twenty shillings per head.

These early "free" schools were not, be it understood, as free as the schools of 1887, when not only house and tuition are free, but also books, stationery

and other supplies. The town of Salem in those days appears to have borne the larger part of the expense of the master, and taxed the balance to the parents of such as could pay. A vote, passed September 30, 1644, said: "If any poor body hath children or a childe to be put to school, and not able to pay for their schooling, that the town will pay it by a rate." John Fiske, the first schoolmaster, relinquished the office in 1639, and was succeeded by Edward Norris in 1640. Norris was evidently the only teacher in the town school for twenty years after. In 1670 Daniel Epes, Jr., was employed at a salary of £20 a year, and, also, "to have besides halfe-pay for all scollers of the towne, and whole pay from strangers." Mr. Norris was voted £10 as a sort of pension in 1671. In July, 1672, he resumed the mastership of the grammar school for one year. At the expiration of that time, and until his death, in 1684, he was voted an allowance each year from £10 to £15. Some time during Mr. Norris' teachership the school came to be called a grammar school, and so continued for several years. Latin and Greek were taught. Mr. Epes, in 1677, agreed with the selectmen to teach English, Latin and Greek, and fit pupils for the university; also to teach them good manners and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. In 1768 tuition in the public schools was made free to all and ever since has been so.

This school has always been classed as the immediate predecessor of the present classical and high school. Perhaps this is the simplest way, although it might with just as good grace be said to be the predecessor of our present grammar schools. However, adopting the customary division, we find no evidence that there was more than one school until 1712, when Nathaniel Higginson established a "school for reading, writing and cyphering, in the north end of the town-house." This school was for some time known as the writing school, but gradually assumed the name of English school, which it bore for many years. The other was known as the Latin or Grammar school, as the speaker or writer chose, as often one as the other, for nearly a century, the former name gradually superseding the latter. The English and Latin schools were united in 1743, and separated three years later.

During all this time and until about 1793 these schools appear to have been for boys exclusively. In the last-named year the town instructed its committee to "provide at the writing school, or elsewhere, for the tuition of girls in reading, writing and cyphering." In 1827 the town voted to have two high schools for girls. One was located in Beckford Street, and known as the West school, the other in Bath Street, and known as the East school. This was undoubtedly the first time that females were provided with high school instruction. But to return to the boys' Latin, or grammar school, we find that its course of study in the eighteenth century comprised

the branches now commonly taught in the grammar schools, and, in addition, Latin and Greek. The dead languages seem to have been deemed of more importance than the English branches. In 1752 the committee orders that all boys who go to the grammar school must study Latin as well as read, write and cipher. In 1809 the committee ordered that "Latin and Greek languages, Geography, English Grammar, the principles of Arithmetic, and writing be taught in the Grammar schools, but that one-half the time, at least, of each scholar be devoted to Latin and Greek, so that the other studies be subservient to the learned languages."

The Latin school was transferred to the new building prepared for it on Broad Street on April 19, 1819. It began with a principal and Latin usher, and an assistant in the English department. The number of pupils reported as being in the school the following month was eighty-six, and one year later, May 4, 1820, one hundred and thirteen. The English department was discontinued in a few years, and the school, under the principal and an assistant, was a classical school, fitting boys to enter the university. The school was divided in 1827, and Henry K. Oliver took charge of the English High school, as this portion was called. Mr. Oliver was appointed June 16, 1827. The school continued to increase in numbers and enlarge its curriculum until about 1839, when two recitation rooms were added and two assistants appointed.

The school was mostly renamed in 1845. The Latin school was called the Fiske; the Boys' High school the Bowditch; the Girls' High school the Saltonstall. Nine years later the Fiske was merged in the Bowditch, and in 1856 the Bowditch and Saltonstall were united under the name of the Salem Classical and High school. To-day it is known as the Classical and High school. The course of study was divided, in 1882, into a four years' classical and a three years' English course. Thus we have traced, very briefly of necessity, the rise and growth of the first Salem public school until it has become one of the strongest high schools in the country. In its long line of forty three masters, from John Fiske down, have been men of more than ordinary ability and some of more than local reputation.

The grammar schools as we know them now are generally considered as having had their origin in that writing school which Nathaniel Higginson opened on September 1, 1712, when the committee "agreed" with him "to keep a writing, cyphering and reading school in the north end of the town-house, which is now fitted up for a school, for one quarter of a year from this 1st day of September, and to be paid for the same seven pounds ten shillings in money." This school evidently filled the place now filled by the primary schools; and the grammar school work of the present day was combined with the curriculum of the Latin school in those days.

The school which Mr. Higginson thus started appears to have given satisfaction, for on September 25, 1713, the committee agreed "that Mr. Nathaniel Higginson is desired to continue to keep the school till 25 December, and to be paid proportionally." On March 9, 1713, the committee is "agreed that Mr. Nathaniel Higginson be desired to keep the writing school for one quarter longer . . . at not exceeding ten pounds the quarter." On April 13th following, the committee "agrees" that he shall keep the school for one year from the preceding March for thirty-six pounds. His successor was John Swinnerton, who began his labors on January 2, 1716. Nathaniel Higginson was the son of John and Sarah (Savage) Higginson, the grandfather of Rev. Francis and great-grandfather of Rev. John Higginson, the first and sixth ministers of the First Church in Salem. He was born April 1, 1680, and died in 1720. He lived in a house that occupied the site of the present East Church, near the Common.

This school was known sometimes as the Writing school and sometimes as the English school, the former name gradually giving way to the latter, until it was finally dropped. It soon began to act as a feeder to the Latin school, for in July, 1717, the committee voted that four boys be promoted from the Reading and Writing school to the Grammar school. We find no trace of more than one English school in the town proper previous to 1785. As early as 1700 the town granted money for schools at Ryall Side (Beverly), Middle Precinct (Peabody), the village (Danvers) and Will Hill (Middleton), where the instruction was probably substantially that of the English or Writing school. In 1785 three English schools were opened,—one in the centre of the town, Edward Norris, master; another in the eastern part of the town, with John Watson master and a third in the western end, with Isaac Hacker master. An English school was opened in North Salem in 1807, and one in South Salem in 1819, the latter being first known as the South English school. This school was subsequently located on Ropes Street, and named the Brown school. In 1874 it was transferred to the new house on Hazel Street, and soon after called the Saltonstall Grammar school. Another English or Grammar school was established in the east part of the town, on Williams Street, in 1821. The High school for girls opened on Beckford Street, in 1827, subsequently became the Higginson Grammar school. In 1841 a new school was opened on Aborn Street, for both sexes, under charge of Charles Northend. Four years later it was named the Epes school. In 1876 the Higginson and Epes were united with the Hacker, on Dean Street, all under the name of Bowditch Grammar school. The Girls' High school, on East Street, in 1827, was the original of what is now the Bently school for girls, Grammar and Primary. The Centre school was, in 1841, united with the Williams Street and East Street schools as the Union school,

and located near Forrester Street. In 1845, when the general renaming of schools took place, this school received the name of Phillips' Grammar. The North English in North Salem became the Pickering.

In 1729 generous Samuel Brown, in giving two hundred and forty pounds to the school fund, provided that one hundred and twenty pounds should go to the Grammar school, sixty pounds to the English school, and sixty pounds to a Woman's school. His language would seem to indicate that while the two first named then existed, the other was to be established. He did not state what should be taught in the other two, but in the Woman's school the interest of the donation was "to be yearly improved for the learning of six very poor children their letters, and to spell and read, who may be sent to said school six or seven months." This was, undoubtedly, the founding of our primary school. But the records of the school committee give no indication of the establishment of the school until March 26, 1773, when a vote was passed which would indicate quite clearly that no action had been taken previously. It read:

"The interest of said Brown's donation and legacy to a Woman's Reading School, being about eight pounds and four shillings per annum, be given to Mrs. Mary Gill, for which she is to teach nine poor boys to spell and read this year. This and to find them in firing during the winter, provided she admits but sixteen other scholars into her school." To this is appended in the records the following: "We, the subscribers, advise to the order. Asa Dunbar, Wm. Brown, one of the Posterity of the Donor." It is evident that Mrs. Gill was already keeping a private school, and that this money was paid to her for teaching small poor children.

By the old town records, however, it appears that at a town-meeting on May 16, 1764, a vote was passed "that the School Committee be empowered to draw fifty dollars out of the Town Treasury and apply the same for the instruction of the poorest children of the town in reading at Women's School." On March 8, 1770, Timothy Pickering petitioned the selectmen to "Be pleased to insert a line in your warrant for the next Town-Meeting to know if the Town will take into their consideration their vote passed in May, 1764, respecting the schooling the poorest people's children at Women's School, etc." Whether this petition means that no action had been taken on the vote of 1764, or whether we are to infer that the petitioners desired a repetition of that, we do not know. The records of the meetings of the school committee, not very full for those years, make not the least mention of this matter, nor do the accounts show any orders drawn to pay any one for the purposes specified. But this omission may be due entirely to the incompleteness of the record.

Early the following month this entry was made: "The committee met the 8th inst. and agreed that the following-named Boys be put to the Charity

School kept by Mrs. Gill, and there be taught for six months from the 10th inst." Then follow the names of ten boys.

On August 10th the committee "agreed that an order for two pounds, three shillings and six pence be drawn in favor of Mrs. Mary Gill, being one-quarter of a year's interest of Samuel Brown, Esq., his Donation and Legacy." From this time on appears an order for the payment of Mrs. Gill every three months. The conclusion is irresistible that she was the first teacher of a free public woman's school, and that our primary schools date from April 10, 1773, and not from 1729, the year of Colonel Brown's donation.

Thus we have three independent schools of three distinct grades corresponding to our present high, grammar and primary.

Two years later, in Mr. Brown's will, leaving an additional one hundred and fifty pounds for the school fund, he speaks of the "Latin," "English" and "woman's" schools. In 1801 a notice about the schools mentions the grammar school, where all the higher branches were taught, including Latin and Greek, and three public schools for children of both sexes and not less than five years of age, where the alphabet, spelling and reading would be taught. Primary schools have continued as a separate department of our educational institutions down to the present time, and are now deemed the foundation of our school system. During a portion of the past eighty years we have had "intermediate" schools for such as had passed the primaries, but could not be classed in the grammar schools. There are now eleven primary schools, and no intermediate existing, although the school committee in 1885 authorized the establishment of one when needed.

From 1807 to 1843 colored children were educated in separate schools most of the time. It is supposed that previous to that time they were not instructed at all by the town. Chloe Minn was the first teacher of a primary school for colored children. As early as 1830 a girl of color was admitted to the high school. Some opposition being manifested to this, and the legality of the act questioned, the committee took counsel of eminent legal lights, and was informed that the colored girl had as much right in the school as a white child. It is needless to say that the present generation sees, without thought of protest, black and white, native and foreign, educated together, not only in the same school, but side by side in the same class.

From the settlement of Salem down to 1712 the educational interests of the town were controlled by the people themselves, either by direct vote or instructions to the selectmen. In 1712 the citizens in town-meeting assembled chose Samuel Brown, Josiah Walcott, Stephen Sewall, John Higginson, Jr., and Walter Price to have charge of the schools. Committees were chosen by the people every year thereafter, until Salem was incorporated as a city in 1836. Under

the charter, members of the school committee were chosen by the City Council until 1859, when the power was restored to the people, to whom it properly belongs. The mayor and president of the Common Council are, by the charter, made members of the board, the people electing three members from each of the six wards. The office of superintendent of schools was created in 1865, and Jonathan Kimball elected to the position. It was discontinued in 1872 and revived in 1873, when A. D. Small was elected superintendent. It was again discontinued in 1880, since when the schools have been supervised by sub-committees.

It is not proposed in a brief chapter like this to trace out all the sites occupied by school-houses during the past two hundred and fifty years. It is important, however, to learn something of the houses used by the earlier schools and of the spots where they stood. Of Mr. Fiske's school-house we know nothing. The church may have served the purpose, as it did for town-meetings. In 1655 the school was kept in the town-house, which then stood near what is now the southerly end of the railroad tunnel. A year later the town empowered a committee "to have the school-house repayed." Whether this indicates an independent house for school purposes, or has reference to the room in the town-house used by the school, no one knows. In 1672 Daniel Andrews was voted pay for keeping school in his house.

About 1700, perhaps shortly before, grants of school money were made to the inhabitants "without the bridge," also to those at Ryall Side, Middle Precinct, and the village. Just where their school-houses were located it is impossible to say. On June 16, 1712, the town voted "that the watch-house, adjoining the town-house, be for the future set apart and improved for a school-house . . . and that the same be repaired and fitted conveniently for the use aforesaid." The watch-house stood beside the town-house; most antiquarians say to the south of it; but when, in 1712, the school committee "agreed with Nathaniel Higginson to keep a writing, ciphering and reading school," it was to be "in the north end of the town-house, which is now fitted up for a school." Of course this meant the watch-house, and the language indicates clearly that it was at the north end of the town-house, and not the south.¹ This town-house was the one which stood in the middle of what is now Washington Street, opposite the Brookhouse estate, on the corner of Lynde Street. The watch-house continued in use for some years, and the schools were kept in this street so long that it came to be known as "school-house lane."

In 1760 the town voted to erect a brick school-house, a great step forward in the march of educa-

¹ Felt, in his "Annals of Salem," and other local historians locate this school "in the north end of the town," but the records of the school committee say "in the north end of the town-house."

tional progress. This building stood near where the previous school-house had. It was taken down in 1785 to make room for a new court-house, and quarters hired elsewhere for the schools. They were not long without a home, for on March 24th the town voted to build the Centre school-house, 24x36 feet, a portion of which was to be occupied by a library. This building was of wood, two stories high. The Latin school occupied rooms here. Other houses were undoubtedly soon built for the East and West schools. The next school-house built was probably that in North Salem, which was on the corner of North and School Streets. The High school now occupies a fairly commodious building on Broad Street, where it has been located since 1856. For thirty-seven years previous it had occupied the neighboring building now used by the Oliver Primary school.

The largest school building in the city is the Bowditch, on Dean Street, built in 1870 at a cost of eighty-five thousand dollars, including land. The Phillips Grammar school, on Lower Essex Street, occupies an eight-room house, built in 1883 at a cost of thirty-three thousand and five hundred dollars. The Bently Grammar and Primary, on Essex Street, near the Phillips, was built in 1861 and enlarged in 1886. The four-room building in North Salem, occupied by the Pickering Grammar school, was built in 1862, at a cost of twenty thousand dollars. The Saltonstall, on Holly Street, South Salem, the only wooden grammar school-building, and built in 1874, cost sixteen thousand dollars. Of the primary school-houses all are small and most of them are old, wooden four-room buildings. The Bertram is the only one of recent date.

The pay of the earlier teachers was small. Mr. Epps, in 1677, was to have twenty pounds from the town, and if that was not enough with tuition to make sixty pounds, the selectmen were to make up the balance. If it was more than enough, he was to have it and be free from all taxes, trainings, watchings and wardings. In 1699 Mr. Whitman was to "have fifty pounds in money, each scholar to pay twelve pence a month," and "what this lacked was to be made up out of the fund sett apart for grammar schools." Thus the compensation ran along for some years with slight variations, but, on the whole, slowly rising. Mr. Nutting had ninety pounds in 1729. At the close of the eighteenth century the master of the English school had one hundred and fifty pounds and "found ink," and the grammar master one hundred and thirty pounds, and nothing said about ink. In 1803 each of the four school mistresses "is to have a salary of one hundred dollars and four cords of wood." In 1819, when Thomas Henry Oliver (General H. K. Oliver) succeeded Mr. Clark in the Latin school as "usher," it was at a salary of six hundred dollars, and in 1824, as "assistant," he had nine hundred dollars and Mr. Eames, the master, twelve hundred dollars. The same salary was paid to Oliver Carleton in 1840, while

Rufus Putnam, as master of the High school, had one thousand dollars. The masters of the other schools had seven hundred dollars each and the assistants from two hundred dollars to two hundred and fifty dollars. Teachers in the primary school received one hundred and fifty dollars. Perhaps this part of the story may as well be completed with brief allusion to salaries paid in 1887. The master of the High school has two thousand two hundred dollars; the sub-master, one thousand five hundred dollars; the first assistant, eleven hundred dollars; other assistants and principals of primary schools, six hundred and fifty dollars; male principals of grammar schools, one thousand eight hundred dollars; one female principal one thousand five hundred dollars; assistants in grammar and primary schools, five hundred dollars.

In the days when those small salaries were paid, a year of teaching was a year indeed. The school-bell was ordered to be rung (in 1700) at 7 A.M. and 5 P.M. from March 1st to November 1st; at 8 A.M. and 4 P.M. the remainder of the year, "ye school to begin and end accordingly." A half-century later the only vacations were "general election, commencement day and the rest of that week, fasts, thanksgivings, trainings, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons." This, says Felt, was a liberal allowance compared with what their predecessors had enjoyed. Now we have, in all, full three months' vacation besides Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Are our boys and girls more healthy than those who went to school "from morning to night," and "the year round?" For nearly two centuries the girls were not granted the same privileges as boys. They went to school four days in the week from 11 A.M. to 12.30 P.M., and 4.30 to 6 P.M., from April 1st to October 1st, the idea being, evidently, that they needed but little education.

A State Normal school for girls was established in Salem in 1854. The city provided the site and erected the building at a cost of about \$13,200. The State reimbursed \$6000 of this amount and the Eastern Railroad Company contributed \$2000 additional. The building was enlarged in 1870-71, at a cost of \$25,000. It was dedicated on September 14, 1854, having been opened for the admission of pupils on the previous day. Richard Edwards was principal from the opening to September, 1857; Professor Alpheus Crosby from October, 1857, to September, 1865, and Professor Daniel B. Hagar from September 6, 1865, to the present time. The aims and methods of the school are best stated in the language of the circular:

"The ends chiefly aimed at in this school are, the acquisition of the necessary knowledge of the Principles and Methods of Education, and of the various branches of study, the attainment of skill in the art of teaching, and the general development of the mental powers.

"From the beginning to the end of the course, all studies are conducted with especial reference to the best ways of teaching them. Recitations, however excellent, are not deemed satisfactory unless every pupil is able to teach others that which she has herself learned. In every study the pupils in turn occupy temporarily the place of teacher of their classmates, and are subjected to their criticisms as well as those of their regular teacher. Teaching exercises of various kinds form a large and important part of the school work."

Private schools have always been an important factor among the educational agencies of old Salem. The first mention which Felt, in his *Annals*, makes of these institutions is under date of January 1, 1770, when, he finds, Daniel Hopkins, who was afterwards a minister in Salem, had leave to open a private school for reading, writing and arithmetic. He adds that a teacher in one of the public schools had "recently taught in the evening on his own account." We can hardly believe that for one hundred and forty years after the settlement here there were no private schools. That they existed, but are unrecorded, we have no doubt. Two years and a half after the above leave was granted, Charles Shimmin is advertising to instruct children and youth in English, book-keeping, geography, astronomy, etc. A year or so later (1773) Elizabeth Gaudin opened a school to instruct young ladies in plain sewing, marking tent and Irish stitch. In about 1780 Mrs. Mehitable Higginson, widow of John Higginson, who died in 1818, aged ninety-four years, with her daughter Mehitable, began a private school, which she kept many years, and which became of great repute. Nathaniel Rogers and his wife, Mrs. Abigail Dodge Rogers, parents of the Messrs. Rogers, leading merchants in Salem during the first half of this century, kept a famous school during the latter part of the last and early in this century. Thomas Cole came from Marblehead and opened the well-known female school in 1808, and continued until about 1834, when he resigned on account of his health. He lived eighteen years afterwards, and was an active member of the school committee.

In 1782 Mr. Bartlett adds composition and history, and in 1783 Nathan Reed adds grammar and elocution. It will be seen that the branches taught in private schools were mainly additional and supplementary to those in the public schools. In 1802, says Felt, William Gray, Benjamin Pickman and others, "desirous to afford their sons the privileges of a school with few pupils, under a teacher of high character and attainments, and subject to their immediate control," concluded to have such an establishment. They employed Jacob Knapp, and in 1803 built a school-house for him. The number of pupils was limited to thirty, and Mr. Knapp's salary, which was twelve hundred dollars the first three years, was for the remaining five years fixed at the, for those times,

munificent sum of two thousand dollars. This school was in Church Street, and later moved to the vicinity of the common. A similar school, known as the Salem Private Grammar school, was begun in 1807, on Chestnut Street, where the Phillips house now stands. Several other schools, on a similar plan, were opened in different parts of the city about this time. The public schools appear not to have given satisfaction. The town was economizing, and began, as usual, with the schools. A vote to build a new house was revoked in 1820, and the old one repaired; teachers' salaries were reduced. The higher branches, like geography, history, grammar and elocution, appear to have been long finding a place in the school course. A census taken in 1820 revealed 2750 children of school age, of whom 225 boys, out of some 1300, were in private schools. From 1806 to 1820 Felt finds seventy-five advertisements of private schools. In 1816, the year before the course of study in the public schools was enlarged, seven masters set up private schools, and it is believed that half the children in town attended them. The enlargement of the course reduced the private schools by one-half. In 1826, however, there were 69 private schools, with 1686 pupils, the amount of tuition being \$18,836, against \$8592.89 paid by the town. Four-fifths of the amount paid for private tuition was for girls and small children of both sexes, they not having been provided for properly in the town schools. Eleven years later there were 70 private schools, with 589 males and 1001 females, the cost of tuition being \$22,700, while the cost of the public schools, with 1236 pupils, was \$8877. The number of private schools had been reduced to 49 in 1843, with 972 pupils, at an annual cost of \$13,594.75. The public schools instructed about 2000 pupils at a cost of \$14,816.86. Thereafter the number of private schools diminished until, aside from the parochial schools, there are now less than a dozen. The number of pupils attending them is 365, out of a school population of 5140. The three Roman Catholic parochial schools contain 917 girls and no boys.

In closing this chapter it seems not inappropriate to say a word about the schools of Salem as they exist to-day, just two hundred and fifty years after Mr. Fiske began that "first free school." The High School had, in 1887, an enrollment of 216, and the average attendance was 180. The corps of teachers consist of a master, two male and five female assistants. The grammar schools are five in number. The Bowditch, for both sexes, with a male principal and twelve female assistants, had a membership of 479; the Bently, for girls only, with five female teachers, 176; the Phillips, for boys only, with a male principal and seven female assistants, 267; the Saltonstall, for both sexes, with a principal and seven assistants, 255; the Pickering, for both sexes, with a principal and four assistants, 174.

The primary schools showed the following membership: Bently, 163; Bertram, 148; Browne (six teach-

ers) 193; Carlton, 173; Endicott, 169; Lincoln, 195; Lynde (five teachers), 217; Oliver (five teachers), 222; Pickman, 133; Prescott, 135; Upham, 152; Naumkeag, 110—making a total of 3546.

Those primary schools not otherwise mentioned had four teachers. There is an "unattached" teacher, who goes from school to school to relieve the principal while she supervises the work in other rooms. The Naumkeag, located in the house on Ropes Street, is an ungraded school. It is intended for such pupils as cannot be conveniently classified in the graded school, but its patronage is now entirely of French Canadian children, who must be taught the English language first of all, and its various branches subsequently. This school was established in 1869, and is in charge of a principal and one assistant. Evening schools are kept through the fall and winter months—one for boys and one for girls. The attendance has always been small and somewhat irregular. The course of study is of a somewhat miscellaneous character.

The courses of study in the several schools do not differ materially from those now generally pursued in all public schools. Added to the common branches of learning are music, under the direction of a special instructor, drawing, history of the United States, and physiology and temperance hygiene. All books, slates, pencils, stationery and general supplies used in the schools are, by law, furnished to the pupils free of expense. The cost of introducing these, in 1884, for 4000 pupils was about \$9000, in addition to the \$2000 worth then in the school-houses. The cost was somewhat above the average for the State. The cost of replenishing, in 1885, was above \$5000, and in 1886 \$6200, which is also above the average for the State. This latest addition to the expense of maintaining free public schools, however, makes them free in fact as well as in name. The child may now come to them "without money and without price." The total cost of the Salem schools in 1886 was \$81,507.16.

CHAPTER VII.

SALEM—(Continued).

LITERATURE.

BY GEO. B. LORING.

WHILE we contemplate with profound interest the material growth of a community, and trace its progress in agriculture and commerce and the arts of life, we turn always with more attention to the intellectual operations by which it has taken its stand among the thoughtful and cultivated. The work of man's hands is always interesting, but the fruits of

his mental toil arrest our most solemn attention, and take us into a higher atmosphere where dwells his divine genius. The development of letters in a newly-settled country is always slow. Men engaged in organizing States have no time for books. Authorship is a work of established government, developed industries, a prosperous condition. The defenders of a frontier and the organizers of war seldom write histories or poems. Achilles fights and Homer writes. When States are to be organized, and towns founded, and farms outlined, the scholars are obliged to wait for their turn. The adage "*inter arma silent leges*" should include also *et literæ*. In the early colonial days of our country the work of the *conditores imperiorum* was so constant and pressing that there was neither time nor opportunity for intellectual work, other than that which belonged to the church and the state. Until within fifty years American literature has been a prediction, and it required all the scholarly enthusiasm and confidence in the American mind, which Mr. Everett, just then returned from the schools of Europe, possessed to foretell the effect of free institutions on the public mind here. When he pronounced his oration at Harvard in 1824, in which he appealed to the scholars to do their duty, and placed before them the picture of a great literary republic, just then beginning to dawn, he was obliged to look back upon a feeble and meagre contribution by American authors to the libraries of their country. At that time no poet greater than Joel Barlow had appeared among us. Charles Brockden Brown was the chief novelist. Hutchinson stood foremost as a historian. No scientist had either explored or written, except Franklin, at once scientist, essayist, statesman, diplomatist. That long array of poets, and historians, and novelists, and essayists, and scientists, and jurists, and statesmen, and divines, which now fills the world with their brilliant performances, and has placed the literature of the United States along with that of any other nation, ancient or modern, has accomplished all its work since that prophecy of Mr. Everett was made. Great declarations had been proclaimed, urgent protests had been put forth, essays upon forms of government had been written, sound constitutions had been organized, the pulpit had threatened with vehemence and exhorted with religious fervor, theological disputations and moral essays filled the colonial libraries. There was no necessity for gratifying the imagination, which at that time had but a small abiding-place. The surrounding reality was more remarkable than any tale that could be told. And the songs of Zion appealed to their hearts with a warmth unknown to the most fervid lines of love.

All these influences were especially strong in the community of Naumkeag. The leaders of the colony were men of deep thought, strong convictions and stern purpose. They had an abiding faith, and they always held themselves in readiness to defend it. It

was a liberal education to listen to the sermons of Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton, the pastor and the teacher of the First Church, and to the profound philosophy and radical doctrines of Roger Williams—all scholars of Oxford and Cambridge. The public utterances of Hugh Peters, preacher, civilian, manufacturer, merchant, more than filled the place of an attractive volume. Harvard sent into the Salem pulpit the brilliant but deluded Noyes, the commanding Curwin, the devout Fisk, and in later colonial days Barnard, the pious and prudent, and Dunbar, the fervid and patriotic. Stepping aside a moment from his official duty, the Rev. Mr. Higginson published "Generall Considerations for the Plantations in New England, with an Answer to Several Objections;" and "a true relation of his last voyage to New England."

This book was published as early as 1629. It sets forth the reasons for supporting the settlement, especially at Naumkeag, and defines its object to be the planting of the Gospel on these shores, the erection of a refuge for Christians, provision for the poor and needy who could not procure homes in England, economy of living in that extravagant and wasteful age, a supply of education for the poor, the support of a particular church and to set an example of faith and devotion to the cause of Christ.

Roger Williams, who commenced his remarkable career in Salem, began his work of authorship in 1643. In that year, during a voyage to England, he composed his "Key to the Language of America," the first treatise on the subject prepared on this continent. This was soon followed by a book entitled the "Bloody Tenent," in which he denounced the views of John Cotton, that it was the duty of the magistrate to regulate the doctrines of the church, to which Cotton replied in a volume called the "Bloody Tenent washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb." To this Williams rejoined in "The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody by Mr. Cotton's endeavor to wash it White." In these books he most earnestly maintained the doctrine of religious toleration and entire freedom of conscience. His last publication, so far as known, is entitled "George Fox digged out of his Burrows," a book which appeared in 1672, in reply to Fox's "Defence of the Quakers." Prior to this, however, he published, in 1652, "The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, or a Discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ," and the same year "Experiments of Spiritual Life and their Preservations." He also addressed many letters to John Winthrop and John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut from 1633 to 1635. In all these works, written during a stormy life, and amidst scenes of the greatest trial and excitement, will be found that vigor of thought, independence of feeling, philosophical power and devotion to strong conviction for which Roger Williams was distinguished.

Hugh Peters entered upon his varied career in this

country October 6, 1635, at which date he landed in Salem. He was settled as the successor of Roger Williams December 21, 1636, and while performing most efficient service as minister of a parish, he devoted himself to regulating the police force of the town, to encouraging commerce and manufactures and to the general welfare of the community. Educated at Jesus College and Trinity College, Cambridge, he commenced life as a comedian, but soon took holy orders in the Church of England, and was for some time a lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London. He soon, however, became a non-conformist and fled to Holland, where it is said he "used his powerful eloquence and pulpit eccentricities with great effect," until he emigrated to America. It was with this mental culture and this remarkable experience that he commenced his labors as pastor of the First Church in Salem, and pursued his literary career. He was the author of "Good Work for a Good Magistrate," 1651, in which he recommends the burning of the historical records in the Tower; "A Dying Father's Last Legacy to his Only Child," 1660, and "a number of political tracts, occasional sermons," etc. He also published "Amesii Lectiones in Psalmos, cum Epist. Dectic," 1647. The opinions of historians and biographers with regard to Hugh Peters differ widely. He is called a grand imposter and an arch-traitor on the one side, and on the other side he is eulogized as a martyr to the cause of civil and religious freedom, a pure and able divine and a devoted philanthropist. That he had extraordinary ability and immense energy no man can doubt, nor can we fail to recognize his influence in raising the New England colonies into a position of power and effect, which is still felt throughout the country.

In 1690 Thomas Maule published "Truth Set and Maintained,"—an ardent plea for the Quakers as a means of spreading the Gospel. He was indicted for the publication of a book, "wherein is contained divers slanders against the churches and government of this province," and for saying at the honorable court in Ipswich "that there were as great mistakes in the Scriptures as in his book." He was, however, acquitted.

It seems proper to record here the mental attainments and efforts of a youthful prodigy who, while he left no mark of his great powers, occupies a place in the list of those who represent the early culture and scholarship of Salem. Nathaniel Mather, a son of Increase Mather, lies buried in the Charter Street Burying-ground, with the inscription on his gravestone, "an aged person who saw but nineteen winters in this world." He was born in 1669 and died October 17, 1688. He was graduated at Harvard in 1685. At sixteen he delivered an oration in Hebrew, and ranked among the first scholars of his time. When a mere child he repented in sackcloth and ashes that he had "whittled on the Sabbath-day, and thus reproached his God by his youthful sports." At twelve

he cried out "Lord, give me Christ or I die." His brother, Cotton Mather, says of him, "Nor did he slubber his prayers with hasty amputations, but wrestled in them for a good part of an hour together." He died at nineteen, "an aged person," as recorded on his grave-stone in the Charter Street Burying-ground, and left, it is true, a most slender record behind him. But the scholar who contemplates his career will admire his genius and will picture to himself the brilliant work he would have accomplished for mankind and his country had his life been spared and his promise been fulfilled. His memory belongs to the community where his ashes lie and his radiance illumines the dawn of letters in the colony.

In Salem Village the Rev. Peter Clark, an able and earnest minister, published in 1752 a "Defense of Infant Baptism," and in 1760 "The Doctrine of Original Sin Vindicated Again." In 1728 he published a sermon at the ordination of William Jennison at the East Church. He died in 1766, aged seventy-five.

It will be noticed that authorship has thus far been confined to the clergy. Until 1700 the provincial and colonial theocracy was complete. The clergy organized the State, constructed the laws, provided municipal regulations, exercised a general and close supervision of public affairs and directed the current of literature. The libraries of that day were full of volumes of sermons, moral essays, treatises on theology, books of devotion, all well exemplified by the numerous productions of Roger Williams and Hugh Peters.

At the opening of the eighteenth century the current of thought changed. The manifest mistakes of the preceding three-quarters of a century were fully realized, and the law-givers were busy in reforming the code, and the publicists and theologians commenced the work of explanation. The State had become organized; the theory on which it was constructed had become operative; the doctrinal contests were largely over; and the minds of the community had settled into a degree of repose which created but few active authors and writers. The Indian wars commenced, and for many years the active forces of the colony were engaged in the horrors of forest warfare. The strong men organized train-bands; the brave mothers kept careful watch of the homes; the clergy who were not engaged in active military service inspired the hearts of the people with faith and courage. From the breaking out of the Indian wars until the close of the French war the opportunity for study and meditation was small; and during the remainder of the century, which was occupied by the War of the Revolution and the civil conflicts of the construction of the Constitution, the thought of the people was turned to questions of state, and the science of government occupied very largely the minds of those who were engaged in literary work. In public debates, in the newspaper press, in a flood of pamphleteering, may be found the fruits of the

mental effort of the day. There was neither time nor opportunity nor inclination for poems or novels; and theological disputations were suspended before the all-absorbing topics which a great struggle for freedom, and a great declaration and defense of popular rights, had created. Science asserted itself, it is true, from time to time. Franklin pursued his observations on electricity, and, so far as Salem is concerned, Judge Andrew Oliver published in 1772 "An Essay on Comets," "Papers on Lightning, Thunder Storms and Water-spouts," and an account of a disease among the Indians, while Benjamin Thompson, later Count Rumford, was imbibing here, as an apprentice in John Appleton's shop, his passionate love of science.

In 1746 Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, who was born in 1728, was graduated at Harvard, and, in 1749, commenced in Salem the practice of medicine, which he continued eighty years. He published many medical articles in the reviews of his profession, and scientific papers in the "Memoirs of the American Academy of Science." He possessed great repose of body and spirit, and that balance of powers which usually attends longevity.

It was about 1770 that Timothy Pickering commenced his career as soldier and statesman by publishing a manual of military tactics which he used in drill service before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and whose principles he applied in a critical review of the military training of his superior officers as the war went on. He found time, in the midst of his duties in the army, in Congress, in the Cabinet and in agriculture, to publish an exhaustive letter on the "Conduct of the American Government towards Great Britain and France," and a "Review of the Correspondence between President John Adams and W. Cunningham," besides many valuable papers connected with his varied official service. Colonel Pickering was not only governed by a high sense of duty throughout his long career, and by strong convictions, but he also expressed himself in a nervous, vigorous style, and in controversial correspondence was a most formidable foe. To no man is this country more indebted for its independent nationality and the strength of its institutions. He performed his service with such fearlessness and honesty that he was at times placed on the defensive; but he now stands in the front rank of the great and pure men of the Revolutionary and Constitutional period in our history. In a literary point of view, he has left for the imitation of those statesmen who come after him a clear and impressive style and great power of statement.

The adoption of the Constitution and the organization of the Union found the country almost entirely absorbed by political controversies, and most vigorous endeavors to restore the languishing business of a people exhausted by a long war and a feeble and unsatisfactory system of government. The pulpit, the

bar and the newspaper press absorbed nearly all the cultivated talent of the country. The progress of Arminianism and the development of Unitarianism gave rise to a most animated theological controversy, and the issues, growing out of various interpretations of the Federal Constitution, brought out a strong body of writers on these subjects. Rev. Thomas Barnard, of the North Church, published many occasional sermons, beginning in 1786, among which may be found an eloquent discourse delivered on the death of Washington, following in this respect his father, Rev. Thomas Barnard, of the First Church, who began his publications in 1743.

One of the most remarkable writers and investigators of that day was Rev. John Prince, LL.D., who was born in Boston in 1751, and died in Salem in 1836. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1776, and was ordained minister over the First Church in Salem in 1779. He was a most indefatigable worker, and applied himself to scientific research, often at the expense of his ministerial and parochial duties. He was an intimate friend of Count Rumford, who commenced his great career in this town as author and investigator in 1765, and joined in many of his inventions and scientific experiments. He improved largely the air-pump, and tested many plans for warming rooms. He published many sermons, among which are a Fast Sermon in 1798, a Charitable Sermon in 1806, a sermon on the death of Dr. Barnard in 1814, and a sermon before the Bible Society in 1816. His labors and his character were noticed by many scientific, literary and historical societies, and were reviewed by many leading periodicals of the day.

Dr. Prince exerted a commanding influence on the community in which he lived and his memory is warmly cherished in Salem. In theology he passed from Arminianism to Unitarianism with many of his clerical associates, and set a noble example of the capacity of a liberal-minded man to retain his faith while pursuing his theological investigations and modifying his views. His style was simple and somewhat severe, but it was used by him to convey sound doctrine, and a fund of valuable information and much food for thought.

William Bentley was ordained over the East Church four years after Dr. Prince commenced his labors at the First Church. He was born in Boston in 1759; was graduated at Harvard in 1777; and died in 1819. He was one of the ablest men of his time. His learning was extensive, and he used it, not only in the pulpit, but also in the newspaper press, to which he was a liberal contributor, and in a more elaborate work upon the history of Salem. He was at one time the editor of the *Essex Register*. In politics he was an ardent Republican and espoused the cause of Jefferson and advocated his interpretation of the Constitution. In theology he was an extreme Arminian, and paused not when he reached Unitarianism, but adopted with great force and ability those

doctrines which since his day have been more generally accepted by the followers of Emerson and Parker and the German school. He was a most ardent patriot and left his pulpit in mid-service to defend the town of Marblehead and the frigate "Constitution," when she was chased into that harbor, now famous as the rendezvous of the competing yachts of the country. Dr. Bentley was at his death warmly eulogized by Edward Everett, at the time a professor in Harvard College. But it was not found convenient to publish the sermon. He left his valuable library to the theological school at Meadville, and the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester. He was a most beloved pastor and friend, and his memory is held as a most precious legacy by the descendants of those who loved him in his lifetime, and worshipped his spirit after death. Dr. Bentley published: "A Sermon at Stone Chapel, Boston," 1790; "Sermon on the death of Jonathan Gardner," 1791; "Psalms and Hymns," 1795; "A Masonic Discourse," 1796; "Artillery Election Sermon," 1796; "Sermon on the death of General Fiske," 1797; "A Masonic Discourse," 1797; "Masonic Charge," 1798; "History of Salem," 1800; "Sermon on the death of B. Hodges," 1804; "Sermon on the ordination of Joseph Richardson Hingham," 1806; "Election Sermon," 1807.

These two distinguished divines performed great service in the work of sustaining the literary reputation and power of Salem—a duty which before their death was taken up by one of the most learned and exemplary sons of this town, the Hon. John Pickering. He was born in Salem in 1772, a son of Timothy Pickering, and spent his early life in public service at home and abroad. He was secretary of legation to Portugal, and afterwards private secretary of Rufus King, in London. He filled many important positions as instructor at Harvard, practiced law in Salem until 1830, was a Senator from Essex and a member of the House of Representatives from Salem, and revised and arranged the Statutes of Massachusetts. He was, during his life, a most diligent student. His works are of great value to the scholar, and attracted the favorable attention of learned men at home and abroad. In 1816 he published "a vocabulary or collection of words and phrases which have been supposed to be popular in the United States," a work which was accepted at once as of great value by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1829 he published a volume "On the Adoption of a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America," to which students of etymology made constant reference. In 1836 he published "Remarks on the Indian Languages of North America," accepted as a most valuable treatise by General Cass, W. H. Prescott, Du Ponceau, Ludewig and others. In 1826 he published "A Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language, adapted to the schools and colleges of the United States," a book which ran through many editions and was published in Edinburgh by Professor

George Dunbar, with additions. The third American edition was so enlarged and improved as to be accepted as final authority. Mr. Pickering also published "A Fourth of July Oration in Salem," in 1804; "Eulogy on Nathaniel Bowditch, before the Academy of Arts and Sciences," 1838; "Lecture on the Alleged Uncertainty of the Law," 1834; "Dr. Edwards' Observations on the Language of the Muhekaneew Indians," 1823; "Eliot's Indian Grammar," 1822; "Father Rasles' Dictionary of the Abnaki Language," and the "Vocabulary of Josiah Cotton," and "A Grammar of the Cherokee Language." He edited with a memoir "Peirce's History of Harvard University." In connection with Judge White, of Salem, he published an edition of "Sallust," in 1805. He also published a translation of "M. Dupin's Refutation of J. Salvador's Trial of Jesus," prefixed to the "Examination of the Testimony of the Four Evangelists;" "A Review of the McLeod International Question;" "Remarks on Greek Grammar;" "An Address Before the American Oriental Society;" "A Paper on the Roman Law;" "An Article on National Rights;" "An Essay on the Agrarian Laws;" "An Essay on the Pronunciation of Greek;" one on the "Priority of Greek Studies;" one on the "Egyptian Jurisprudence;" papers on the "Cochin China Language," and "Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella."

The scholarship of Dr. Pickering, especially as a linguist, has seldom been surpassed. He had a profound knowledge of more than twenty languages. President Felton said of him that "he was one of the noblest and most learned men our country has produced." He possessed great purity of character and a most amiable and gentle disposition. His mind was enlarged by much learning and his heart was constantly warmed by his devotion to scholarly labor and his daily intimacy with the works of students of all ages and every country.

During the years occupied by John Pickering in performing his great literary work, Joseph Story entered upon his remarkable career as poet, legislator, lawyer and jurist. He was born in Marblehead September 18, 1779; was graduated at Harvard in 1798; was admitted to the bar in 1801, and commenced the practice of his profession at once in Salem, where he resided until appointed professor of law at Harvard in 1829. He was a lawyer who had acknowledged power as an adviser and an advocate, even in the early days of his professional labors. He was a most influential member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and during his term of service in Congress, to which he was elected as a Jeffersonian Republican, in 1808, he pursued a course of great independence and commanding influence. During this period of his public career he had entered upon the field of authorship with great zeal, and was already recognized as an eloquent orator, a graceful scholar and an able expounder of the law. As early as

1804 he published a poem, entitled "The Power of Solitude," which, whatever may have been its poetic merit, indicated the grace and fervor of the author's mind. He then commenced his long catalogue of treatises on various branches of the law. He published "A Selection of Pleadings in Civil Actions" in 1805; "The Public and General Statutes passed by the Congress of the United States from 1789 to 1827;" "Commentaries on the Law of Bailments," 1832; "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, with a preliminary review of the Constitutional History of the Colonies and States before the adoption of the Constitution," 1833; "Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws, Foreign and Domestic, in regard to Contracts, Rights and Remedies, and especially in regard to Marriages, Divorces, Wills, Successions and Judgments," 1834; "Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence as administered in England and America," 1835; "Commentaries on Equity Pleadings and the incidents thereto, according to the Practice of the Courts of Equity in England and America," 1838; "Commentaries on the Law of Agency as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence, with occasional Illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Law," 1839; "Commentaries on the Law of Partnership as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence," 1842; "Commentaries on the Law of Bills of Exchange, Foreign and Inland, as administered in England and America, with occasional Illustrations from the Commercial Law of the Nations of Continental Europe," 1843; "Commentaries on the Law of Promissory Notes, and Guaranties of Notes and Checks on Banks and Bankers, with occasional Illustrations from the Commercial Law of the Nations of Continental Europe," 1845; besides numerous decisions on his circuit as United States justice, of which Sir James Mackintosh said they were "admired by all cultivators of the law of nations."

It would not be supposed that in the midst of such vast and constant labor as a lawyer, professor, jurist and author, Judge Story would have found time for productions of a more purely literary character, and yet the list of these is long and interesting. He delivered in Salem an eulogy on George Washington, 1800; eulogy on Captain J. Lawrence and Lieutenant C. Ludlow, 1813; sketch of the life of Samuel Dexter, 1816; charge to the grand juries of the Circuit Courts at Boston and Providence, 1819; charge to the grand jury of the Circuit Court of Portland, 1829; address before the members of the Suffolk bar, 1821; discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard, 1826; discourse before the Essex Historical Society, 1828; discourse on inauguration as Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University, 1829; address on the dedication of the cemetery at Mount Auburn, 1831; discourse on the funeral obsequies of John Hooker Ashmun, 1833; discourse on the life, character and services of Hon. John Marshall, LL.D.,

1835; lectures on the Science of Government, 1838; discourse before the Alumni of Harvard College, 1842; charge to the grand jury of Rhode Island on treason, 1845; with many occasional speeches and pamphlets.

America has produced but few men equal in all respects to Judge Story. As a student he combined patience, diligence, comprehension and enthusiasm to a most extraordinary degree. He turned his attention in his early life to the hardest of all sciences, in which dispassionate judgment and cold deliberation are essentially required. And yet he filled the temple of the law with a genial warmth and a radiant glow which could not be surpassed by any work of taste and imagination, and has rarely been equaled in those spheres which are dedicated to fervor and devotion. He had a sacred regard for the law, and he inspired his hearers with the same sense of reverent admiration. His mind, with its vast grasp and broad understanding, worked on with the rapidity of light. And while exercising his vigorous powers, he had most genial attractions for his associates, and those whom he taught, and in his family he always won the most ardent affection by his kindness and gentleness and simplicity. He was a great lawyer, a great author, a great citizen, and a kind and affectionate parent. Mrs. Farrar said of him, "He was the beautiful ideal of a judge." His justice was always tempered with mercy.

The career of Nathaniel Bowditch, which, in an intellectual point of view, is one of the most remarkable and admirable records in history, commenced in Salem almost contemporaneously with that of John Pickering and Joseph Story. Pickering was born in 1772, Bowditch in 1773, and Story, who made no delays in his youth, in 1779. Pickering delivered his first oration in Salem in 1804. Bowditch published "The Practical Navigator" in 1802, and Story was admitted to the bar in Salem in 1801 to overtake in accomplishment his great contemporaries. They removed to Boston about the same time, carrying with them the great reputation they had already achieved.

Dr. Bowditch was born in Salem in 1773, and died in Boston in 1838. He began life in the fore-castle of an East Indiaman, and before he had relinquished his interest in navigation he had become the mariner's guide across the trackless sea. Placed in charge of an insurance company in Salem, he advanced from "The Practical Navigator" to the "Mecanique Celeste," and the interpreter of Laplace to all English-speaking nations, and when he was called to a higher position in Boston as the organizer and president of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, an enduring monument to his financial wisdom and skill, he continued his studies still, until he accomplished that great literary work upon which his fame rests so securely. He seems to have been indifferent to all obstacles from the beginning to the end of his

great career. At ten years of age he was compelled by poverty to labor for his own living. He followed the seas, mostly in a subordinate capacity, until he had reached mature manhood. And when he entered upon the great work of his life he was obliged to call his family about him, and confer with them as to the possibility of his publishing his volumes without outside aid. The same economy and courage which bore him through his early trials bore him also through the later struggles, fortunately supported as he was by the resolute determination of his wife and children. While engaged in his work he seemed to be unconscious of disturbance or interruption, and his most difficult calculations were made in the midst of the amusements of his family. The "Mecanique Celeste" appeared in four large volumes in 1829, '32, '34, '38. And by the strength of his genius he stood in the front rank of the great students and mathematicians of the world.

Dr. Bowditch possessed this great mental power, but he was remarkable also for his foresight, prudence, integrity and courage. His influence was felt in commercial circles, in scientific associations, in the government of Harvard College, and on the lives of those who bore his name, and went out from his domestic circle to practice the virtues he had given them as his best legacy.

The Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D., commenced a long and useful career as pastor, preacher and author in charge of the Tabernacle Church in Salem, in 1803. He was born in Hollis, N. H., in 1770, was graduated at Dartmouth in 1795 and died in 1821. He was a theological scholar of great ability, and entered with zeal and power into the controversies of his day. From 1810 until his death he was corresponding secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., and he was untiring in his efficient support of that association. He published six sermons on the doctrine of "Eternal Judgment," 1800; "A Discourse on the Covenant with Abraham," 1805; "Three Letters to the Rev. W. E. Channing on Unitarianism," 1815; an edition of Watts' Hymns, 1818; many magazine articles and the first ten Reports of the A. B. C. F. M. He was considered one of the ablest supporters and advocates of orthodox Christianity, and was counted worthy of elaborate reviews and notices by such writers as Jeremiah Evarts, A. P. Peabody and Rufus Anderson. Dr. Worcester added much to the literary reputation of Salem, and his presence and services gave importance to the town. He presented a fine example of the New England clergy of a former date; and he raised a standard which his theological associates were proud to follow, and which has served as a mark for those who have succeeded him. He brought harmony and strength to a church organization which had passed through many trials and changes, and gave it the proud distinction of sending forth the first foreign missionaries to the East Indies.

The Rev. Elias Cornelius was settled as an associate

of Dr. Worcester in 1819, and dismissed in 1826. He was the author of "The Little Osage Captive," 1822, and a "Sermon on the Trinity," 1826.

Benjamin Peirce, who was born in Salem in 1778, and died in 1831, contributed largely to the literature of his times. He became librarian of Harvard College in 1826, and retained this station until his death. He was the author of a "History of Harvard College from 1636 to the Revolution;" a "Catalogue of the Library of Harvard College," 1830. He was a diligent scholar and a most useful official in the college.

The Rev. James Flint was born in Reading 1779, was graduated at Harvard 1802, and installed over the East Church 1821. He died in 1855. He had great mental powers, a glowing imagination, an incessant activity. Ralph Waldo Emerson said he had genius. His literary remains consist of a volume of sermons, occasional sermons and addresses and a few sweet and fervid hymns scattered here and there in the collections for churches. There are those who remember him with great esteem and reverence. He published: "The Christian Ministry," 1806; "Sermon on Ordination of Rev. N. Whitman Billerin," 1814; "God a Refuge in Times of Calamity and Danger," 1814; "Election Sermon," 1815; "Discourse at Plymouth on the Landing of the Pilgrims," 1816; "Ordination of Seth Alden, Marlboro'," 1819; "Sermon on the Death of Rev. Abiel Abbot," Beverly, 1828; "Sermon on the Sabbath," 1828; "Sermon on Indolence," 1829; "Change: Phi Beta Kappa Poem, Harvard," 1839; "Collection of Hymns," 1843; "Sermon on the Vanity of Earthly Possessions," 1844; "Sermons on Leaving the East Church," 1845; "Sermon on the Death of Dr. Brazer," 1846; "Sermons on the Deaths of President Taylor and Hon. U. Silsbee," 1850; "Posthumous Volume of Sermons and of Poems," 1852.

The Rev. John Brazer was born in Worcester in 1789, was graduated at Harvard in 1813, where he was tutor and professor until 1820, in which year he was ordained pastor of the North Church. Dr. Brazer was a most polished scholar, and on all public occasions when he was called on to deliver a sermon or address he acquitted himself with great taste and finish. His style was not easily surpassed. He was a strong and consistent and conservative Unitarian, and his congregation was one of the largest and most influential in the town. He delivered the Dudleian Lectures at Harvard in 1836, and published a volume of sermons about the same time. His labors were mostly confined to his parish, and he left a valuable literary harvest from his fertile and well-cultivated mind. Dr. Brazer published; "Discourse for Promotion of Christian Education," 1825; "Sermon on the Death of Dr. Holyoke," 1829; "Power of Unitarianism," 1829; "Ordination of Jonathan Cole," 1829; "Memoir of Dr. Holyoke," 1830; "Sermon on the Value of the Public Exercises of Religion," 1832; "Efficacy of Prayer," 1832; "Duty of Active Benevolence,"

1835; "Essay on Divine Influence," 1835; "Lesson of the Past," 1837; "Present Darkness of God's Providence," 1841; "Sermon on the Death of Hon. Benj. Pickman," 1843; "Sermon on the Death of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall," 1843; "Posthumous volume of Sermons."

Henry Pickering, a brother of John Pickering, born in 1781, was for some time a merchant in Salem, and afterwards removed to New York. He printed a volume of poems for private distribution in 1830, and a poem entitled the "Ruins of Paestum" in 1822. He possessed the scholarly tastes of the family, and enjoyed a fine reputation as a gentleman of refinement and learning.

As a friend of the distinguished authors just enumerated, and as a graceful scholar, wise legal adviser and patron of letters, no man ever stood higher than the Hon. Daniel Appleton White. He was born in Methuen in 1776, was graduated at Harvard in 1799, and devoted himself for some years to teaching. He was admitted to the bar in 1804, and was appointed judge of probate for Essex County in 1815, at which time he took up his residence in Salem for the remainder of his life. He died in 1861. He published a "Eulogy of Washington at Haverhill," 1800; "View of the Jurisdiction of the Court of Probate in Massachusetts," 1822; a "Eulogy of Nathaniel Bowditch," 1838; an address at the consecration of Harmony Grove Cemetery, 1840; "New England Congregationalism in its Origin and Purity," 1861; besides numerous pamphlets.

Judge White led a long and useful life in Salem. His literary work was always done with great taste and skill, with a purity and terseness of style rarely equaled, and with great wisdom and humanity. His mind was always guided by a high moral sense. In his connection with public affairs he always exercised the most untiring devotion to the welfare of the community, and steadily entertained lofty views of the duties of a Christian commonwealth. To the libraries of Salem and to the educational work of the Lyceum, which he founded, and the Essex Institute, which he patronized liberally, he rendered a service which should never be forgotten. He was known as the friend of the scholar and of sound learning.

In 1818 the friends of Rev. Nathaniel Fisher published a posthumous volume of his sermons preached at St. Peter's Church, which were considered of a high order. He was born in Dedham in 1742, and died in Salem in 1812.

In the same year (1818) Benjamin Lynde Oliver, a gentleman of great ability and attainments, published his first volume, entitled "Hints on the Pursuit of Happiness." He followed this with "The Rights of an American Citizen," 1832; "Law Summary," 1833; "Practical Conveyancing," 1838; "Forms of Practice," 1841; "Forms in Chancery, Admiralty and Common Law," 1842. Mr. Oliver was distinguished for his brilliancy in conversation and his high social quali-

ties. He was a most skillful chess-player, and was considered an authority in that intricate game. He was born in 1788, and died in 1843. He was a son of Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver, an Episcopal minister, who published an interesting discourse on Masonry in 1784. He was also a nephew of Dr. B. Lynde Oliver, who died in Salem in 1835, aged seventy-five, and who published many medical treatises.

In 1824 the Rev. Josiah Willard Gibbs, who was the son of Henry and Mercy (Prescott) Gibbs, and born in Salem in 1784, commenced the publication of his philological works, consisting of "A Hebrew and English Lexicon to the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee from the works of Prof. W. Gesenius;" an edition of the above for schools, in 1828; "Philological Studies" with English illustrations, 1857; and "A New Latin Analyst," 1859. Professor Gibbs was a long time professor of sacred literature in Yale College. He was a profound scholar; his works were republished in London, and were favorably noticed by the most accomplished linguists.

While yet a junior in Dartmouth College, Charles Dexter Cleveland commenced his literary career. He was born in Salem December 3, 1802; was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1827, and in 1830 was elected professor of Latin and Greek in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He entered upon the work of authorship in 1826, at which time he published "The Moral Characters of Theophrastus," with a translation and critical notes. This he followed with "An Epitome of Greek Antiquities," 1827; "First Lesson in Latin on a New Plan," 1827; "The National Orator," 1827; Xenophon's "Anabasis," with English notes, 1830; "A Compendium of Greek Antiquities," 1831; "First Lessons in Greek," 1832; "Sequel to First Lessons in Latin," 1834; an edition of Adams' "Latin Grammar," 1836; "An Address of the Liberty Party of Pennsylvania to the People of the State," 1844; "First Latin Book," and "Second Latin Book," 1845; "Third Latin Book," 1848; "A Compendium of English Literature," 1848; "Hymns for Schools," 1850; "English Literature of the Nineteenth Century," 1851; an edition of Milton's "Poetical Works," 1853; "A Compendium of English Literature," 1858. His Latin series have always been highly esteemed by scholars; and his edition of Milton is most satisfactory, both to the scholar and the general reader. His devotion to ancient and modern literature has given his country a noble movement in American scholarship; and it has been said of his work that "good taste, fine scholarship, familiar acquaintance with English literature, unwearied industry, tact acquired by practice, an interest in the culture of the young, a regard for truth, purity, philanthropy, religion, as the highest attainment and highest beauty—all these were needed, and they are all united in Mr. Cleveland."

The Rev. Samuel Melancthon Worcester began his work as an author in 1826. He was a son of the Rev.

Samuel Worcester, to whom allusion has been made; was born in 1801; was graduated at Harvard in 1822; was for many years tutor and professor in Amherst College, and was settled over the Tabernacle Church, in Salem, in 1834. He was recording secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, from 1847 to 1866. In 1826 he published "Essays on Slavery," by Vigorinus; in 1854 "A Memorial of the Tabernacle Church;" many sermons and discourses; and many articles in reviews and periodicals. He represented Salem in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1866. Dr. Worcester had great industry and a strong mind controlled by sincerity and honesty of purpose. He resembled his father in the sturdy vigor of his style and in the purity of his purpose. He resigned his pastorate in 1859, but not until he had strengthened the work his father consolidated, and had seen his people collected in the new church edifice which they erected in 1854.

The Rev. Joseph B. Felt has intimately connected his name with the history of Salem, by his faithful and accurate annals of the place. He was born in Salem in 1789, was graduated at Dartmouth in 1813, and soon became the acknowledged historian of many localities in Essex County. He published histories of Ipswich, Essex, Hamilton and Salem, in all of which he displayed great patience of research and great capacity for arrangement and selection. He also published "Collections from the American Statistical Associations on Towns, Population and Taxation" in 1847, and a "Memoir of Roger Conant" in 1848. He is highly esteemed as a reliable annalist, and an honest and capable searcher after truth; and he is accepted as authority on all matters which he has investigated and recorded. He ranks among the most faithful of historians.

The work of social reform has at times occupied most absorbing attention in Salem, and has been supported by some of her ablest and most conspicuous citizens. Among the most remarkable of her reformers was the Rev. George B. Cheever, who, while pastor of the Howard Street Church, exerted himself most vigorously and conscientiously in behalf of human freedom and temperance. He was born in Hallowell, Me., in 1807; was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1825, and not long after was settled in Salem as pastor of the "Branch Church." His fearless hostility to the traffic in and the use of ardent spirits led him into the most violent contest, in which he maintained his position with great courage and persistency, and in an attitude far in advance of his times. While here he published "Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery," a work which produced a stirring social commotion in the town, but won for him the reputation of an ardent and brave reformer. He afterwards settled in New York as pastor of the Allen Street Church, 1845; and as pastor of the Church of the Puritans in New York, in 1846. He published "The American Common-Place Book of Prose,"

1828, and of "Poetry," 1829; "Studies in Poetry," 1830; "Lectures on Hierarchical Despotism" and "Lectures on Pilgrim's Progress," 1843; "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc," 1846; "The Hill of Difficulty," 1849; "The Voice of Nature to her Foster-child," "The Soul of Man," 1852; "A Reel in the Bottle for Jacob in the Dol-drums," 1852; "Journal of the Pilgrims at Plym-outh," 1848; "Punishment by Death: its Author-ity and Expediency," 1849; "Windings of the River of the Water of Life," 1849; "Powers of the World to Come," 1853; "Lectures on Cowper," 1856; "God against Slavery," 1857.

These works indicate the tendency of Dr. Cheever's mind; they also indicate his great power and versa-tility. He has made a mark in his time which will never be obliterated, and he has done much to direct the public mind in the paths of morality, rectitude and virtue.

At the time when Dr. Cheever commenced his career in Salem the Rev. Charles W. Upham had just entered upon his pastorate in the (First) Congrega-tional Church as colleague of Dr. Prince. Mr. Up-ham was born in St. John, New Brunswick, 1802; was graduated at Harvard, 1821, and settled in Salem in 1824. For twenty years he was minister of this parish, at the end of which time he resigned, and pursued diligently his work as public official and au-thor. He was a member of the Thirty-third Congress; Representative to the General Court in 1849, '59, and '60; State Senator in 1850, '57 and '58, and one year presiding officer of that body. He was mayor of the city in 1852.

Mr. Upham became an author at an early period of his career. He published, in 1828, "Letters on the Logos." This was followed by "Principles of Congrega-tionalism," 1829; "Lectures on Witchcraft," 1835; "Salem Witchcraft, with an account of Salem Village," 1867; "Discourse on the Funeral of Rev. John Prince," 1836; "Life, Explorations and Services of John Charles Fremont," 1856; "Life of Sir Henry Vane," 1836; "Life of John Quincy Adams," 1839; oration, July 4, 1844; oration before the New England Society, N. Y., 1846; "Life of Washington," 1852; and the last three vol-umes of the "Life of Timothy Pickering," a work commenced by Octavius Pickering, a son of Timothy Pickering, a graduate of Harvard in 1810, and for many years reporter of the Supreme Court of Massa-chusetts.

Mr. Upham was a graceful and forcible writer. His sermons, while a preacher, were extremely attractive to old and young, and were filled with a warm Chris-tian spirit. In his work as a public servant he set an example of honest conviction and a fearless dis-charge of duty. His contributions to the history of his country were most valuable. The "Life of Sir Henry Vane" which he contributed to Sparks' "Ameri-can Biography" has always been accepted as one of the most brilliant works of the kind in the English lan-

guage. His "History of Witchcraft" is elaborate, graphic and exhaustive; and his share of the "Life of Timothy Pickering" is a charming record of the great work of that remarkable man. Mr. Upham, at his death, left a circle of warm and devoted friends, and an honorable record in the community in which he spent so many long and laborious years of his life.

In 1800 William Biglow, or, as he sometimes sub-scribed his name, Gulielmus Magnushumilis, was engaged as a teacher in Salem. He was born in Natick in 1773, was graduated at Harvard in 1794, and died in 1844. He was the author of the "His-tory of the Town of Natick from 1650;" and of the town of Sherborne from its incorporation to the end of the year 1830. He contributed a Latin poem on the occasion of the second centennial of Harvard, in 1836. He published "Elements of Latin Grammar," 1811; "Education," a poem, Salem, 1799; "Phi Beta Kappa," poem, 1811; "Poem on Intemper-ance," Cambridge, 1834; "Recommencement, or Commencement Aguin," Boston, 1811; several school books. He married a daughter of Peter Lander, of Salem. He was a scholar of extensive reading, and was well known to numerous acquaintances as a so-cial companion of original wit and fancy, and pos-sessing a fund of anecdote, which he would commu-nicate with facility in prose and rhyme.

The Hon. Joseph G. Sprague delivered a eulogy on Adams and Jefferson in 1826, and published many political and biographical essays. Lieutenant John White, U. S. N., published "Voyage to the China Seas," 1826.

Dr. R. D. Mussey practised medicine in Salem at this period, and earlier for several years. He was en-gaged in lecturing on chemistry in 1816, and removed to accept a professorship at Dartmouth College, and afterwards at Cincinnati. He published many medi-cal essays and an elaborate treatise on tobacco. He married a daughter of Dr. Joseph Osgood, of Salem.

Dr. Daniel Oliver was engaged with Dr. Mussey in popular scientific lectures in Salem. He resided here for many years, and was afterwards professor of the theory and practice of medicine at Dartmouth Col-lege. He published "First Lines in Physiology," in 1835.

It was in this period of the literary history of Salem that Nathaniel Hawthorne commenced his inspired work. Born in Salem July 4, 1804, he led a quiet and secluded life for thirty years, passing shyly through the schools of the town and inconspicuously through Bowdoin College, where he was graduated in 1825. His first appearance as an author was in *The Token* and *The Democratic Review*, where he published anonymously a series of tales so attractive that the most brilliant minds of the country commenced a dili-gent search for the author, who was supposed for a long time to be a female of great delicacy of fancy and keen knowledge of human nature. In 1837, however, he collected these productions into a volume entitled

"Twice-Told Tales," and the position of Hawthorne in the world of letters was at once recognized. The book received a most flattering review by Longfellow, a warm and cordial reception by Miss Mitford and a most enthusiastic welcome from all that class of refined and æsthetic students who were gathering round Emerson, George Ripley, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker and their charming and critical associates. On the other hand, the hard students rejoiced in his appearance. From this time until his death, in 1864, a period of less than thirty years, he held various official positions conferred upon him for his merit as an author; and he sent forth that collection of romances which have given him an immortality in the world of letters and have elevated the position of the American mind to the rank accorded to genius in all ages and among all nations. "The Scarlet Letter," "The House of the Seven Gables," "Blithedale Romance," "Mosses from an Old Manse," "Grandfather's Chair," "The Wonder Book," "Tanglewood Tales," "The Marble Faun," "Our Old Home," "English Note-Book," "American Note-Book" all came out in rapid succession, and now occupy the dearest corner in every well-appointed library, at home and abroad.

By his many reviewers Hawthorne has been compared with nearly all the great writers of fiction, whose works have been accepted as beyond mere figments of the fancy. That he surpassed them all in his comprehension of the motives of the human heart there can be no doubt. It was a supernatural element in him which gave him his high distinction. When he entered upon his work as a writer he left his personality entirely behind him. In this work he allowed no interference, he asked for no aid. He was shy of those whose intellectual power and literary fame might seem to give them a right to enter his sanctuary. In an assembly of illustrious authors and thinkers he floated reserved and silent around the margin of the room and at last vanished into outer darkness. The working of his mind was so sacred and mysterious to him that he was impatient of any attempt at familiarity or even intimacy with the divine power within him. His love of personal solitude was his ruling passion; his intellectual solitude was an overpowering necessity. And so in great loneliness he toiled, conscious that no human power could guide him, and that human sympathy was of no avail. He appeared to understand his own greatness so imperfectly that he dared not expose the mystery to others; and the sacredness of his genius was like the sacredness of his love. That this sentiment, so natural and admirable, made him somewhat unjust to his literary associates there can be but little doubt. For while he applied to them the powerful test of his own genius, before whose blaze many of them withered, his retiring disposition kept him at a distance almost fatal to any estimate of their true proportions. And even when he admired and respected

the authors among whom he moved, and was proud of the companionship into which his genius had elevated him, he never overcame his natural sensitiveness with regard to the demand they might make on him as a fellow-artist, to open his creations to their vision and with regard to the test they might apply to him. For his sturdy manhood he sought intimates and companions,—not many, but enough to satisfy his natural longing for a fellow; for his genius he neither sought nor desired nor expected to find companionship. For his old official friends he had a tender affection; for the strong and practical young men with whom he set forth in life he had an abiding love and attachment; they satisfied the longings of one side at least of his existence. For the throne on which he sat in the imperial realm of his own creative thought he desired no associate; his seat there was for himself alone; his reign there was supreme. And when he retired to that lonely room which he had set apart at the height of the tower which overtopped his humble abode in Concord, and without book or picture, alone with a solitary seat and desk, having none to commune with except nature, which stood before his windows to cheer his heart, and he entered upon his work, his creation moved steadily and majestically, as when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy.

At the foundation of Hawthorne's genius lay those strong and sturdy characteristics which he had inherited from a long line of agricultural and maritime ancestors. And these characteristics he never surrendered. He found for them a sympathetic feeling in the few companions whom he met in the ordinary service of his life. They were genuine as nature had made them—neither tasteless nor artificial nor corrupt. And in their association his mind found the repose which all nature requires. But this was by no means his life; and let those who assume that his companions led him into bad practices, even were they so inclined, remember that he found his eternal rest with some of the sweetest and purest spirits of his time. Let those who flippantly accuse him of dissipation and vulgarity remember that he found his home among the noblest characters in the community in which he lived, and let their regard and love for him attest his nobility and purity. They say he was pure and chaste and honorable—and their testimony is enough. He had no fondness whatever for social pleasures, good or bad, and never entered into them, nor did he establish between himself and his fellow-men the superficial intimacy upon which society rests. But his instinct led him into the companionship of the refined and gentle, whose life was made beautiful by the constant presence of poetry and art and the highest intellectual culture. Salem, in Hawthorne's day, was filled with brilliant and beautiful women; and they worshipped at a distance this mysterious divinity, whose delicate fancies charmed their hearts, and whose glowing eye and sturdy form, and dome-

like head crowned with a luxuriant "pomp of hair," and fair and noble face, made up in him the type of imperial manhood. The doors of the most delightful society were open to him. But he selected from a secluded nook a modest flower, gave her his heart and united with her in exploring the beauties of art and letters, and in building up a home of great simplicity and love. Hawthorne knew many ideal homes in his day, but none more beautiful than his own, which was always in accord with the delicacy of his taste and feeling, and on entering which he was obliged to leave no unworthy qualities, no discordant habits behind. No act of his life and no association had unfitted him for such companionship as he found there. He embodied in all his relations with life the finest of those characteristics which have made his native place the home of strong and versatile powers, and of faculties which have produced a deep impression upon the world.

Julian Hawthorne, a son of Nathaniel and Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, was born in Boston in 1846, but passed much of his childhood in Salem while his father was surveyor of that port. He has devoted himself entirely to literature, and has displayed most remarkable faculties in the creation of fiction and the delineation of romance. It is easy to trace the resemblance between his own mind and that of his father, and easy also to distinguish the difference. At an early age he has secured a foremost place among the authors of the country, and has added much to the literary wealth of his times. To powers like his the future is full of bright promise.

The Rev. Thomas W. Coit, who was connected with Saint Peter's Church until 1826, was born in 1803; was graduated at Yale in 1821 was ordained, July 16, 1826, resigned March 23, 1829. He was a scholar of good capacity and attainments, was professor of Trinity College, and president of Transylvania University. He published "The Theological Common-Place Book" in 1832; "Remarks on Norton's Statement of Reasons," 1833; "The Bible" in paragraphs and parallelisms, 1834; "Townsend's Chronological Bible," 1837; "Puritanism, or a Churchman's Defense against its Aspersions," 1844.

Elizabeth Palmer Peabody has devoted a long life to a most valuable literary labor. She was born in 1804, and spent her early years in Salem with her sisters, who became the wives of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Horace Mann. She commenced her literary work early in life, publishing "Records of a School," "Spiritual Culture," "Dick Harbinger, the Pioneer," "The Present," "Introduction to Grammar," "First Steps to History," 1833; "Key to the History of the Hebrews," 1833; "Key to Grecian History," 1833; "Chronological History of the United States," 1856; "Memorial of Dr. William Wesselhoeft," 1859; "Translation of De Gerando's Moral Self-Education," 1859; "Bem's System of Chronology," 1852; "The Æsthetic Papers," 1849; "Essay on Language," 1857;

and many papers in the *Christian Examiner* and *Journal of Education*. She has engaged most zealously in many reforms and has always combined great humanity and kindness with careful scholarship. She was an early disciple of Dr. Channing, and she cultivated most intimate relations with Washington Allston, Emerson and the leaders of what is now known as the Concord School of Philosophy. Her last publication, "An Evening with Allston, and Other Essays," is a most graceful and profound production. She is now eighty-three years of age and retains all her vigor of thought and power of expression. Her sister, Mrs. Hawthorne, has published a charming volume of letters, and her sister, Mrs. Mann, has written an admirable "Life of Hon. Horace Mann," and has published a valuable edition of his works.

The talent and accomplishments of these three women deserve a more elaborate notice than can be given here. They were daughters of Dr. Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Palmer) Peabody, who resided a long time in Salem and elsewhere in Essex County. Mrs. Peabody was the daughter of General Joseph Pearce Palmer, a patriotic officer in the Revolutionary army, and was one of a remarkable family. Her sister Catherine was the mother of George P. Putnam, the distinguished publisher and liberal patron of letters. Her sister Mary married Royall Tyler, chief justice of Vermont, poet and essayist, and was the mother of learned clergymen and college professors; and her sister Sophia married Dr. Thomas Pickman, of Salem, an able and beloved physician of the town. The daughters of Dr. Peabody inherited the talent of their mother's family, and they have made many contributions to the literature and art of the country. Their associates and companions were among the most learned men and women of their time, by whom they were held in great affection. The last survivor, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, even in her old age, occupies her mind with all objects of philanthropy and charity, and enjoys the profound respect and esteem of all who know her, and of all who remember her constant labors in the cause of good learning and education.

One of the most diligent and studious of Salem authors was Jonathan Cogswell Perkins, lawyer and jurist, and so learned and accurate an annotator of the numerous law books he published that he has been placed by the best authorities "by the side of Story and Metcalf." He was born in Chebacco Parish, Ipswich (now Essex), in 1809, was graduated at Amherst in 1832, studied law with Rufus Choate and at the Cambridge Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1835. In 1848 he was appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Massachusetts, "and proved himself to be a learned and able, as well as a just and upright judge." He published nine volumes of the second edition of "Pickering's Massachusetts Reports," 1835-41; "Chitty's Criminal Law," 1847; "Chitty on Contracts, with

Valuable Annotations," seven editions from 1839 to 1859; "Jarman on Wills," 1849; "Abbot on Shipping," 1854; "Daniell's Chancery Practice," 1851; "Collyer on Partnership," 1850; "Chitty on Bills and Notes," 1854; "Arnould on Insurance," 1859; "Sugden's Law of Vendors and Purchasers of Real Estate," 1851; "Angell on Water-Courses," 1869; "United States Digest," 1840; "Chitty on Pleadings in Civil Actions," six editions from 1844 to 1866; "Brown's Chancery Reports," 1844; "Vesey, Jr., Chancery Reports," 1844-45. After a busy and laborious life, of great value to the profession of law, Judge Perkins died Dec. 12, 1877.

Benjamin Peirce (Professor) was born in 1809 and graduated at Harvard 1829. He was Hollis professor of mathematics in 1832, and Perkins professor of astronomy and mathematics from 1842 to 1867, having been previously tutor in mathematics. In 1867 he was appointed superintendent of the United States Coast Survey. Professor Peirce was truly a mathematical genius. He comprehended a problem with great rapidity and clearness, and he stated it, with his conclusion, with a conciseness never surpassed by mathematicians of any era. No proposition was too small to receive his attention and none too large to be mastered by his powerful mind. His publications were numerous, and they stand in the front rank of mathematical works. He published "Elementary Treatise on Plane Trigonometry," 1835; "Elementary Treatise on Spherical Trigonometry," 1836; "Elementary Treatise on Sound," 1836; "Elementary Treatise on Plane and Solid Geometry," 1857; "Elementary Treatise on Algebra," 1837; "Elementary Treatise on Curves, Functions and Forces," 1841; "Tables of the Moon, arranged in a form under the superintendence of Charles Henry Davis, lieutenant U. S. N.," 1853; "Physical and Celestial Mechanics, Developed in Four Systems of Analytic Mechanics, Celestial Mechanics, Potential Physics and Analytic Morphology," 1855; besides many articles on "Meteors," "Latitudes," "Perturbations of Uranus and Neptune," "Comets," "Saturn's Ring," "Tails of Comets," "Moon Culminations," "Celestial Mechanics and Meteors." His diligence was great, as was also his power of application, and his amiability and patience enabled him to pursue his work continuously amidst the interruptions incident to his duties as teacher and professor. His position among the scientists of his day was among the foremost, and it is related of him that he secured by letter, for a fellow-student and observer, to M. De Lesseps, the plans and measurements of the Suez Canal, which had been repeatedly refused to those who applied as statesmen and diplomatists. He died in 1880.

A brother of Professor Peirce, Charles Henry, born in Salem in 1814, and a graduate of Harvard in 1833, was for many years examiner of drugs and medicines for the port of Boston, and published "Translation of

Stockhardt's Principles of Chemistry," 1850, a work which was highly commended; and "Examinations of Drugs and Medicines," 1852. Dr. Peirce died in 1855.

Charles T. Brooks, who was a contemporary of Professor Peirce, possessed a mind of an entirely different order. He was born in 1813, was graduated at Harvard in 1832, and was ordained pastor of the Unitarian Church, Newport, R. I., in 1837. He had a quick imagination, a graceful fancy and a deep love of poetry. His sermons were characterized by great piety and strong faith, as well as by a progressive liberality. It was chiefly as a poet, however, that he distinguished himself and took his place among the scholars and authors of the country. He published "Schiller's William Tell," translation 1838; translation of "Mary Stuart," and the "Maid of Orleans," 1839; "Titan," from Jean Paul Richter, 1840; "Specimens of German Songs," 1842; translation of Schiller's "Homage of the Arts," 1847; "Poems," 1848; the controversy touching the "Old Stone Mill at Newport," 1851; "German Lyrics," 1856; "Songs of Field and Flood," 1854.

Mr. Brooks was distinguished not only for his ability as a scholar and poet, but for the sweetness of his disposition and the purity of his life. His presence in the pulpit was a benediction, and he bore the trials which fell upon him with a calm and patient submission which won the admiration of all who knew him.

The essays and poems of Jones Very were published in 1839. He was born in 1813, as was Mr. Brooks, just preceding, and was graduated at Harvard in 1836, four years later. His progress towards distinction was not rapid, but it was sure and constant. His rank in college was good, his ability was recognized and he was appointed Greek tutor in the university soon after his graduation. The first issue of his poems and essays attracted universal attention. They were characterized by great religious fervor, a fine imagination, great delicacy of thought and a pure, simple and effective style. His sonnets were especially charming. He was intimate with the beauties of nature and drew many a lesson from the flowers by the wayside and the fair landscape which lay around his home. His soul was, at the same time, full of aspiration, and he saw the hand of the Creator in all the natural objects about him. On every subject which came under his notice he turned a "dim religious light," and you rose from his essays with the feeling that you had been led to the contemplation of his themes by the prophet of the Lord. It was said of him, by one of the ablest of his critics, that "he always piped the sweet, sad notes of religious melancholy," but he also taught the most unbounded faith and the most confident reliance on that divine power to which he turned for inspiration, and on which he leaned throughout his sincere and thoughtful and pious life. He was one of the most sympathetic of men, and one of the most inspired.

Robert Rantoul, Jr., one of the most eloquent and brilliant of all the sons of Essex County, hardly identified himself with Salem, except as a law-student in the offices of John Pickering and Leverett Saltonstall, and a lawyer from 1829 to 1831. At this time, however, he took so active a part in the mental activity of the town, that he has given an opportunity for enrolling his name in this list of cultivated and intellectual men. Mr. Rantoul was born in Beverly, 1805; was graduated at Harvard, 1826; was admitted to the bar, 1829; and died in 1852. During this comparatively short period he devoted himself largely to public service and won great distinction as a lawyer, legislator and orator, with powers which, had they been exercised in more purely literary work, would have won for him greater distinction still. His commanding presence in the Massachusetts Legislature is well remembered. His bold and gallant stand in Congress is recalled with admiration by his contemporaries who remain. He was a fearless advocate of the principles in which he believed, and he was the most inspiring popular orator of his day in Massachusetts. He was formidable as an adversary and all-powerful as an ally; a generous and kindly opponent and a tender and devoted friend. His early argument in behalf of popular education, and his unanswerable attack on the Ten Million Bank Bill, which he defeated in the Massachusetts Legislature; his report against capital punishment; his oration at Concord, in 1850; his reply to attacks made on him in Congress, in 1852; his speech to his devoted constituents in Salem, July 5, 1852; his arguments as United States district attorney, from 1845 to 1849—all indicate great mental grasp, extraordinary keenness of perception and masterly skill in arrangement. When he died a great career was suddenly and prematurely closed. And in the great struggle which followed, in the opening of which he took a conspicuous and important part, and which ended only with the Civil War, his friends, his State and his country, when disheartened by adversity, were encouraged by the thought that the spirit of Rantoul was with them, and mourned that his voice could be no longer heard. His recorded words gave great inspiration to those on whom the burthen of the contest fell when he was gone; and his name is warmly cherished by the few now living who knew him, and by the many who have learned from their fathers to admire his courage, his genius and his gentle and affectionate spirit.

On the organization of the Barton Square Unitarian Church, in 1824, the Rev. Henry Colman was installed as pastor, February 16, 1825. Mr. Colman was born 1785, and died 1849. He continued his connection with the church seven years, and then withdrew to a broader and more active sphere of duty. He became one of the most useful and interesting of agricultural writers. He published "Reports of the Agriculture of Massachusetts," 1849; "European Agriculture and Rural Economy," 1851;

"Agriculture and Rural Economy of France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland," 1848; and "European Life and Manners," 1849. He spent many years in England, investigating agriculture and society, and he was the first to describe the domestic economy of that country, into whose well-organized homes he was most cordially admitted. His style was graceful and graphic, and his intercourse was genial and highly attractive.

In 1842 Richard J. Cleveland published a narrative of "Voyages and Commercial Enterprises," which was most favorably noticed by the leading reviews of the day. His son, Henry Russell Cleveland, born in 1808, graduated at Harvard in 1827, died in 1848, and published "Remarks on Classical Education of Boys by a Teacher," 1834; "Life of Henry Hudson," 1838; "Address Delivered Before the Harvard Medical Association," 1840; "A Letter to the Hon. Daniel Webster on the Causes of the Destruction of the Steamer 'Lexington,'" 1840; besides many papers to the *North American Review* and the *New England Magazine*. Mr. Cleveland was a sound scholar and a graceful and forcible writer. His early death was deeply deplored.

One of the most brilliant and fascinating of American writers and historians was William Hickling Prescott, who was born in Salem, 1796, and died in Boston in 1859. He was a son of Judge William Prescott, who resided in Salem from 1789 to 1808, and who was intimately connected with the most important business enterprises of that day, and whose name appears on many of the important documents. Mr. Prescott was graduated at Harvard in 1814, and having been disabled by a painful accident from entering upon a professional life, he commenced at once, under great obstacles a literary career which he pursued with great diligence and success until the close of his life. He published, in 1837, "The History of Ferdinand and Isabella," and stepped at once into the list of the great historians of the world. It was universally known that this fascinating and elaborate work had been accomplished under difficulties which would have discouraged the most enthusiastic and devoted student, and the entire world of scholars was filled with admiration of the accomplishment and the tenderest sympathy with the heroic author. The history was translated into German, French, Spanish, Italian and Russian, and was enrolled at once among the classic productions of the world. But Mr. Prescott did not relinquish his work here. Dependent upon a reader for his data, and employing an apparatus constructed in a writing case for the blind, he "pursued his solitary way." His mind acquired great strength as he went on with his work, and he retained and arranged the materials he had accumulated with marvelous facility. In 1843 he published the "History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Civilization," and a "Life of the Conqueror, Fernando Cortez;" and

the world of scholars was once more filled with admiration of his "pure, simple and eloquent style, keen relish for the picturesque, quick and discerning judgment of character, calm, generous and enlightened spirit of philanthropy." In 1847 this was followed by the "History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas," a work which was as enthusiastically received as its predecessors. His style was again admired; his candor and fidelity and power of description were warmly commended by authors and readers alike. The "History of the Reign of Phillip the Second, King of Spain," appeared in 1855. The materials for this work, the preparation of which occupied six industrious years, were gathered without regard to trouble, labor and expense, and the work itself opened one of the most thrilling and important chapters in the history of the greatest and most stormy periods of Continental Europe. The brilliancy of the volumes drew from the historian Macaulay, then in the height of his power, the warmest praise. "The genius of Mr. Prescott," said he, "as a historian, has never been exhibited to better advantage than in this very remarkable volume, which is grounded on ample and varied authority." In 1857 he published "The Life of Charles the Fifth after his Abdication." Modestly insisting that Robertson had most faithfully recorded the policy and events of this great monarch's reign, he devoted himself to the unrecorded years of his life of retirement, and supplemented the brilliant pages of Robertson with a touching narrative of the close of the great life to whose career they had devoted their fine historical powers. In addition to these important works, Prescott published biographical and critical miscellanies containing reviews and essays of great interest,— "Charles Brockden Brown, the American Novelist;" "Asylum for the Blind;" "Irving's Conquest of Grenada;" "Cervantes;" "Chateaubriand's English Literature;" "Bancroft's United States;" "Madame Calderon's Life in Mexico;" "Molière;" "Italian Narrative Poetry;" "Poetry and Romance of the Italians;" "Scotch Song;" "Du Ponte's Observations;" "Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature."

Mr. Prescott was sixty years old when his last volume was published. For more than a quarter of a century he had pursued his great career. In many respects he was the greatest of American historians. Scholars recognized him as one of the most brilliant of their number, when that number in this community was not small. The American people remembered with pride that the blood of the brave commander of the patriot forces at Bunker Hill was flowing in his veins. A Christian community loved him for the beauty of his character, and for the high moral standard which he had followed through life. His biography was written by all the biographers; his works were reviewed by all the reviewers; his character as a scholar was discussed with admiration

by Edward Everett, and George E. Ellis, and Francis Lieber, and Theodore Parker, and A. P. Peabody, and by all the historical societies of the world. No American writer has won higher renown, no American citizen has received more profound respect and warmer love.

Alpheus Crosby, who took charge of the Normal School in Salem Oct., 1857, was born in 1810, and died in Salem April 17, 1874. He was graduated at Dartmouth in 1827, and was appointed professor of Greek and Latin languages in that college. He was a diligent and careful scholar, and published "A Greek and General Grammar," "Greek Tables," "Greek Lessons," "An Edition of Xenophon's Anabasis," "First Lessons in Geometry," "A Letter of John Foster, with Additions," "An Essay on the Second Advent." Professor Crosby was for many years principal of the Normal School in Salem, and after retiring from that position passed the remainder of his life in this city.

Edwin P. Whipple, who was born in Gloucester in 1819, was for a long time employed as clerk in a bank in Salem, and for a time was the librarian of the Salem Athenæum, where he acquired those literary tastes which he afterwards exercised with so much activity and usefulness. He began to write for magazines early in life, and soon acquired a good reputation as a facile and graceful essayist. He was an interesting popular lecturer, selecting his themes with great skill and treating them with great wit and discrimination. He published "Essays and Reviews," 1848; "Lectures on Subjects connected with Literature and Life;" "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution;" "An Oration before the City Authorities of Boston, July 4, 1850;" "Character and Characteristic Men," 1867, in which he discussed Character, Eccentric Character, Intellectual Character, Heroic Character, the American Mind, the English Mind, Thackeray, Hawthorne, Edward Everett, Thomas Starr King and Agassiz. He was considered "one of the ablest of American critics." His lectures were esteemed as miniature histories, and were highly valued. He was accepted by Prescott, and Griswold, and Bowen, and Thomas. He was not accepted by Edgar A. Poe.

George B. Loring was born in North Andover, (at that time included in Andover) November 8, 1817. He entered Harvard College in 1834, and entered the Harvard Medical School, where he was graduated in 1842. He was in practice from 1842 to 1850; surgeon of the United States Marine Hospital, Chelsea, 1843 to 1850; commissioner to revise the United States Marine Hospital system, 1849; member of the Massachusetts Legislature, 1866 to 1868; president of the New England Agricultural Society from its foundation, 1864, to the present time; United States Centennial Commissioner, 1872 to 1876; president of the Massachusetts Senate, 1873 to 1877; member of the United States House of Representatives, 1877 to 1881; United States Commissioner of Agriculture, 1881 to

1885. In the midst of his public career he has been active as a writer on many and diverse topics, and a speaker on many and various occasions. He has published "An Essay on Phlebitis," *New England Journal of Surgery and Medicine*, 1843; "An Oration on Constitutional Freedom, the Corner-Stone of the Republic," 1856; "Review of the Scarlet Letter," 1851; "Reply to the *Church Review* on the Scarlet Letter," 1851; "Letters from Europe in the *Boston Post*," 1848-49; "Modern Agriculture," 1858; "The Farmer's Occupation," 1858; "Agricultural Education," 1858; "Farm Stock, Massachusetts Report on Agriculture," 1859; "The Relation of Agriculture to the State in Time of War," 1862; "Scientific and Practical Agriculture," 1864; "The Assassination of Lincoln," 1865; "The Unity and Power of the Republic," a Fourth of July oration, Newburyport, 1865; "The State of the Union, a Speech in the Massachusetts House of Representatives," 1866; "The New Era of the Republic," 1866; "Dedication of the Soldiers' Tablets at Bolton," 1866; "Classical Culture," 1867; "The Power of an Educated Commonwealth," 1867; "Agricultural Investigation," 1867; "Oration on the Dedication of Soldiers' Monuments at Weymouth," 1868; "Semi-Centennial of the Essex Agricultural Society," 1868; "The Development of American Industry," 1869; "The Connection of the State Board of Agriculture with the Agricultural College," 1869; "The Struggles of Science, Address before the American Institute," 1870; "Oration Dedicating the Memorial Hall, Lexington," 1871; "Speech at the Dedication of the Morse Statue, New York," 1871; "Oration at the Bi-Centennial Celebration at Dunstable, Mass.," 1873; "Speech in the Massachusetts Senate in behalf of the Museum of Comparative Zoology," 1873; "Eulogy of Agassiz," 1873; "The People and Their Books," an address dedicating the Thayer Library at Braintree, 1873; "Oration at the Centennial Celebration at Sherburne," 1874; "Oration at Centennial Celebration of Swansea," 1875; "Address on Tree-planting before the Fern Cliff Association," Lee, Mass., 1875; "A Speech in the Massachusetts Senate in Favor of Rescinding the Resolves Condemning Charles Sumner," 1874; "A Speech in the Massachusetts Senate on the Railroad Policy of Massachusetts," 1874; "Speech on Suffrage as a Right under a Republic," Massachusetts Senate, 1874; "An Oration at the Centennial of Leslie's Retreat from Salem," 1875; "Oration at the North Church, Boston, on the Centennial Anniversary of hanging out the Signal Lanterns to warn Paul Revere of the Advance of the British Troops to Concord," April 18, 1875; "Oration at Bloody Brook," 1875; "Oration Dedicating the Mugford Monument at Marblehead," 1875; "Sketch of the Massachusetts Surgeons in the Revolutionary Army," 1875; "The Farm-Yard Club of Gotham," an account of New England families and farming (pp. 600), 1876; "Eulogy of Dr. S. G. Howe,"

Massachusetts Senate, Jan. 21, 1876; "Oration on Speculative Masonry," 1876; "Speech before the New England Society," New York, Dec. 10, 1875; "Speech in the United States House of Representatives on Specie Payments," 1877; "Speech on the College of William and Mary in Congress," 1878; "Speech on American Industry and the Tariff, in Congress," 1878; "Defence of Massachusetts in Congress," 1880; "The American Problem of Land-holding," 1880; "Eulogy of Caleb Cushing," 1879; "Address on the Cobden Club and the American Farmer," 1880; "Education, the Corner-stone of the Republic," speech in Congress, 1880; "Eulogy of Judge Collamer," in Congress, 1880; "Eulogy of Garfield, Lodge of Sorrow, Washington," 1880; "Speech on the Anniversary of John Winthrop's Landing in Salem," June 22, 1880; "Washington as a Statesman," 1882; "Opening Address at Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Institute, Boston," 1881; "Address at the Cotton Convention, Atlanta, Ga.," 1881; "Address at the Tariff Convention, New York," 1881; "Address before the Mississippi Valley Cane-Growers' Association," 1882; "Address before the American Forestry Association, St. Paul, Minn.," 1883; "Oration at the Ninety-fifth Anniversary of the Settlement of Marietta, Ohio," 1883; "The Cattle Industry," 1884; "The Influence of the Puritan on American Civilization," 1885; "Puritanism, the Foundation of Liberal Christianity," 1887; "New England Agriculture," 1887. Dr. Loring has also contributed to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the *Massachusetts Quarterly* and the *North American Review*, and has delivered a great number of occasional speeches in addition to those enumerated, besides many political addresses in State and national campaigns.

Edward Augustus Crowninshield, son of Hon. B. W. and Mary (Boardman) Crowninshield, born in Salem, 1817, was graduated at Harvard, 1836, and died, 1859. His literary taste led him to the collection of rare books; his valuable library contained the "Bay Psalm Book," 1640; Morton's "Memorial," Winslow's "Hypocrisy Unmasked," 1645; Coryat's "Crudities," 1611.

Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, a son of the great mathematician, who was graduated at Harvard in 1822, published a "Memoir of N. Bowditch," 1839; "History of the Massachusetts General Hospital," 1851; and "Suffolk Surnames," 1855. Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, another son, who was graduated in 1828, has published translations of valuable treatises on medicine.

William W. Story, the son of Judge Story and author of his biography, was born in Salem in 1819, and was graduated at Harvard in 1838. He took the degree of LL.B. at the Dane Law-School, and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He published "Report of Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Court of the United States for the First District," 1842-47; "Nature and Art, a Poem," 1844; "Treatise on the

Law of Contracts under Seal," 1844; "Treatise on the Law of Sales of Personal Property," 1847; "Poem delivered at the Dedication of Crawford's Statue of Beethoven, at the Boston Music Hall," 1856; "The American Question," 1862; "Roba di Roma," 1862; "Proportions of the human figure according to a new Canon for practical use," 1866; "Grafiti d' Italia," 1869; "The Poet's Portfolio," 1855; besides poems and articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Boston Miscellany* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. As an artist, Mr. Story has taken a front rank. For this he had an early love. The admirable bust of his father was one of his first works, and there is in existence a crayon portrait of one of his classmates, taken a short time after they left college, which, as a likeness and as a drawing, is admirable. In sculpture he has produced busts of his father, J. R. Lowell, Josiah Quincy, Theodore Parker, Edward Everett, and statues of Everett, Chief Justice Marshall and Professor Henry. He has also created in marble the Shepherd Boy, Little Red Riding Hood, the Libyan Sibyl, Cleopatra, Judith, Holofernes, Sappho, Saul, Medea and others of great beauty and power. His genius as author and artist are everywhere acknowledged, and he has shed great lustre on his country.

Among the cultivated men of Salem, William C. Endicott has accomplished, as lawyer, writer, jurist and statesman, a work of which his native city will always be proud. He was born in Salem in 1826, and was graduated at Harvard in 1847. Having taken his degree at Cambridge, he was admitted to the bar in Essex County, and commenced the practice of his profession in Salem. His judgment as a lawyer was soon recognized, and he became one of the leaders of the bar and one of the best of office advisers. The grace and finish of his style have always been recognized in his public performances, among the most interesting and elaborate of which are his orations on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of John Endicott, celebrated in Salem in 1878; his address before the Young Men's Union on Patriotism, as bearing on the duties of the citizen; address on John Hampton and his relation to the great Puritan movement here and in England; lecture on Chivalry; agricultural address at Sterling on the relation of agriculture to the stability and permanence of the State; speech on the death of N. J. Lord. Mr. Endicott's services on the Supreme bench of Massachusetts are highly esteemed, and his conduct of affairs as Secretary of War, to which he was appointed in 1885, will place him on the list of sound and judicious Cabinet ministers.

The Essex bar has furnished many names which have added to the intellectual reputation of Salem, and foremost among these stands that of Rufus Choate. Mr. Choate was born in 1799, and was graduated at Dartmouth in 1819, and died in 1859. Entering at once upon the study and practice of his profession, first in Danvers and then in Salem from 1828 to 1834,

he secured and retained during his life a most brilliant reputation as an advocate. He commenced the study of law with Wm. Wirt, in whose office he remained one year, and completed his studies with Judge David Cummins, of Salem. He was admitted in September, 1813, to the Common Pleas bar and in 1825 to the Supreme Court bar. His skill and eloquence in the courts were acknowledged to be unrivaled. In addition to this, he charmed his hearers with addresses and orations of great originality and beauty, and his readers with glowing admiration of the peculiar grace and power of his style. Whatever he touched he adorned, whether it was the record of the Puritan at Massachusetts Bay, or the Pilgrim at Plymouth, or the oratory of the ancients, or the romances of the moderns. He found rest and repose in his library after the labors of the day, and some of his most touching eloquence was bestowed upon the solacing power of books. He was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1825, to the Massachusetts Senate in 1827, to Congress in 1832, to the United States Senate in 1841, to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1852. Those who have heard his startling oratory will understand how impossible it is to describe the power of his speech, and will sympathize with the exclamation of Henry Clay, at the close of one of Mr. Choate's superb speeches in the United States Senate, "What will Massachusetts send here next?" The two volumes of his biography by Professor Brown contain all that remains of his many speeches, orations and arguments as member of Congress from the Essex District, as United States Senator from Massachusetts, as occasional orator and as lawyer at the bar. It is unnecessary to enumerate them here. His words still linger with those who knew him—his wit, his wisdom, his learning, his inimitable repartee. And, more than all, his lovable and affectionate spirit remains with those who loved him and were tenderly regarded by him.

Nor should the strength of his associates here at the bar be overlooked,—the sound learning and honest purpose and judicial integrity of Samuel Putnam; the polished scholarship of John G. King; the profound legal knowledge of N. J. Lord; the wit and humor of Benjamin Merrill; the quaint solemnity of Judge David Cummins; the sturdy power of Otis P. Lord; the delicious geniality, and courtly bearing, and persuasive tongue, and Christian spirit of Leverett Saltonstall, the senior—all fond of sound learning, all unrecorded authors, all pillars of the literature of Salem. The treatise of David Roberts on "Admiralty," published in 1859; the admirable address of Asahel Huntington before the Essex Agricultural Society, and his speeches in behalf of the temperance reform in the court-room and before public audiences; the volume of earnest and eloquent speeches published by Wm. D. Northend, with his elaborate papers on the Essex Bar and the Puritans

on the administration of President Peirce, and on the decision of the Maine judges upon the election returns of 1882, and his excellent address before the Essex Agricultural Society; the "Notes of Travel, or Recollections of Zanzibar, Mocha," etc., 1854, by J. B. F. Osgood; the conclusive opinions of Judge L. F. Brigham; and the valuable publication on "Trusts," by Jairus W. Perry—all belong to the literary record of the city, and bear witness to the culture and attainments of this portion of the Essex bar.

Joseph Hodges Choute, born in Salem in 1832, was graduated at Harvard in 1852, settled as a lawyer in New York, and has risen to the front rank as a counselor and advocate. His eloquence, and wit, and wisdom as a public speaker have given him great distinction among scholars and great influence with the people.

To the works of the physicians, already referred to should be added the "Remarks on Fractures," and the "Memoir of Dr. Holyoke," furnished by Dr. A. L. Peirson, the learned physician, the skillful surgeon, the devoted student who strengthened the bond between the profession here and all the great centres of the country; and also the translations of Dr. Charles G. Putnam, a son of Judge Samuel Putnam, of most honorable memory, the sanitary writings of Dr. George Derby, a son of John Derby, who established the Board of Health in Massachusetts, of which he was a valuable member, after having rendered most valuable and efficient service in the Union army during the Civil War.

And the clergymen of the town also, from the early days until now—what have they not done to add to the literary reputation of the community? The sermons of John Emery Abbott, who died in 1819, the beloved pastor of the North Church, the most blessed consoler and adviser of his flock; the profound meditations of the Rev. T. T. Stone, published in 1854; the well-balanced views of the Rev. J. W. Thompson; the sweet inspirations and wise counsels of the Rev. Charles Lowe; the delightful historical review of the North Church, and the long series of thoughtful and pious sermons of the Rev. E. B. Willson; the brilliant and searching speculations of the Rev. O. B. Frothingham; the "Bow in the Cloud," pointed out for every mourner by the Rev. George W. Briggs; the sound utterances of the Rev. Brown Emerson; the excellent work of the Rev. E. S. Atwood as a pulpit orator, and faithful biographer of John Bertram; the active and vigorous labor of the Rev. E. C. Bolles, brilliant in the pulpit, charming in the lecture-room, invigorating as a companion; and the history of the First Baptist Church, by the Rev. R. C. Mills—all these are a portion of the treasure which the pulpit of Salem has poured into its literary storehouse. To this list belongs the name of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, who was born in Salem in 1822, the son of Dr. Samuel Johnson, was graduated at Harvard in 1842, and having completed his studies at the Divinity

School at Cambridge, commenced his work as pastor and preacher. Possessed of a most powerful mind and a fine moral sense, he set his standard high and endeavored faithfully to reach it. In his religious belief he coincided with Theodore Parker, whom he resembled in the fervor of thought and expression, the severity of his logic and the purity of his character. His sermons, delivered with a most impressive voice and manner, were carefully-prepared essays on all public questions of religion, morality and politics. His contributions to the literature of the country as an author of essays, and especially of "Oriental Religions," were rich and valuable. And he was counted among the intellectual luminaries which flash across the heavens in independent paths, and when gone leave the observer bewildered with wonder and admiration.

The Rev. James M. Hoppin has published "The Notes of a Theological Student" and "The Temptations of American Young Men," and has also delivered an address, dedicating Plummer Hall, in 1857; and published "European Travels." He was born in Providence, R. I., in 1813; was settled over Crombie Street Church in 1850; was professor of homiletics and pastoral theology in Brown University, and is now professor of the history of arts.

The Rev. Henry W. Foote, the pastor of King's Chapel, Boston, a son of the venerable editor of the *Salem Gazette*, has published a history of King's Chapel and many occasional sermons—eulogies of distinguished members of his parish; the Rev. George L. Chaney, also a native of Salem, now at Atlanta, has published an interesting and valuable series of books for boys; the Rev. George B. Jewett, at one time professor at Amherst and afterwards minister at Nashua, N. H., spent the closing years of his life in Salem, engaged in work on a "Dictionary of the Greek Testament; and the Rev. J. Henry Thayer, pastor of Crombie Street Church in 1859, lecturing at Cambridge on "Biblical Theology."

Around the literary institutions of the town, moreover, has always gathered a studious and inquiring body of investigators and writers. The Essex Institute—who can measure the amount of scientific and historical research it has inspired in Essex County? For its guide and leader and organizer too much praise cannot be recorded. For much more than half a century Dr. Henry Wheatland has devoted all his time and powers to this valuable institution. From a small society organized for historical research in the county, he has raised it into the highest position, and placed it with the strongest and most useful in the land. As he went on in his work with a patience and diligence unexampled, all the best forces contributed to his support and that of his organization. The wealthy contributed of their store, the scientist gave the results of his investigations, the learned gathered to its councils, a body of students has been graduated from its halls who have adorned the higher semina-

ries of learning—F. W. Putnam, the devoted student and recognized authority in zoölogy, and the early explorer of the Mammoth Cave, and more recently the Indian Mounds in Ohio, particularly those in the valley of the Little Miami; John Robinson, whose treatises on Trees and Ferns are now accepted by the United States Geological Survey as the best of the kind in the country; John H. Sears, the accomplished and independent botanist and geologist; E. S. Moore, who has opened up the domestic art of Japan and delineates animal development, and advocates evolution with inspiring zeal and great artistic skill; Alpheus S. Packard, author of "Observations on the Glacial Phenomena of Labrador and Maine, with a View of the Recent Invertebrate Fauna of Labrador," 1867; a guide to the study of insects, and a treatise on those injurious and beneficial to crops, 1869; and reports as United States commissioner to consider and report upon the Rocky Mountain locust; and Alpheus Hyatt, a most devoted student and teacher of natural history. The work which Dr. Wheatland has accomplished will endure as long as the recorded history of Essex County, the remains of its architecture, the specimens of its domestic economy, the interest in its geological structure, the beauties of its flora and fauna, shall find a place in the admirable institution he has founded and developed, and as long as Essex County shall remain in reality or history.

One of the most diligent and active literary friends of the Institute is Robert S. Rantoul. He is a son of Robert Rantoul, Jr., was graduated at Harvard in 1853, and at the Law School, in Cambridge, in 1856. His contributions to the publications of Salem, where he has resided since his admission to the bar, have been numerous and important. He has published "Notes on Wenham Pond," 1864; "The Cod in Massachusetts History," 1856; "Address on taking the Chair of the Essex Liberal Conference," 1869; "Port of Salem," 1870; "Argument before the Finance Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature upon the Preservation of Salem Harbor," 1870; "Decoration day Address before the Chipman Post G. A. R., Beverly," 1871; "Notes on odd works of Travel," 1872; "Report as arbitrator between the Commonwealth and the Massachusetts Historical Society in the matter of the Hutchinson papers," 1874; "Centennial Oration at the Celebration at Stuttgart, Wurttemberg," July 4, 1876; "Memorial address on the death of Freiligrath, Stuttgart," 1877; "Address on resuming the chair of the Liberal Conference," 1880; "Oration at the Two Hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Landing of Winthrop," 1880; "Sketch of Cat (now Lowell Island)," 1880; "Mémorial of Benjamin Peirce," 1881; "Early Quarantine Regulations at Salem," 1882; "Mémorial of James Kimball," 1882; "Note on the Authenticity of the portraits of Governor Endicott," 1883; "Sketch of James O. Safford," 1883; "Report to the Massa-

chusetts Legislature against abolishing the Poll Tax as a prerequisite for suffrage," 1885; "Two Reports against the Biennial Amendments of the Constitution, 1884-85," "The Essex Junto—the long embargo; the great Topsfield Caucus," 1808, 1882. "Material for a History of the Name and Family of Rantoul—Rintoul—Rantoul," 1885; "A Contribution to the History of the Ancient Family of Woodbury," 1887; Mr. Rantoul's work has been done with great accuracy and fidelity.

This sketch would not be complete without an enumeration of the contributions which have been made by an accomplished and cultivated group of authors who have found recreation and pleasure in their work. Among these, Robert Manning published, in 1838, his valuable "Book of Fruits;" his son, Robert Manning, the secretary of Massachusetts Horticultural Society, his recent valuable history of that society. Henry K. Oliver, the accomplished teacher, the rare musical composer, the immortal author of "Federal Street," published, in 1830, "The Construction and Use of Mathematical Instruments;" Elizabeth Saunders reviewed "Ferdinand and Isabella" in 1841, and advocated with great zeal the cause of the North American Indian; Thomas Cole published "Microscopy as Applied to Ferns and Plants;" John Lewis Russell issued many valuable papers on botanical subjects; George A. Ward published "Biographical Essays," and "The Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen" were published in 1842; J. Fisk Allen issued his "Essay on Grape Culture," and his striking monogram on the "Victoria Regia;" James F. Colman published his graceful volume of poems in 1846; W. P. Upham published his "Brief History of Stenography" in 1877; his "Mémorial of General Glover," a collection of letters on the siege of Boston; his "Records of Salisbury;" E. H. Derby published "The Catholic Letters and Record of a Jurist to a Young Kinsman Proposing to join the Church of Rome," 1856; Charles Pickering prepared an elaborate "Report of Wilkes' South Sea Expedition;" John B. Derby published "The Musings of a Recluse," 1837; Major Samuel Swett published a paper on "Who Commands at Bunker Hill," and delivered a Fourth of July oration in 1805, at the South Meeting-house; Perley Derby published his "Genealogical Researches into the Families of Thomas White, of Marblehead, and Mark Haskell, of Beverly, and of the Sons of Reginald Foster," 1872; George H. Devereaux published a "Translation of the Literary Fables of Yriarte," 1855, and "Sam Shirk, A Tale of the Woods of Maine," 1871; William Giles Dix put forth "The American State and Statesman," 1876; and "The Deck of the 'Crescent City,'" 1853; James H. Emerton issued "Life on the Seashore," and "Short Communications in the Papers of the Institute;" Joseph Warren Fabens published "Life on the Isthmus," 1853; and "The Camel Hunt," 1851; George D. Phippen has published "Botanical sketches" and

"History of the Old Planters in the Institute List;" D. B. Hagar, the accomplished teacher of the Normal School, has published from time to time that invaluable series of school books which have won for him a high reputation: Primary Lessons in Numbers, Elementary Arithmetic, Common School Arithmetic, Key to Arithmetic, Elementary Algebra, Manual of Dictation Problems. John M. Ives published, in 1847, "The New England Book of Fruits;" James Kimball published "A Journey to the West in 1817," and "Destruction of Tea in Boston Harbor;" "Exploration of Merrimac River," and "Notes on the Richardson and Russell Families;" and James P. Kimball, his son, issued his papers on "Ores and Metals Taught in the Mining Schools of Europe," which led to his selection as director of the Mint, for which service he is so admirably fitted; Stephen H. Phillips issued his paper on witchcraft; John T. Devereux published a collection of poems he had contributed to periodicals; Gilbert L. Streeter prepared for the institute "The History of Newspapers," "Clergymen of Salem in the Revolution," "Historical Notes of Salem Scenery;" James A. Emmerton "The Genealogy of New England Families from English Records;" Henry F. Waters discovered, for the admiration of scholars, the birth-place of John Harvard, and wrote upon the "Home and Genealogy of Shakspeare;" C. M. Endicott published a valuable paper on "Leslie's Retreat," and the "History of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct;" Dr. G. A. Perkins published "The Genealogy of the Perkins Family and the Fabens Family;" James Upton an "Essay on the Ripening of Pears;" Leverett Saltonstall, the junior, "A Memoir of Oliver Carlton;" Edw. A. Silsbee "Talks on Architectural and Art Topics;" Ernest Fenollosa, one of the most brilliant scholars of Harvard, 1874, is made professor at Tokio, Japan, and is a most diligent and distinguished student of Japanese art; E. Stanley Waters "History of the Webb and Ropes Families;" Winslow Upton, professor of astronomy in Brown University, on the "Eclipse of 1878;" Wm. G. Barton published a paper on "Thoreau, Flagg and Burroughs," and a paper on "Pigeons and the Pigeon Fancy;" Rev. B. F. McDaniel a paper on the "Geology and Mineralogy of Essex County;" Oliver Thayer, "Early Recollections of Essex Street;" Charles S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder published their most excellent, faithful and graphic sketch of Salem, 1879; the fugitive poems of William P. Andrews, together with his volume of the "Sonnets and Lyrics of Jones Very," accompanied by a most sympathetic and appreciative notice, have secured for him an enviable place in the ranks of the authors of Salem; W. L. Welch, "An Account of the Cutting Through of Hatteras Inlet, N. C.;" George M. Whipple, an interesting sketch of the "Musical Societies of Salem;" Henry M. Brooks has published "Olden Time Scenes," a most interesting collection, and A. C. Goodell, Jr., has edited with great care and accuracy "The Laws and Resolves of

the Province of Massachusetts Bay," and has contributed many papers on historical matters which have attracted great attention, his services in this direction having elevated him to the presidency of the Massachusetts Historic Genealogical Society; Pickering Dodge, in 1840, "A Treatise on Modern Painters;" Thomas Sanders, in 1886, a spirited and instructive "Examination of the Agriculture of Essex County," which was published by the Essex Agricultural Society at Newburyport; and Samuel M. Caller published, in 1881, a sketch of the Southwick family, descendants of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick.

Of the female writers, Caroline R. Derby, a daughter of E. Hersey Derby, published, under the name of D. R. Castleton, a series of tales in *Harper's Monthly* so striking and beautiful that the readers of that magazine sought for her identity, to pay her the tribute she deserved. Her fugitive poems were of a high order. She published "The Ruler's Daughter" and other poems in 1877, and a novel entitled "Salem, or a Tale of the Seventeenth Century," which was read with great interest.

"The Half Century of Salem," prepared with great care and discretion, was published by Mrs. M. A. Silsbee in 1887.

Sarah W. Lander published, in 1874-75, her fascinating stories,—*"Spectacles for Young Eyes," "Boston," "Rhine," "St. Petersburg," "Zurich," "Berlin," "Rome," "New York,"*—a most attractive and instructive series, and *"Fairy Bells,"* a translation from the German.

Maria Cummins, a daughter of Judge David and Maria (Kittredge) Cummins, was born in Salem in 1830, and passed her early life in that city. She appeared as an authoress in 1854 with a novel, entitled *"The Lamplighter,"* which was instantly received with great favor. It ran through editions amounting to seventy thousand copies in less than a year, and stands among the most popular American tales. Miss Cummins published a charming story, entitled *"Mabel Vaughan,"* in 1857, which was declared by some critics to be far in advance of *"The Lamplighter."* In both these works she displayed great power of delineation and a most graceful style.

Mrs. Kate Tannatt Wood has contributed from her liberal store the series of tales which have delighted old and young,—*"Six Little Rebels," "Dr. Dick," "Out and About," "Duncans on Land and Sea," "Doll Betsey," "Jack's First Contract," "Toots and his Friends," "Twice Two," "All Around a Rocking," "Hester Hepworth," "Hidden for Years," "The Minister's Scent," "That Dreadful Boy, a Novel," "Headlands, a Novel." Poems,—*"Dan's Wife," "Christmas at Birch's," "Dinah's Christmas," "Papa's Valentine" and many more, and many contributions to the magazine literature of the day.

Mary L. Horton published poetical and prose compositions, 1832.

Lydia L. A. Very has issued a volume of poems of

rare merit, and, in connection with her sister, has published "The Essays and Poems of Jones Very," her brother, which is invaluable as a complete collection of the works of this remarkable writer.

Mary Orne Pickering prepared during her life a biography of her father, John Pickering, a faithful and instructive work, which was published in 1887.

Mrs. Martha Perry Lowe, wife of the Rev. Charles Lowe, pastor of the North Church, published "The Olive and the Pine" and "The Palm," and has since given to the public a most interesting biography of her devout and faithful husband.

Mary Wilder (Foote) Tileston, a sister of the Rev. Henry W. Foote, has published "Helps by the Way," "Quiet Hours" and "Sursum Corda" and many admirable selections of poetry.

Sarah Savage, a daughter of Ezekiel Savage, in 1833, contributed some well-written and fascinating stories to "Scenes and Persons, Illustrating Christian character." Among her publications were "Trial and Discipline," "James Talbot," "Alfred" and "The Backslider." She died in 1835, and left an enviable reputation as an author of taste and ability and great delicacy of fancy.

Elinor Forrester (Barstow) Condit published in 1869 "Philip English's Two Cups."

Hannah G. Creamer published "A Gift to Young Students," "Eleanor," "Delia's Doctors," &c.

Lucy W. Stickney published the "Genealogy of the Kinsman Family" and assisted her father, Matthew A. Stickney, in his "Genealogical Researches."

Mrs. M. D. Sparks, widow of Jared Sparks and daughter of Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, published a charming volume of poems, hymns, Homes, Harvard in 1883.

Mary N. Plumer, in 1881, wrote an interesting essay on "The Dissemination of Seeds," Mrs. Chadwick, in 1853, published "Home Cookery," and Mrs. George H. Devereux, also, a book on cookery.

In preparing this sketch of the literary history of Salem great care has been taken to include all who have contributed their share to the record, those who had a temporary interest in the town, as well as those who passed their lives here, those who set forth in life here and left their homes, and those who were adopted even for a short season. When we consider the population and the commercial character of Salem, the number of writers recorded here is extraordinary, and presents a remarkable list of the literary sons and daughters, native and adopted, of the town. If in the collection there are any omissions, it must be attributed to the difficulty attending an extended research among so great a mass of materials of diverse descriptions.

CHAPTER VIII.

SALEM—(Continued).

MANUFACTURING INTERESTS.

BY HENRY C. GAUSS.

THE manufacturing interests of the city of Salem, although occupying in their total valuation, a fourth place among those of the manufacturing centres of Essex County, are only within a few thousand dollars of being second in the valuation of their general manufactures. The census of 1880 gives Salem a total of manufactured products of \$8,440,350, of which the leather manufacture contributes nearly one-half. Since the compilation of that census, the increase in the volume of the leather business, together with the increase of the shoe manufactures and that of other lines, with the establishment of at least two new industries, have augmented the volume of manufactured products in the city till it would be safe to place the total valuation at the time of writing at, at least, nine millions of dollars.

There are represented in Salem thirty-one of the more important lines of manufacturing industries, including most of the general lines of manufacture, with several specialties. As has been said, nearly one-half of the volume of manufacturing products is contributed by a single industry, one that makes Salem the most important centre of its prosecution in the country, and one that was the first to be established. This is the

LEATHER MANUFACTURE.—The leather business of Salem has had a slow but steady growth, and with but few checks. Philemon Dickinson is the first recorded tanner; he flourished in 1639. The early tanneries were probably on land now bordered by the northern side of Washington Square and by Forrester Street,—the excavation for a cellar for a house built by Charles W. Whipple on the latter street, in 1886, having revealed the rotted boards of vats with an accumulation of tan-bark, the deposit going to some depth, causing an inconvenience in placing the foundation. Other excavations in the same vicinity also have disclosed traces of ground bark. The same substance, together with the horns of cattle, has been found at the foot of Liberty Street, and it is believed that a tannery was established there at an even earlier date than that of those on Forrester Street.

One, or perhaps two, tanneries sufficed the primitive demands of the early settlers for leather, and even in 1768 there were only four tanneries established in Salem. Just previous to the above date Joseph Southwick, a preacher-tanner of Danvers, introduced the first-recorded improvement in the process by putting his old horse at work grinding the bark in a

stone mill. If the old gentleman looks down now on the labors of his successors, he must be vastly interested in the evolution of his slow-going stones, with their capacity of a slab of bark in half an hour, to the whirring bark-mill of to-day that devours a car-load in an equal time.

From the last part of the eighteenth century the tanneries deserted their location in the lower part of the town and began to make their habitat along the course of the then clear and stenchless North River. In 1801 there were seven tanneries situated in the valley that soon came to be called "Blubber Hollow," and the number of these gradually increased, extending up the stream and along Boston Street till, in 1850, there were eighty-three establishments, of which thirty-four were tanneries, as many currying-shops, fifteen shops which carried on both trades, and two morocco-dressers. The value of the leather tanned and curried was in the vicinity of \$869,047.70, and five hundred and fifty hands were employed. The large number of establishments may be accounted for by the fact, stated by a veteran tanner, that the owner of the shop, with only four or five men, generally constituted the shop's crew.

About this time there was a great depression in the leather trade in Salem that continued several years. It eventually was removed, and the American civil war, with the wars of the Crimea, that followed the first years of its recuperation, gave it an impetus it had never before had, and its progress has never since been checked to any material degree, while its present prospects, with improved railroad facilities and improved processes of manufacture, are brighter than ever before.

There are at present in Salem fifty-four firms engaged in the manufacture of leather,—twelve tanners, fifteen curriers, twenty-one tanners and curriers, and six morocco-dressers. The census of 1880 gives fifty-two establishments with nine hundred and ten employees, \$1,167,050 invested as capital, and a value of production of \$4,209,004. That there has been an increase in the volume of the business since that date all the leather men agree, and, after careful consideration, it is thought that it is not too high to estimate the capital employed at \$1,350,000, a volume of production of \$4,750,000, and a total employment of nine hundred and fifty men.

The leather manufactories lie, for the most part, in a well-defined district, well compacted and lying on the following streets: Boston, both sides, from Essex to Goodhue; Goodhue, northern side; Grove, western side, to Harmony Grove Cemetery; Mason, eastern side, to oil works; South Mason and Franklin. There are also a number of scattered shops on the short streets leading up "Gallows Hill."

There have, of course, been great improvements in machinery in the leather trade since Parson Southwick's bark-mill; but there is still room for many inventions that will lessen the time of production of

leather, and aid to supersede, to a degree, hand-labor. There has been, and, perhaps, still is, a prejudice among manufacturers in favor of hand-labor and against machine, but the late strike taught them that machines could be used, and a revolution in the business in this respect is expected by many leather men.

THE LATE STRIKE.—The late strike above referred to was the second of the great leather strikes that have been inaugurated in Salem. It had its true origin in the attempts of the Knights of Labor, to which the employees almost universally belonged, to enforce a new price-list for splitting and some other branches, together with a ten-hour-a-day time schedule. The manufacturers refused to entertain price-list or time schedule, and as a strike in some departments was imminent, posted the following circular:

"WHEREAS, At a meeting of the leather manufacturers of Salem and Peabody, at which over sixty members were present, the subject of dictation to us in the management of our business was referred to a committee with full power to act as in their judgment may seem best, and that we follow such course as they may advise. That committee having met, reported the following resolutions:

"That hereafter we employ only such men as will bargain individually with us and agree to take no part in any strike whatever; and all men desiring so to be employed by us may report Tuesday morning, July 13th, at the usual hour of this factory.

"That we are determined to stand by the men who do so, and also determined to run our business without any dictation.

"F. R. TUTTLE,

"G. W. VARNER,

"ALVAN A. EVANS,

"GEO. H. POOR,

"W. F. WILBY,

"FRANKLIN OSBORN.

"Committee."

"JULY 12, 1886.

This stroke at once removed the contest from every question of wages and hours, and threw down the gage of battle directly before the order of the Knights of Labor. It took up the defiance and a generally strike was ordered. Men left their work by scores. Shops were left with hides in the lime, without a hand to save them, except the proprietor. Some shop crews worked till the stock was put out of danger, and then left. The manufacturers combined and helped those whose stock was spoiling, to save it. All, however, could not be cared for, and a loss of several hundred dollars was sustained. The manufacturers, as soon as possible, began to import non-union help from Maine and the provinces, and the new workmen, by careful supervision, were able to take the place of the skilled labor in part, and the manufacture of leather went on after a short delay.

The success of the manufacturers in partly filling the places of the strikers irritated the latter, and after a series of petty and very annoying persecutions, the enmity broke out into open riot, beginning in Peabody on August 7th, when non-union men and their boarding-houses were stoned by angry mobs. It extended to Salem on the Monday following, on the 9th, and the non-union men, their boarding-houses and some tanneries were subjected to the same treatment. The riot, however, was promptly suppressed by the police,

and a system of patrol established that prevented further outbreaks.

Finding that open riot was ineffectual, a guerrilla warfare was adopted; whenever a non-union man was found away from police protection he was assaulted. Details of strikers also followed the non-union men about, the boycott was used, and every means possible put in practice to induce the men to leave. Some men did go, but their places were soon filled, while the strikers, despite help from the Knights of Labor, grew weaker and weaker.

The culmination came on Thanksgiving Day; a mob attacked two brothers named Yeaton on Boston Street, and also stopped a horse-car and beat three non-union men who were its occupants. The long series of outrages disgusted the better class of the strikers, and, with the cessation of help from the order, the strike was declared off. This was on Sunday, November 28th. Those strikers who could find work went back, but many whose places were filled were unable to get back and much suffering was caused among the poor employes as a result.

The result of the strike to the manufacturers was that it gave them perfect freedom from the Knights of Labor dictation, and although the losses of stock were considerable, the loss was lessened by the increase in the price of leather and the stoppage of a threatened over-production. The result to the employees was disastrous,—a long term of idleness, with the vice idleness brings, brought want to many a family, and the winter of 1886-87 was one of sore distress in many cases.

COTTON MANUFACTURE.—Next to the leather business, the manufacture of cotton cloth is the most important industry carried on in Salem. The cotton goods manufacture is vested in a single concern, the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, incorporated April 5, 1839. The original capital of the company was \$200,000. The first mill was erected in 1847, the capital stock being increased to \$700,000 meanwhile.

This first mill is four hundred by sixty feet, contains 32,768 spindles and 643 looms, with a capacity of 9400 yards of cloth a week. At the time of its completion it was regarded as the finest and best-appointed mill in the country.

The first mill being a success, twelve years later a still larger building was erected by the company, the capital being increased to \$1,200,000. The second mill is four hundred and twenty-eight by sixty-four feet and contains 35,000 spindles and 700 looms.

Since the building of the second mill, three additional mills, slightly smaller, have been built, the last one, on the opposite side of Union Street from the others, being constructed in 1883, the first loom being started Jan. 12, 1884.

The Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company has now a capital of one million five hundred thousand dollars, and its plant consists of five mill buildings, with machine-shop, storage-houses, etc. The total number of

spindles in the mills, is one hundred thousand, and of looms, twenty-four hundred. The power in the mills on the eastern side of Union Street is furnished by two pairs of Corliss engines of twenty thousand horse-power total, and in "Mill No. 5" by a four hundred horse-power engine. The mills are lighted by twenty-two hundred gas jets and six hundred and fifty incandescent lights, gas works and an electric light plant being situated on the premises.

The production of cotton cloth by the mills during the year 1886 was eighteen million seven hundred and fifty thousand yards, at a valuation of about one million five hundred thousand dollars, and sixteen thousand bales of cotton were consumed. There are fourteen hundred operatives employed in the mills, and the yearly pay-roll is four hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

The Naumkeag Mills have always taken a front rank in the cotton manufacture of New England for the quality of the cloth produced and their solid financial standing, the stock at present being quoted many points above par. The relations with the operatives have for the most part been harmonious. The company has experienced no disastrous fires, and the whole course of the company has been, to a great extent, a prosperous one. The mills are now models of appointment and management.

SHOE MANUFACTURES.—Next to the manufacture of cotton goods, the largest industry in Salem is the manufacture of shoes, which, while not as extensive as that of some other towns of the county, is still fairly large and is increasing. There are twenty-one manufacturers of shoes in the city, the grades being mostly medium and fine ladies' and children's shoes. There are, besides, twenty-five shops for the manufacture of inner-soles, stiffenings, etc., and two shoe-stitching shops.

The capital employed in the shoe business in Salem is about one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, with a value of production of about nine hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, and a total number of eight hundred and fifty employees. The manufactories are mostly grouped in the vicinity of the Boston and Maine Railroad depot, on Mill, Washington, Dodge and Lafayette Streets, although two of the largest are on Boston Street.

The relations between employer and employe in the shoe factories of Salem have been harmonious during the past few years and, save one or two minor troubles, there have been no strikes. The projected street over the South River is expected to open up land that will be utilized for shoe manufactories, and with good railroad facilities, nearness to the leather supply and no labor difficulties, Salem offers many advantages for location of shoe manufactories.

JUTE BAGGING.—The manufacture of jute bagging is now carried on in Salem at two establishments. The first jute-mill was established in the fall of 1865, when the late Francis Peabody built the jute-mill on

Skerry Street. Two years later a tract of land on English and Webb Streets, the old English estate, was bought and a second mill built by a company known as the India Manufacturing Co., formed at the same time. A second company, called the Bengal Bagging Co., was formed in 1870 to carry on the Skerry Street mill, but, in 1875, all the property fell into the hands of David Nevins & Co., of Boston, and, since the death of the elder Nevins, a year or two ago, has been carried on by his son.

The two mills have now over a thousand spindles, with a capacity of five million yards of bagging a year. The total value varies, but averages three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The amount of jute-butts consumed annually is twenty-two thousand five hundred bales, at a value of eight dollars per bale. The two mills employ a total of two hundred and sixty-eight hands, of which one hundred and one are females and one hundred and two youths and children.

The jute-butts are brought from Bengal, from the port of Chittagong, in large vessels that give the inhabitants of Salem their only occasional sight of large sized, square-rigged vessels, and the import duties make up the greater part of the receipts of the Salem custom-house, the amount received from each vessel being in the vicinity of two thousand dollars. The bagging is mostly shipped South for use in baling cotton, especially large shipments going to Galveston, Tex.

WHITE-LEAD MANUFACTURE.—The manufacture of white-lead as a pigment from pig, or blue-lead, is one of the oldest industries in the city, it having been established in 1826. In that year two lead-mills were started, one by the first Salem Lead Company and the other by Colonel Francis Peabody. Both were situated in South Salem, the first on the site of the Naumkeag Cotton-Mills, the other where Lagrange Street is now situated.

The first Salem Lead Company had a capital stock of over two hundred thousand dollars, but the enterprise proved unprofitable and, after an expenditure of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, the works were sold at auction in 1835 for the sum of twenty thousand five hundred dollars.

The works established by Colonel Peabody were more successful, and were carried on at Lagrange Street till 1843. In 1830 the Wyman Grist-Mills, at Forest River, were purchased and used for grinding and mixing the lead. In 1843 the Forest River Lead Company (incorporated in 1846) purchased the works of Colonel Peabody, tore down the sheds on Lagrange Street, and established the entire plant at Forest River. The manufacture of white-lead to the amount of one thousand tons annually was carried on by the company till 1882, when it made an assignment. The works were operated for a time by a Boston firm, but were finally abandoned in 1883, and have since remained unoccupied.

The present Salem Lead Company was incorporated February 7, 1868. It has its works at the foot of Saunders Street. They consist of a large three-story mill, with corroding-sheds in the rear. The company has a capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars employed at this factory, and the annual product is about fifteen hundred tons of white-lead, dry and ground in oil, together with a considerable amount of sheet-lead and lead-pipe. About thirty hands are employed.

OIL MANUFACTURE.—The refining and manufacture of oils has been an industry in Salem from 1835, when Caleb Smith began the oil and candle manufacture on the site of the present Seccomb Oil Works. Col. Francis Peabody began the same industry a year later, also in South Salem. The latter did a large business, buying in one year one hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of sperm and whale oils. He also manufactured a large quantity of candles and imported the first machine for braiding candle-wicks.

There are now four manufactories of oils in the city; two, however, are unimportant. Seccomb, Thayer & Sons carry on the manufacture at the "old stand," established by Caleb Smith. They manufacture lubricating and curriers' oils to a small extent. The Seccomb Oil Company, which was established in 1865, was dissolved in 1885.

The Salem and South Danvers Oil Company was organized in 1855, and have a capital of forty-eight thousand dollars. Since the organization the company has manufactured considerable quantities of kerosene and curriers' grease and oils.

On June 14, 1887, the works of the company took fire from a spark blown from a burning tannery on South Mason Street, and within three-quarters of an hour a stock worth ten thousand dollars, with all the wooden buildings of the plant, were totally destroyed. The stills, however, and other manufacturing plant were not materially injured, and the work of rebuilding was re-commenced at once, although some citizens made an attempt to have the Board of Aldermen refuse a permit to rebuild on that site. The manufacture of kerosene has been given up, and the manufacture of curriers' grease and oils entered on on a large scale.

THE ADAMANTA WORKS.—The latest established industry in Salem has been that of the manufacture of paints, etc., by new processes, by the Adamanta Manufacturing Company at the former Rowell farm, on Salem Neck.

The Adamanta Manufacturing Company organized in 1885 with a capital of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for the prosecution of the manufacture of a number of articles under different patents, mostly German, purchased, in the autumn of 1885, the estate, on Salem Neck, known as the Rowell farm. This land was admirably fitted for the purpose of the manufactory, being secluded and with easy water

and land access. Building was commenced in February, 1886. A long, low, fire-proof building was constructed for the manufactory, together with the necessary out-buildings, and in September, 1886, work was commenced. At present there are about twenty-five men employed, a number of whom are Germans, as is the superintendent.

The products of the works are enamel paints, varnish, a steam-proof pitch and an artificial rubber. The present manufactory is a merely experimental one, but a large quantity of the articles produced has been sold; the demand is said to be increasing, and a large manufactory is among the probabilities; indeed, plans for such are being now considered.

MANUFACTURE OF TYPE-WRITERS.—A second industry of importance that has lately been established in Salem is the manufacture of type-writers, under the Hall patents. In May, 1885, the plating and polishing works of E. O. Bates, on Front Street, were removed to the building 200 Derby Street, and with a large plant the manufacture of the Hall type-writer was begun, together with that of light machinery and electrical goods. The Hall Type-Writer and Machine Company was incorporated in April, 1886, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, at one hundred dollars per share. The company now employs fifty men, and produces an average of two hundred type-writers a month, at an annual value of ninety-six thousand dollars. The business of manufacturing light machinery and electrical work, mostly by contract for Boston and New York firms, is also large.

MANUFACTURE OF CARS.—Two companies for the manufacture of cars have been established in Salem. In 1863 the Salem Car Company began the manufacture of horse-cars at the present car-shops of the Boston and Maine Railroad, on Bridge Street. The project was unsuccessful, and the works were sold to John Kinsman, after having been in operation a short time. This gentleman manufactured a few railroad cars there, and then sold the works to the Eastern Railroad. They are now operated by the Boston and Maine Railroad as repair-shops, the bulk of the repairs for this section being made there. About one hundred and fifty hands are employed, and during leisure seasons a few cars are built, several of the best rolling stock on the Eastern Division having been constructed here.

The Atlantic Car Company was organized in 1872, and commenced the manufacture of railroad cars at works built by them on Broadway, in South Salem. The works only ran for a year, the business crisis in 1873 being the cause of their closing. The buildings, after being unoccupied for four years, were used as a furniture manufactory. This in turn failed, and, after a long period of idleness, the works were again started up as a manufactory of the "Humiston Preservative." This also failed, and the United States Patent's Company took the plant; that continued for a

year or two, then failed; and in 1886 the Poor Brothers, of Peabody, bought the plant, and altered it over into a tannery, with several hundred vats, and employing a large number of men.

THE GAS-LIGHT COMPANY.—The Salem Gas-Light Company was organized in April, 1850; works were built at the foot of Northey Street, and the first stores lighted December 17, 1850, and the street lights on December 25th of the same year. A large amount of gas has been manufactured. When the city electric light system was put in operation, in 1886, the greater part of the street lights were given up. The change, however, caused but little diminution in the production of gas, as it was found that the increased use of gas by individuals nearly made up the deficit.

The present plant of the company, having been in constant use for thirty-seven years, has gone out of date, besides being in a bad condition, and the company has in process of construction, at its lot on Bridge Street, new retorts and apparatus of an improved pattern. A wharf, gas-holder and other buildings had been constructed there some years before, and when the present works shall be finished the company will have a complete plant. The manufacture of gas will be carried on there, and the Northey Street works abandoned.

The present works contain fifty-five retorts, and 41,858,000 cubic feet of gas were manufactured there during 1886. The selling price was \$1.75 a thousand feet. The new works will have a much greater capacity than have the old.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING CO.—Salem was among the first cities in New England to introduce electric lights. In 1881 a small plant was set up in the rear of the West Block, and a few lights started. The first lights were lighted December 18, 1881. The light, used at first by the storekeepers as an advertisement, came rapidly into favor, and, in April, 1882, the Salem Electric Lighting Company, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, was incorporated, and took the plant established in 1881. The demand for lights increased rapidly, and in the fall of 1886 the city of Salem closed a contract with the company for one hundred and twenty-nine lights for two years from Oct. 1, 1886, at forty-seven cents a night for one hundred lights, and forty-five cents for the remainder, the lights to burn all night and superseding four hundred gas-lights. The number was afterward increased to one hundred and forty-seven lights, which are now located and make Salem one of the best lighted cities in the State.

In June, 1885, the incandescent light was introduced, and quite a number of stores are lighted with the lights, as well as the Council and Aldermanic chambers at City Hall.

The electric lighting station is situated in the rear of the West Block, on Essex Street, in a specially constructed building, whose tall, iron chimneys are a prominent feature in a bird's-eye view of Salem from

any point. The plant consists of eight arc dynamos, of a capacity of thirty lights each, of which five are employed on the city lights. There is an incandescent dynamo, burning two hundred and fifty lights. The power is supplied by boilers of three hundred horse-power, with three engines, respectively one hundred and seventy-five, seventy-five and sixty horse-power. The station is a well-appointed one, and the lights give good satisfaction.

MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURES.—The list of the more important manufactures of Salem is now finished, but the miscellaneous manufactures are large in total and comprise most of the domestic industries and manufactures, with the employment of a large number of operatives. There are two iron foundries, employing about twenty-five men and producing a large amount of castings for the different manufactories of the city and county; eleven machine-shops, most of which manufacture machines under patents; and one boiler-shop. The total value of the product of the metal-working establishments of the city is about seven hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

The building trades are well represented, Salem being a centre for the district in this respect, and the total value of the building products is in the vicinity of three hundred thousand dollars.

Boxes, to the value of thirty-five thousand dollars, are made; stone-work, of a value of thirty thousand dollars, is produced; and the printing and publishing interests have a value of production of fifty thousand dollars.

DEFUNCT INDUSTRIES.—*The Salem Laboratory Company.*—Among the few industries which have been relinquished in Salem, the manufacture of chemicals was the oldest. The manufacture of chemicals was begun on Lynde Street early in the present century, and continued by the Salem Laboratory Company, incorporated in 1819, which continued the manufacture above alluded to, removing the works to North Salem. A considerable amount of chemicals were manufactured up to 1884, when the company was dissolved on account of decreasing profits and other considerations. The buildings have been partly demolished, and one has been utilized as a currying-shop.

The Cooperage Business.—During the years of the commercial prosperity of Salem, and especially at the times of the West India and West African trade, the cooperage business of Salem was quite extensive, ten or twelve firms being engaged in the manufacture of fish butts, molasses and rum hogsheads, etc. With the decrease of the commerce the business declined, and is almost extinct, there being now only two shops, employing six or eight men, and turning out a few hundred lead kegs and half-barrels yearly.

Gum Copal Cleaning.—Another very important industry during the time of the trade with the west coast of Africa was the cleaning of gum copal and other varnish gums, carried on at Hunt's wharf.

Nearly all the varnish gums used in this country at that time were landed at Salem, and in a rough state. The business of preparing these gums for use grew to considerable proportions, but the imposing of a duty on the rough gums caused the business of cleaning them to be transferred to Africa, so that although small lots have been cleaned within six years, the business is now entirely extinct.

THE COAL BUSINESS.—The principal industry of Salem, outside of the direct manufacturing interests, is the transshipment of coal, for the most part to the factories of Lowell and Lawrence. During the year 1886—a year below the average in the amounts of coal received, owing to great coal strikes—the amount of coal brought to Salem was 184,163 tons, at an average valuation of five dollars per ton. The coal was brought in three hundred and sixty-three sailing vessels and thirty steamers, whose aggregate tonnage would probably be as great as that of any year in Salem's palmiest commercial days.

The coal trade of Salem has been established since 1850. In that year the Salem and Lowell Railroad was completed to Salem, and coal began to arrive at Phillips' wharf for the mills in Lawrence and Lowell. A business of one thousand tons was done the first year, and the amount rapidly increased till, in 1871 and 1872, two hundred thousand tons was the aggregate. In the former year a coal-pocket was built, but in the latter the road was leased to the Boston, Lowell and Nashua road and the larger part of the business transferred to Boston, and under the later regime of the Boston and Lowell the business has been still further decreased. During 1886 the aggregate of tons landed at Phillips' wharf was 26,645, mostly brought in small vessels of one hundred to five hundred tons capacity, the gradual filling up of the docks preventing the entrance of larger vessels.

The greater part of the coal coming to Salem is landed at the Philadelphia and Reading Company's pier, situated a short distance below Phillips' wharf, and built in 1873. The pier consists of a wooden-walled bulkhead, having a coal "pocket" with a capacity of eight thousand tons, and a long bridge connection. The bridge is about fourteen hundred feet in length and the wharf seven hundred feet. The depth of water at low tide is eleven feet. Most of the coal is brought in the iron steamers of the company, whose average capacity is 1660 tons. They run at regular intervals during the greater part of the year, the round trip from Philadelphia, including loading and unloading, taking about two weeks, although, under especially favorable circumstances, it has been made in one. The coal received from the steamers and sailing-vessels is temporarily stored in the pocket and shipped away by rail as fast as cars can be procured. Most goes to the mills of Lowell, Lawrence and Haverhill. The total amount of coal received at the pier in 1886 was 106,247 tons.

Besides the coal received for direct transshipment,

a large amount is received for the supply of a considerable local and district demand. There are thirteen retail coal dealers in the city, mostly situated on Derby Street and along the South River. The total shipments of coal received by them during 1886 were 53,861 tons.

Owing to the precarious state of the demand for labor in the coal business in Salem, and also to the transient nature of the labor itself, as no special training is needed for coal handling, and many take to it as a makeshift, it is difficult to ascertain how many receive support from the pursuit of that grimy calling. It is safe to say, however, that three hundred men, in round numbers, are employed by the coal trade of the city.

THE HORSE-RAILROADS.—*The Naumkeag Street Railroad.*—The benefit that the establishment and growth of the two horse-railroad companies running from Salem has been to the city is almost inestimable. It has turned into the coffers of the Salem merchants money that has in former years gone to Boston; it has made Salem, in fact, what she is in position, the centre of the southern part of Essex County. It is safe to say that it has doubled the retail trade of the city.

The first act of incorporation of a horse-railroad in this city was obtained in 1862, under the name of the Salem Street Railway Company. The road was built to South Danvers (now Peabody), and the first car run July 8, 1863. In the same year the road was extended to Beverly, the line being opened for travel on October 28th. In May, 1864, a branch was built to South Salem, and five years later, June 4, 1869, a North Salem branch was put in operation.

The old Salem company, however, proved an unprofitable investment, and in 1875 a new company, known as the Naumkeag Street Railway Company, leased the property of the old road, and, by careful management and display of considerable enterprise, soon established the scheme on a paying basis.

The first extension of the tracks under the new company was to the "Willows," the picnic ground of Salemites for generations, the line being opened June 10, 1877. A year or two later several of the heavy stockholders of the road purchased a tract of land there, and erected a "Pavilion" and theatre, besides making a small park there, and this, with many improvements made on the public land by the city, was opened as a summer resort on June 10, 1880.

The opening of the "Willows" was one of the great factors of the success of the Naumkeag road; immense crowds of people were attracted to the place, as many as eight thousand people being on the grounds on some occasions, and, for the most part, transported by the horse-car lines.

Dating from the opening of the "Willows," and especially since 1883, the extension of the rails of the Naumkeag Street Railroad has been steady and rapid. In 1883 the Beverly track was extended to

the Gloucester crossing; a little later a branch was laid to the northern side of Harmony Grove, which, however, has since been given up as not being profitable.

In the spring of 1884 a line was projected to the town of Marblehead, whose transportation facilities by railroad were very meagre. The line was completed in August, 1884, the first car being run August 18th, and being received with great enthusiasm by the Marbleheaders. The line has met with good success, although it was prophesied that it would prove unprofitable during cold weather; the use of stoves in the cars, however, removed that objection, and the cars have a good patronage all through the winter.

The increasing traffic on the line between Salem and Beverly, together with the foreseen extension to Wenham, led the directors of the road to have another line through Beverly constructed. It was built through Rantoul Street, and connected with the Cabot Street line at the Gloucester crossing, the line being opened on June 16, 1886.

The line in Peabody was then extended through Lowell Street previous to July 2, 1886; and on August 21st the Marblehead tracks were extended through the town to Franklin Street.

The greatest addition to the road was consummated, however, in the connection of the Beverly tracks through North Beverly to Wenham depot and to Asbury Grove, the latter branch, however, being used only in summer. The road, about seven miles in length, was completed May 23, 1886, and formally opened on the 26th. This road was a great stroke of policy; it accommodated an immense local trade, besides "booming" building interests along the line.

On June 1, 1886, by legislative enactment the Naumkeag road assumed the franchise of the old Salem Street Railway, and, with the purchase of the Salem and Danvers in the spring of 1887, assumed an entire control of the local traffic.

The Naumkeag Street Railroad Company at present has a capital of \$250,000 of paid-up stock, divided among forty-nine stockholders, with a net debt of \$257,959.52, and total assets of \$636,240.23. The road has a length of 30,119 miles, of which 7,785 miles were the original property of the Salem road, and 8,800 miles that of the Danvers road, making the extensions made by the Naumkeag Company during their occupancy 13,534 miles.

The consolidated road has at the time of writing 105 cars, 390 horses and 112 employees, with an annual pay-roll of \$69,340.50.

The Naumkeag system is divided into four branches, each with its stables, cars and superintendent, but under the direction of the superintendent of the main branch. The latter includes the tracks in Salem, Beverly, to the Gloucester crossing, Peabody and to the "Willows." The stables are situated on Webster Street and at Beverly Cove. The Danvers branch includes all the old Danvers track, and has

stables in Danvers and Peabody. The Marblehead branch includes the Marblehead tracks and stables on the road, and the Wenham branch includes the tracks below the Gloucester crossing, having stables at Wenham, near the town hall.

The total earnings of the consolidated road for 1886 were \$190,468.50, with a total expense of \$154,977.79. Besides the extent of the Naumkeag tracks, connection is made at Peabody and Marblehead with the Lynn and Boston Street Railway, whose lines extend the entire distance to Boston, making a distance of some thirty miles in diameter reached by the road.

Salem and Danvers Street Railroad—In the fall of 1883 a party of Salem, Peabody and Danvers capitalists formed a stock company for the purpose of constructing a horse railroad from Salem to Danvers. They were incorporated May 15, 1884, under the style of the Salem and Danvers Street Railway Company, with a capital stock of seventy thousand dollars, afterward increased to one hundred thousand dollars. The construction of the road was pushed rapidly, and five miles of track were built and the road equipped at a cost of \$62,783.24. The road was opened for travel June 25, 1884, and during the first three months of its operation the net income was \$5239.93. In the spring of 1885 a connection of the Danvers track with that of the Naumkeag Street Railroad in Peabody was begun and completed July 9th, the cars running from Salem through Peabody to Danvers and *vice versa*. Several branches to Tapleyville and other parts of Danvers were also built, so that the road had access to every part of the town, and controlled all the local traffic.

It was feared by the Naumkeag road that the proposed filling of the South River would give the Danvers road a location through the heart of the city, and a movement was made to get control of the road, which was accomplished in April, 1887, the Naumkeag road paying one hundred and sixty-five dollars for a small balance of stock, and assuming the debt of the Danvers corporation.

The road is now running in conjunction with the Naumkeag system, cars of the road being run through from Danvers to Beverly.

RAILROAD COMMUNICATION.—The steam railroad communications of Salem are excellent, the Boston and Maine Railroad, Eastern Division, formerly the Eastern Railroad, which was opened in August, 1878, and the Boston and Lowell Railroad, which has a terminus here, give rapid and cheap transportation to every part of the Eastern New England States and Canada. There are twenty-three regular trains to Boston on the Boston and Maine daily, with twenty-two extras and eleven Sunday trains, and a nearly equal number of trains going east. The trains on the Boston and Lowell road are also frequent.

The freight facilities are equally good, and the amount of business transacted at both stations amount to a very large sum annually.

RETAIL TRADE.—The retail trade of Salem is large, especially in the dry-goods line, and has greatly increased since the extension of the horse-car lines. The dry-goods trade includes eighteen firms, and the stores are large and handsome, including three which occupy the entire blocks in which they are situated. The largest clothing-store east of Boston is also established here, with largestores devoted to other lines, and Essex Street, the centre of the retail trade, is lined with stores that equal, if not surpass, any in Essex County.

CHAPTER IX.

SALEM (Continued).

MISCELLANEOUS.

BY WILLIAM T. DAVIS.

IN the preparation of the history of Salem, several writers have been engaged, each confining himself to the special department assigned to him, and thus necessarily leaving untouched some subjects, the omission of which would make the history unfinished and incomplete. This chapter, therefore, will include a reference, to the government of Salem as a town, to its organization as a city, the adoption of a city seal, the earlier and later water-works, the witchcraft delusion and to such associations and organizations as have not been treated in the departmental work.

The settlement of Salem may be dated 1626, when Roger Conant, with his companions, leaving Cape Ann took up his temporary residence at Naumkeag, as Salem was then called, or it may be dated September 6, 1628 (old style), when John Endicott cast anchor in Salem harbor, as governor of the colony, sent by the Massachusetts Company, in London, of which Matthew Cradock was governor, to make a permanent settlement on the shores of Massachusetts' Bay. As the city has inscribed the date 1626 on its seal, it is perhaps useless either to inquire how completely the settlement by Conant was abandoned, or to question the claim of the earlier date.

Salem, like Plymouth, was never incorporated as a town. At the first meeting of the Court of Assistants, held at Charlestown, August 23, 1630, it was recognized as a distinct plantation or town, and with Mattapan was exempted from the common charge for the support of Rev. Mr. Wilson. Its character as a town was not questioned after the arrival of Winthrop in 1630, but its boundaries were undefined, and those, of course, were to be settled by the General Court of the Colony. Thus, at the Court held on the 4th of March, 1634, it was ordered that "Mr. Nowell and Mr. Mayhew shall set out the bounds betwixt Saugus (Lynn) and Salem and betwixt Salem and Marble Harbor;" and at the Court held on the 8d of March, 1635-36, it was "re-

ferred to John Humfrey, Esq., and Capt. Turner, to set out the bounds betwixt Salem and Ipswich." On the 13th of March, 1638-39, it was "ordered that the bounds betwixt Salem and Linn shall begin at the cliffe by the sea, where the water runs, as the way lyeth by the ould path that goeth to Linn at the south end thereof next to Linn & the whole pond to bee in Salem bounds; & from that part to run upon a straight line to the island in the Humfreys pond & from that island to run upon a straight line to 6 great pine trees marked, called by the six men that layd out the bounds, the 6 mens Bounds; & from these trees to run upon a straight line unto another little pine tree marked by the side of a little hill beyond the trees, to run upon the same line so farr as o' bounds shall reach, into the country."

At first Salem included within its recognized limits Beverly, Danvers, Manchester, Peabody, Marblehead, Middleton and parts of Topsfield, Wenham and Lynn. Beverly was incorporated October 14, 1668, and a part annexed to Danvers, April 27, 1857. Danvers was incorporated June 16, 1757 and divided into Danvers and South Danvers, May 18, 1855, the name of the latter being changed to Peabody, April 13, 1868. Manchester was incorporated May 14, 1645; Marblehead, May 2, 1649; Middleton, June 20, 1728; Wenham, May 10, 1643; Topsfield, October 18, 1650. A part of Salem was also annexed to Swampscott, April 3, 1867, and the boundary line between Salem and Danvers was changed March 17, 1840.

At a General Court held March 3, 1635-36, it was ordered that "whereas, particular towns have many things which concerne onely themselves, and the ordering of their own affairs, and disposing of business in their own town, it is therefore ordered, that the freemen of every town or the major part of them shall onely have power to dispose of their own lands, and woods with all the privileges and appurtenances of the said towns, to grant lots, and make such orders as may concern the well-ordering of their own towns, not repugnant to the laws and orders here established by the General Court; as also to lay mulcts and penalties for the breach of these orders, and to levy and distrain the same, not exceeding the sum of xxs.; also to choose their own particular officers, as constables, surveyors for the highways, and the like; and because much business is like to ensue to the constables of several towns, by reason they are to make distresses, and gather fines, therefore that every town shall have two constables, where there is need, that so their office may not be a burthen unto them, and they may attend more carefully upon the discharge of their office, for which they shall be liable to give their accompts to this Court when they shal be called thereunto."

In accordance with the above act of the General Court the Town of Salem chose, at a meeting held on the 19th of the 4th month (June) 1637, a committee of twelve "for manadgin the affairs of the town." A part of the record of this meeting is lost, and the ac-

tual election of this committee is not found on the town books. The deficiency is, however, supplied by the town Book of Grants, which contains the following entry:

"The 20th of the 4th moneth, 1637.

"A towne meeting of the 12 men appointed for the business thereof whose names are here under written:

Mr. Hathorne.	Daniell Ray.
Mr. Bishop.	Robt. Moulton.
Mr. Connaught.	Mr. Scruggs.
Mr. Gardiner.	Jeffry Massy.
John Woodbury.	John Balch.
Peter Palfrey.	John Holgrave."

Mr. Hathorne was William Hathorne, Mr. Bishop was Townsend Bishop, Mr. Connaught was Roger Conant, Mr. Gardiner was Thomas Gardiner and Mr. Scruggs was Thomas Scruggs. This committee was the prototype of the Board of Selectmen of a later period. There had been previously chosen, on the 16th of the 9th month (November), 1635, a committee consisting of Captain William Traske, John Woodberry, Mr. Conant, Jeffry Massy and John Balshe as "overseers & Layers out of Lotts of ground for this presinct of Salem, but are to have directions from y^r towne where they shall lay y^m out, and in leuwe of y^r paynes they are to have 4d. the acre for small lotts, and 10s. the hundred for great lotts rightly & exactly laid out & bounded; and 3 of these may doe the worke."

There had also been appointed in the latter part of March, 1636, a committee of thirteen, whose names are not given, who were called "the towne representative," but the committee of twelve above-referred to seems to have been the first committee with the broad powers delegated to it of managing the affairs of the town. The meetings of this committee are called in the records town meetings, and by their direction inhabitants were admitted, lands granted, raters were chosen and the general business of the town was conducted. At the meeting of the committee held on the 20th of the 10th month (December), 1637, John Endicott appears as a member, and on the 29th of the 8th month (October), 1638, Mr. Fisk, but whether John, or William, or Phineas, does not appear.

At a general town meeting held the 31st of the 10th month (December), 1638, seven men were chosen "for the managing of the affaires of the towne for a twelve moneths, viz.: Mr. Endecott, Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Conant, John Woodbury, Laurence Leech, Jeffry Massy and John Balch." Under date of the 11th month (January), 1639-40, it is recorded that "the ould Seaven men continewd still." The next year the committee consisted of the same persons, and in 1642 of Mr. Endicott, Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Massy, Peter Palfrey, Laurence Leech, Mr. Gardiner and William Lord. In 1643 Henry Bartholomew was substituted for Mr. Leech, and at the meeting at which the new committee was chosen, held the 4th of the 10th month (December), 1642, it was ordered "that the seaven men chosen for the managing of the affaires of the towne, or the greater number of them, shall meete to-

gether monthlie one the second day of the weeke, in the morninge, to beginne the second day the weeke next being the 11th of the 10th mo., 1643, upon the penaltie of tenne shillings, to be leaved one the whole or upon such of them as are absent wth out just ground."

Up to this date while the meetings of the freemen of the town were called general town meetings, those of the seven men were called particular town meetings. After this date they were called "meetings of the 7 men," or "town meetings of the 7 men." In 1644-45 the same persons served as the committee, and in 1646 eight men were chosen, viz.: Captain Hathorne, William Lord, John Hardey, Mr. Corwine, Sergeant Porter, Samuel Archer, Ed. Batter and William Clerke. In 1647 William Hathorne, Edmond Batter, George Corwin, Jeffry Massey, John Porter, Henry Bartholomew and Emanuel Downing made up the board of seven men, and about this time their meetings were sometimes called meetings of the "townsmen."

From this date the seven men were called selectmen, and the following is a list of selectmen down to the incorporation of the city in 1836:

1648.	Jeffry Massey.	Wm. Browne.
Wm. Hathorne.	Walter Price.	Edmond Batter.
Wm. Browne.	Edmond Batter.	1660.
Thomas Gardiner.	1654.	Wm. Browne.
Roger Conant.	George Corwin.	George Corwin.
Thomas Lathrop.	Roger Conant.	Walter Price.
Henry Bartholomew.	John Porter.	Roger Conant.
John Porter.	John Gedney.	Thomas Lathrop.
1649.	Richard Prince.	Edmond Batter.
Wm. Hathorne.	Jeffry Massey.	John Porter.
Wm. Browne.	Edmond Batter.	1661.
Roger Conant.	1655.	Wm. Browne.
Jeffry Massey.	George Corwin.	Wm. Hathorne.
Henry Bartholomew.	John Porter.	George Corwin.
George Corwin.	Jacob Barney.	John Porter.
Walter Price.	Jeffry Massey.	Roger Conant.
1650.	Thomas Gardiner.	Walter Price.
Wm. Hathorne.	Jno. Gedney.	Edmond Batter.
Emanuel Dowling.	Edmond Batter.	1662.
George Corwin.	1656.	Wm. Hathorne.
Jeffry Massey.	Wm. Hathorne.	Wm. Browne.
Roger Conant.	Thomas Gardiner.	George Corwin.
Walter Price.	Wm. Browne.	Walter Price.
Henry Bartholomew.	George Corwin.	Edmond Batter.
1651.	John Porter.	John Porter.
Wm. Hathorne.	Jeffry Massey.	Henry Bartholomew.
Roger Conant.	Edmond Batter.	1663.
John Porter.	1657.	Wm. Hathorne.
Jeffry Massey.	Wm. Browne.	Wm. Browne.
Henry Bartholomew.	George Corwin.	George Corwin.
Wm. Browne.	John Porter.	Walter Price.
George Corwin.	Jacob Barney.	Edmond Batter.
1652.	Richard Prince.	George Gardiner.
Wm. Hathorne.	Jeffry Massey.	Henry Bartholomew.
Roger Conant.	Walter Price.	1664.
John Porter.	1658.	Wm. Hathorne.
Walter Price.	Wm. Hathorne.	Wm. Browne.
Jacob Barney.	Roger Conant.	George Corwin.
George Corwin.	Thomas Lathrop.	Walter Price.
Edmond Batter.	Edmond Batter.	Thomas Lathrop.
1653.	Jos. Bolce.	Edmond Batter.
George Corwin.	1659.	Henry Bartholomew.
Wm. Hathorne.	Wm. Hathorne.	1665.
Roger Conant.	George Corwin.	Wm. Hathorne.
John Porter.	Walter Price.	Wm. Browne.

George Corwin.	John Pickering.	Israel Porter.
Edmond Batter.	John Price.	Wm. Porter.
Thomas Lathrop.	1676.	Samuel Gardiner.
Walter Price.	Edmond Batter.	Timothy Lindall.
1666.	John Corwin.	Wm. Hirst.
Wm. Hathorne.	Wm. Browne, Jr.	1686.
Wm. Browne.	Samuel Gardiner, Sr.	John Ruck.
George Corwin.	Bartholomew Gedney.	John Price.
Edmond Batter.	John Pickering.	John Leech.
Thomas Lathrop.	John Price.	Thomas Gardiner.
George Putnam.	1677.	Samuel Gardiner, Sr.
Walter Price.	Jos. Grafton.	Timothy Lindall.
1667.	Phillip Cromwell.	Wm. Hirst.
Wm. Browne.	John Higginson.	1687.
John Porter.	Samuel Gardiner, Sr.	John Price.
Nathaniel Putnam.	Lieut. Leach.	John Ruck.
George Putnam.	Edward Flint.	Wm. Hirst.
Humphrey Woodbury	Wm. Trask.	John Higginson.
John Pickering.	1678.	Samuel Gardiner.
Edmond Batter.	John Corwin.	Robert Kitching.
1668.	Wm. Browne.	1688.
Wm. Browne.	Phillip Cromwell.	John Putnam.
George Corwin.	John Turner.	Nathaniel Putnam.
George Gardiner.	John Higginson.	Edward Flint.
John Corwin.	John Hathorne.	John Higginson.
Benjamin Gardiner.	1679.	John Price.
John Pickering.	John Corwin.	Thomas Gardiner.
Edmond Batter.	Wm. Browne.	Samuel Gardiner, Jr.
1669.	George Corwin.	1689.
George Corwin.	John Higginson.	John Putnam.
Edmond Batter.	Phillip Cromwell.	John Pickering.
Bartholomew Gedney.	Israel Porter.	Israel Porter.
John Putnam.	John Hathorne.	Captn Sewall.
John Corwin.	1680.	Wm. Hirst.
Wm. Browne.	Edmond Batter.	Benjamin Gerrish.
John Pickering.	John Corwin.	Samuel Gardiner.
1670.	Wm. Browne.	1690.
Wm. Hathorne.	Samuel Gardiner, Sr.	Stephen Sewall.
Wm. Browne.	John Putnam.	John Pickering.
John Porter.	Israel Porter.	Israel Porter.
Henry Bartholomew.	John Hathorne.	Wm. Hirst.
Jos. Grafton, Sr.	1681.	Samuel Gardiner.
George Gardiner.	John Corwin.	Daniel Andrew.
Wm. Browne, Jr.	Wm. Browne.	Benjamin Gerrish.
1671.	John Price.	1691.
Wm. Hathorne.	Samuel Gardiner, Sr.	Israel Porter.
Wm. Browne.	Israel Porter.	Thomas Flint.
George Corwin.	John Pickering.	Benjamin Marston.
Edmond Batter.	John Hathorne.	Josiah Wolcott.
Walter Price.	1682.	Manasseh Marston.
John Putnam.	John Corwin.	Robert Kitching.
Walter Price, Jr.	Samuel Gardiner, Sr.	Daniel Parkman.
1672.	John Price.	1692.
Wm. Browne.	John Hathorne.	Samuel Gardiner.
Henry Bartholomew.	John Pickering.	Stephen Sewall.
John Corwin.	Samuel Gardiner, Jr.	Israel Porter.
Bartholomew Gedney.	John Higginson.	John Putnam.
Edmond Batter.	Israel Porter.	John Pickering.
1673.	1683.	Edward Flint.
Wm. Hathorne.	Samuel Gardiner, Sr.	Robert Kitching.
George Corwin.	John Price.	1693.
John Corwin.	John Hathorne.	Wm. Hirst.
Henry Bartholomew.	John Higginson.	Stephen Sewall.
Jos. Grafton, Sr.	John Pickering.	Israel Porter.
Richard Prince.	Israel Porter.	Benjamin Gerrish.
1674.	Samuel Gardiner, Jr.	John Pickering.
Thomas Lathrop.	1684.	Edward Flint.
George Corwin.	Bartholomew Gedney.	Robert Kitching.
John Corwin.	John Corwin.	1694.
Jos. Crowell.	John Price.	Wm. Hirst.
John Flint.	John Ruck.	Stephen Sewall.
Nicholas Manning.	Thomas Gardiner.	Timothy Lindall.
1675.	Daniel Andrew.	Edward Flint.
George Corwin.	Samuel Gardiner, Jr.	Benjamin Gerrish.
Edmond Batter.	1685.	Israel Porter.
John Corwin.	Bartholomew Gedney.	Samuel Browne.
Wm. Browne, Jr.	John Higginson.	1695.
John Putnam.	John Ruck.	Wm. Hirst.

Israel Porter.	Peter Osgood.	Jos. Orne.	Samuel Barnard.	Eben. Moulton.	1753. Same.
Samuel Browne.	Benjamin Putnam.	James Moulton.	Miles Ward.	Daniel Marble.	1754.
Stephen Sewall.	Daniel Epes.	Jos. Herrick.	Thomas Barton.	T. Proctor.	Joshua Ward.
Timothy Lindall.	1707.	Wm. Pickering.	1729. Same.	Saml. West.	T. Proctor.
Benjamin Gerrish.	Josiah Wolcott.	John Pickering.	1730. Same with John	Ezekiel Marsh.	Abraham Watson.
Samuel Gardiner.	Captain Gardner.	Jos. Putnam.	Higginson for Mr.	Jos. Putnam.	Timothy Orne.
1696.	Captain Turner.	1717.	Barton.	John Leach.	Nathl. Ropes.
Stephen Sewall.	Benjamin Putnam.	John Pickering.	1731.	John Gardner.	1755. Same with John
Israel Porter.	Jona. Putnam.	Jos. Orne.	Thomas Barton.	1741.	Notting for Mr. Ward.
Samuel Gardiner.	John Higginson.	Wm. Pickering.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	Jos. Putnam.	1756. Same with Ste-
Wm. Hirst.	Daniel Epes.	Jos. Putnam.	Benjamin Flint.	John Gardner.	phen Higginson for
Timothy Lindall.	1708.	James Moulton.	Ichabod Plaisted.	Ben. Ives.	Mr. Nutting.
Manasseh Marston.	Josiah Wolcott.	Samuel Ruck.	Thorndike Proctor.	John Leach.	1757. Same.
John Turner.	Samuel Gardiner.	Thos. Barton.	Samuel King.	Daniel Marble.	1758. Saml. Gardner.
1697.	John Browne.	1718.	John Higginson.	Benj. Browne.	Nathl. Ropes.
Benjamin Browne.	John Turner.	Wm. Bowditch.	1732.	Daniel Epes.	Benj. Goodhue.
John Higginson.	Walter Price.	Wm. Pickering.	Thomas Barton.	T. Proctor.	Benj. Herbert.
Wm. Hirst.	Benjamin Putnam.	James Moulton.	Daniel Epes.	John Clarke.	Jona Ropes, Jr.
Stephen Sewall.	Daniel Epes.	Jacob Manning.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	1742.	1759. Same with Peter
Benjamin Putnam.	1709.	Benjamin Flint.	Thorndike Proctor.	Captain Pickman.	Frye for Nathl. Ropes.
Edward Hilliard.	Samuel Gardiner.	Benj. Gerrish.	Ichabod Plaisted.	Benj. Ives.	(The records from 1760
Samuel Nurse.	John Turner.	John Putnam.	Miles Ward.	Daniel Epes.	to 1764 are missing.)
1698.	John Higginson.	1719. Same with Thos.	John Preston.	Col. Browne.	1765.
Benjamin Browne.	Peter Osgood.	Barton for J. Putnam.	Samuel Flint.	Jos. Putnam.	Saml. Curwen.
John Higginson.	John Gardner.	1720. Same.	John Higginson.	1743.	Wm. Browne.
Wm. Hirst.	Benjamin Putnam.	1721.	1733. Same with Samuel	Benj. Ives.	Richard Leo.
Stephen Sewall.	Jona. Putnam.	Wm. Bowditch.	Browne for Ichabod	Benj. Pickman.	Richard Derby.
Samuel Browne.	1710.	Jos. Willard.	Plaisted.	Daniel Epes.	Joseph Blaney.
Benjamin Gerrish.	Stephen Sewall.	Benjamin Flint.	1734.	Jos. Putnam.	1766.
Josiah Wolcott.	Samuel Gardiner.	Benjamin Gerrish.	Thomas Barton.	Benj. Browne.	Jos. Blaney.
1699.	Jona. Putnam.	Thos. Barton.	Daniel Epes.	1744.	John White, Jr.
Josiah Wolcott.	Benjamin Putnam.	John Putnam.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	Benj. Pickman.	Jona Gardner, Jr.
Philip English.	Jos. Orne.	James Moulton.	Thorndike Proctor.	John Leach.	Jeremiah Hacker.
Daniel Andrew.	John Pickering.	1722.	Thomas Flint.	Nathanl. Andrew.	T. Proctor.
Edward Flint.	John Gardner.	Wm. Bowditch.	Samuel King.	Daniel Epes, Jr.	1767.
Jeremiah Neale.	1711.	Daniel Epes.	Ed. Kitchen.	Benj. Browne.	Jos. Blaney.
Joseph Putnam.	Josiah Wolcott.	Jos. Willard.	Israel Andrew.	Stephen Putnam.	Benj. Pickman, Jr.
Peter Osgood.	Walter Price.	Thos. Fuller.	John Higginson.	John Higginson.	Jeremiah Hacker.
1700.	Wm. Gedney.	Benjamin Flint.	1735.	1745.	T. Proctor, Jr.
Wm. Hirst.	Jos. Putnam.	Benjamin Gerrish.	Thomas Barton.	Benj. Pickman.	David Philippen.
Stephen Sewall.	John Browne.	Thos. Barton.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	Daniel Epes.	1768.
Samuel Browne.	John Trask.	1723.	Daniel Epes.	Nathl. Andrews.	Jos. Blaney.
Samuel Gardiner.	John Trask.	Wm. Bowditch.	Ichabod Plaisted.	Benj. Browne.	Jona Gardner, Jr.
Daniel Andrew.	1712.	Jacob Manning.	Thorndike Proctor.	James Putnam.	David Philippen.
Joseph Herrick.	Josiah Wolcott.	Thomas Fuller.	John Preston.	Wm. Porter.	Jeremiah Hacker.
Daniel Epes.	Benjamin Lynde.	John Cabot.	Samuel Flint.	John Higginson.	Benj. Osgood.
1701.	Wm. Gedney.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	John Turner, Jr.	1746. Same with Jona	1769.
Wm. Hirst.	Jos. Putnam.	Thos. Barton.	John Higginson.	Gardner and Thomas	George Williams.
Samuel Browne.	John Trask.	1724.	1736. Same with Samuel	Leo for Mr. Pickman.	Jacob Ashton.
Jona. Putnam.	Walter Price.	Jacob Manning.	Barton for Thomas	1747. Same with James	Saml. Barton, Jr.
Jos. Herrick.	1713.	Benjamin Flint.	Barton.	Jeffrey for Mr. Leo.	E. H. Derby.
John Higginson.	Benjamin Lynde.	Benjamin Gerrish.	1737. Same with Joshua	1748.	George Dodge.
Daniel Epes.	Daniel Epes.	Thomas Fuller.	Hicks and Samuel	Nathl. Andrew.	1770. Same with John
Stephen Sewall.	Francis Willoughby.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	Endicott for Orne	Jona Gardner.	Felt for Mr. Ashton.
1702.	Peter Osgood.	Thos. Barton.	and Proctor.	James Jeffrey.	1771. Same.
Wm. Hirst.	Walter Price.	1725. Same with Wm.	1738.	James Putnam.	1772. Same with John
Samuel Gardiner.	Abel Gardner.	Bowditch for Mr.	Daniel Epes.	T. Proctor.	Gardner for Mr. Derby
John Higginson.	Jos. Herrick.	Gerrish.	John Preston.	John Proctor, Jr.	1773.
Walter Price.	1714.	1726.	Samuel Flint.	Eben Work.	George Dodge.
John Putnam.	Wm. Gedney.	Wm. Bowditch.	Samuel Barton.	1749.	George Williams.
Jos. Herrick.	Peter Osgood.	Jacob Manning.	Joshua Hicks.	T. Proctor.	John Gardner.
Daniel Epes.	Samuel Gardiner.	Benjamin Flint.	Samuel Endicott.	Saml. Gardner.	Henry Gardner.
1703. Same.	F. Willoughby.	Benjamin Flint.	Wm. Lynde.	Warwick Palfray.	Tim. Pickering, Jr.
1704.	Wm. Pickering.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	Richard Elvires.	Saml. King.	1774. Same with Wm.
Wm. Hirst.	Walter Price.	Thomas Flint.	John Higginson.	Saml. Holton.	Pickman, and Wil-
Josiah Wolcott.	Jos. Herrick.	Thorndike Proctor.	1739.	Eben Work.	liam Northey for Mr.
Walter Price.	1715.	Thos. Barton.	John Higginson.	John Higginson.	Dodge.
John Browne.	Stephen Sewall.	1727.	Samuel Flint.	1750. Same with Saml.	1775.
John Turner.	Captain Pickering.	Same with Ichabod	Samuel Barton.	Flint for Mr. Holton.	Tim. Pickering, Jr.
Jona. Putnam.	Jos. Orne.	Plaisted for Mr.	John Preston.	1751.	T. Proctor.
Daniel Epes.	James Moulton.	Manning.	Thorndike Proctor.	Jos. Bowditch.	John Hodges.
1705. Same.	Walter Price.	1728.	Daniel Epes.	Jona Gardner.	Eben Bockford.
1706.	Philip English.	Daniel Epes.	Dr. Cabot.	John Leach.	Joseph Sprague
Samuel Gardiner.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	Jos. Orne, Jr.	Capt. Pickman.	Abraham Watson.	1776.
Walter Price.	1716.	Thomas Flint.	Capt. Ives.	John Higginson.	T. Pickering, Jr.
John Turner.	Philip English.	Ichabod Plaisted.	1740.	1752. Same with T. Proc-	John Gardner (3d).
Thomas Flint.			Thomas Flint.	tor for Mr. Higginson.	John Hodges.

Jona. Peele, Jr.	E. H. Derby.	Joshua Ward.
Eben Beckford.	1794.	B. W. Crowninshield.
Joseph Sprague.	Jona. Waldo.	Thos. M. Woodbridge.
Jacob Ashton.	Jacob Sanderson.	Joseph Ropes.
1777.	E. H. Derby.	1812.
Richard Ward.	Benj. Ward, Jr.	Samuel Ropes.
John Gardner (3d).	Edward Norris.	Abel Lawrence.
Eben Beckford.	1795. Same.	Phillip Chase.
Jacob Ashton.	1796. Same with Jona.	Wm. Mansfield.
Jona. Peele, Jr.	Lambert for Mr. Derby.	Michael Webb.
1778. Same with William Pickman for Mr. Ward.	1797. Same with Nathl. Ropes for Mr. Sanderson.	1813. Same.
1779. Same.		1814. Same.
1780.	1798. Same with Amos Hovey for Mr. Ropes.	Samuel Ropes.
Benj. Goodhue, Jr.	1799.	Abel Lawrence.
Miles Greenwood.	Jona. Waldo.	Wm. Mansfield.
John Norris.	Benj. Ward.	Abijah Northey.
Peter Landon.	Amos Hovey.	Benj. H. Hathorne.
John Buffinton.	Saml. Ward.	1816.
1781.	Jona. Lambert.	Moses Townsend.
Saml. Flagg.	1800. Same.	Joseph Winn.
John Fisk.	1801. Same with Jacob Sanderson and John Gardner for Messrs. Ward.	Joseph Ropes.
Joshua Ward.		John Crowninshield.
Jona. Ingersoll.		Henry Elkins.
Jerathiel Price.		1817.
1782.	1802.	Wm. Mansfield.
Wm. West.	John Buffinton.	Michael Webb.
Joshua Ward.	John Hathorne.	Moses Townsend.
John Appleton.	Jona. Mason.	Saml. Endicott.
Francis Cabot, Jr.	Benj. Ward, Jr.	Joseph Ropes.
Jona. Waldo.	Addison Richardson.	1818.
1783. Same with Wm. Gray for Mr. Waldo.	1803. Same with John Punchard for Mr. Mason.	Wm. Mansfield.
1784. Same with Saml. Pierce for Mr. Cabot.		Wm. Fettyplace.
1785. Same.	1804. Same with Moses Townsend for Mr. Punchard.	Saml. Endicott.
1786. Same.		Gideon Barstow.
1787.	1805.	John Prince, Jr.
John Appleton.	John Hathorne.	1819.
Joshua Ward.	Benj. Ward, Jr.	Saml. Endicott.
Wm. Gray.	Addison Richardson.	John Crowninshield.
Saml. Pierce.	Moses Townsend.	John Andrews.
John Fisk.	Nehemiah Buffinton.	John Howard.
1788.	1806.	Perley Putnam.
Wm. Gray, Jr.	Jona. Mason.	1820. Same.
Edward Pulling.	John Hathorne.	1821. Same with James Silver for Mr. Crowninshield.
John Hathorne.	B. Ward, Jr.	1822.
Saml. Ward.	Samuel Ropes.	Perley Putnam.
Edward Norris.	Henry Prince.	James Silver.
John Buffinton.	1807.	Willard Peele.
Wm. Northey.	John Hathorne.	Timothy Bryant.
1789.	Moses Townsend.	Abijah Northey.
John Fisk.	James Cheever.	1823.
Richard Ward.	Benj. Crowninshield.	Perley Putnam.
Wm. Gray.	Benj. Ropes.	Tim. Bryant.
Saml. Ward.	1808.	Andrew Tucker.
Jona. Waldo.	John Hathorne.	John Stone.
John Buffinton.	Moses Townsend.	George Hodges.
1790. Wm. Northey.	Benj. Ropes.	1824.
Joseph Sprague.	George S. Johnson.	Perley Putnam.
Geo. Crowninshield.	Joseph Ropes.	John Stone.
Nathl. Richardson.	1809.	Andrew Tucker.
John Hathorne.	Moses Townsend.	Wm. Proctor.
1791. Edward Norris.	Joseph Ropes.	Benj. Fabens.
John Hathorne.	Samuel Ropes.	1825. Same with Joseph Howard for Mr. Proctor.
Nathl. Richardson.	Edward Allen.	1826.
Jona. Waldo.	Joseph Winn.	Perley Putnam.
Nehemiah Buffinton.	1810.	Andrew Tucker.
1792. Same with Jos. Sprague for Mr. Buffington.	Moses Townsend.	Benj. Fabens.
1793. Eben Putnam.	Joseph Winn.	Joseph Howard.
John Saunders, Jr.	Jona. Neal, Jr.	John Foster.
Wm. Gray, Jr.	Joshua Ward.	1827.
Joseph White.	Benj. Crowninshield.	Andrew Tucker.
	1811.	Benj. Fabens.
	Moses Townsend.	David Moore.

Perley Putnam.	Isaac Newhall.	Holton J. Breed.
N. L. Rogers.	Benj. Blanchard.	1834.
1828. Same with Henry King for Mr. Rogers.	Jos. Boutman.	Nathl. Frothingham.
1829. Same.	1832. Same with Henry Whipple for Mr. Fabens.	Nehemiah Brown.
1830. Same with Nathl. Frothingham for Mr. Rogers.		Samuel Holman.
1831.	Nathl. Frothingham.	Porley Putnam.
Benj. Fabens.	N. L. Rogers.	George Peabody.
Nathl. Frothingham.	Joseph Biddle.	1835. Same with John Stone for Mr. Frothingham.
	David Pingree.	

The meetings of the town, in the early days of the colony, were held in the meeting-house of the First Parish. The church and the town were practically identical and the name meeting-house was derived from the fact that it was the general place of meeting, not alone on Sunday, but on all public occasions. This meeting-house stood near the southeasterly corner of Washington and Essex Streets, and was erected in 1634. About the year 1677, a building for town purposes was erected in the middle of School, now Washington Street, near what is now Lynde Street, and facing south. The upper part was fitted for a court-house, and there the Court of Oyer and Terminer, organized by Governor Phipps, in 1692, for the trial of the witches, was held.

Essex County was established May 10, 1643, and on the 14th of November, 1644, Salem was made the shire of the county; but precisely where the courts were held previously to 1677, is not definitely known. It is probable, however, that the meeting-house was used as a court-house, as well as a town-house. A prison was erected in 1668, near the southwesterly end of the meeting-house, and this fact adds force to the suggestion that the meeting-house was used for a court-house.

In 1719, a second town and court-house combined was erected on School, now Washington Street, near the southerly end of the railroad tunnel. In this building the General Court met, October 31, 1728,—April 2, May 28 and June 25, 1729,—by order of Governor Burnet, because he believed that undue influence was exerted in Boston against a grant for his salary.

On the 25th of May, 1774, the General Court was adjourned by Governor Gage, to meet at Salem on the 7th of June; and again the Salem Town-house became historic. The session lasted eleven days, during which the court protested against its removal from Boston, and on the 17th passed a resolve appointing James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams and Robert Treat Paine delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia, "to consult upon measures for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies." Upon this action, Governor Gage at once, on the same day, dissolved the court; and so ended, in the old Town-house in Salem, which ought to be standing to-day, the last General Court in Massachusetts, under a Provincial Governor.

On Thursday, the first of September, writs were issued by the Governor for a new court, to meet at

Salem on the 5th of October, but were recalled by proclamation. The Assembly met notwithstanding, and organized with John Hancock, Chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln, Clerk; and on the 7th of October voted "that the members aforesaid do now resolve themselves into a Provincial Congress, to be joined by such other persons as have been or shall be chosen for that purpose, to take into consideration the dangerous and alarming situation of public affairs in this province, and to consult and determine on such measures as they shall judge will tend to promote the true interest of His Majesty and the peace, welfare and prosperity of the province."

After this action, the Congress adjourned to Concord, where it was more formally organized by the election of Mr. Hancock, President, and Mr. Lincoln, Secretary; and after several sessions in Concord and Cambridge, finally dissolved. Thus the old Town-house again became memorable, and was not only the scene of the last act under the old dispensation, but the scene also of the first act under the new.

In 1785, another building was erected for the joint use of the town and county, in the middle of Washington Street, nearly opposite the Tabernacle Church, and town meetings were there held until the erection, in 1816, of the Town House in Derby Square, which was used until the incorporation of the city in 1836.

The second prison was built in 1684, near the corner of Federal and St. Peter's Streets, and the present prison was built in 1813.

The lands within the territory of Salem were originally held by the freemen of the town, and all grants were made by them. The historical sketch of Salem by Charles S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, published in 1879, says that,—

"With increasing population, this method of holding the lands became unwieldy and cumbersome, and in 1713 the then owners of the common lands under the province laws became organized into a quasi corporation with the title of Commoners. In 1713 the commoners granted all the highways and burying-places and common lands lying within the town bridge and block-houses to remain forever for the use of the town of Salem, and the Common was then dedicated forever as a training-field. In 1714 the commoners, at a meeting held at the meeting-house of the first parish in Salem, voted that Winter Island be wholly removed and granted for the use of the fishing rights to use the same to be let by the Selectmen of Salem; and the same year the Neck lands were granted and reserved to the town of Salem for a pasture for milch cows and riding horses, the same to be fenced at the town's charge.

"In 1722-23, Feb. 26, the grand Committee of the commoners who had charge of affairs reported the whole number of rights to be 1132, and the number of acres held, 3733. Several distinct proprietaries were formed under an act of the colonial legislature; and the commoners of the two lower parishes having 790 rights and 2500 acres of land lying between Spring Pond and Forest River, organized themselves into a corporation. This organization continued until 1855, when they were incorporated into the Great Pasture Company, and by that company the last of the common lands, about 400 acres in extent, are now held."

The training-field referred to in the above extract was at the time of its grant an uneven and spongy piece of ground, scarcely fit for the use to which it was dedicated until 1801, when Elias Hasket Derby, the colonel of the militia, raised about two thousand

five hundred dollars by subscription and put it in order. In 1802 it was named by the selectmen Washington Square, and it is now enclosed by an iron fence, within which are two rows of trees, mostly elms.

In the early part of 1836 a determined effort was made to change the town government for that of a city. The population of the town, which, according to the census of 1830, was 13,886, had then probably reached 15,000. Its property valuation the year before was \$8,250,000, and the amount raised by taxation for county and town expenses was \$40,391.31. The amount of tonnage of vessels owned in the district, which included Beverly, was 34,906, consisting of 30 ships, 12 barks, 70 brigs, 124 schooners and 14 sloops. The expression of the town was that of a city, except so far as its form of government was concerned. It had a police court, of which Elisha Mack was the judge, and Ezekiel Savage and Joseph G. Waters were the special justices. Its lawyers were Leverett Saltonstall, Benjamin Merrill, John Glen King, Larkin Thorndike, Solomon S. Whipple, Ebenezer Shillaber, Joseph G. Waters, Asahel Huntington, Stephen P. Webb, David Roberts, George Wheatland, Nathaniel J. Lord, Charles A. Andrews, Francis H. Silsbee, George H. Devereux, John S. Williams, Joseph H. Prince and Jonathan C. Perkins. Its physicians were Oliver Hubbard, Joseph Torrey, Samuel Johnson, Abel L. Pierson, George Choate, John G. Treadwell, Edward A. Holyoke, Benjamin Cox, Elisha Quimby, Nathaniel Peabody Dentist, A. J. Bellows and Horatio Robinson.

It had seventeen churches and chapels, eight stock banks, with a combined capital of one million eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, one savings bank, five stock insurance companies with a combined capital of eight hundred thousand dollars, one Mutual Fire Insurance Company, one Latin school, one English high school, seven English schools, one of which was for colored children, two girls' high schools, seven primary schools and forty-seven private schools. It had also among the libraries the Salem Atheneum with seven thousand five hundred volumes, the Essex and another circulating library with six thousand volumes, the Salem Mechanic Association's Library with seven hundred and fifty volumes, the Colman Circulating Library with five hundred volumes and the Essex Historical Society Library. In the fire department there were one receiving and eight suction engines, one hose company, one hook and ladder company and three sail carriages, and there were in the militia the Salem Light Infantry, the Mechanic Light Infantry, the Salem Artillery, the Salem Independent Cadets and four companies of infantry of the line. The newspapers at that time were the *Salem Gazette*, issued semi-weekly, Tuesday and Friday, started in 1773; the *Essex Register*, semi-weekly, Monday and Thursday, established in 1800; the *Salem Observer*, weekly, Saturday, established in 1822; the *Salem Mercury*, weekly, Wednesday, established in 1831;

the *Commercial Advertiser*, weekly, Wednesday, established in 1832; and the *Landmark*, semi-weekly, Wednesday and Saturday, established in 1834.

At that time railroad connections had not been made and the following facilities for travel were open to the people of Salem. The Salem and Boston Stage Company advertised that seats could be taken at the Lafayette Coffee House, Salem Hotel, at the office in Court Street, and at the office in West Place, and that three stages would leave at seven A. M., two at 7½, one at eight, one at nine, one at ten, one at two P. M., one at 1½ and one at four P. M., all returning the same day. On Sunday, one at four P. M.

Osborne's Line left the office on Essex Street, nearly opposite the market, daily, except Sunday, at seven A. M., returning in the afternoon.

The stages of the Great Eastern Line left the Coffee House for Boston at 10½ A. M., 2½ P. M., 3½ P. M., and 4 and 6 P. M.

Besides this there were the Gloucester, and Beverly, and Manchester, and Marblehead, and Lynn stages.

At a town-meeting held on the 29th of January, 1836, "to act on the petition of George Peabody and others to ascertain the sense of the town in relation to the adoption of a city form of government and to take any measure in relation thereto." Leverett Saltonstall was chosen moderator. It was voted on motion of Elias Hasket Derby "that a committee of three be chosen from each ward, who, together with the selectmen, shall be a committee to take the subject into consideration and to report at an adjournment of this meeting as to the expediency of adopting a city form of government," and the following were chosen to serve on the committee:

Ward 1. Thomas Farlow.	Ward 3. Jos S. Chisol.
Joseph G. Waters.	Wm. B. Pike.
Joseph Hodges.	Leverett Saltonstall.
Ward 2. Holton J. Breed.	Ward 4. N. L. Rogers.
Nathl. Silsbee, Jr.	Michael Shepard.
J. T. Andrew.	Eben Symonds.

The town at that time had been divided into districts or wards under the provisions of law now contained in the thirty-fourth chapter of the General Statutes.

At the adjourned meeting held on the 15th of February it was voted in accordance with the report of the committee that it was expedient to adopt a city form of government, and that the committee with six added, be instructed to draw up and submit to the Legislature an act for that purpose, which shall not take effect unless accepted by the people. Joseph Peabody, Benjamin Merrill, Gideon Barstow, Eben Shillaber, Isaac Cushing and Nathaniel J. Lord were added to the committee.

An act "to establish the city of Salem" was approved by Edward Everett, Governor, March 23, 1836, and warrants were at once issued for a town-meeting to be held April 4th. At this meeting Benjamin Merrill was chosen moderator, and on the question of the acceptance of the charter eight hundred and

two votes were cast, of which six hundred and seventeen were in the affirmative. On the 25th of April an election was held for mayor, six aldermen and twenty-four members of the council. Of 1104 votes for mayor Leverett Saltonstall received 752; Perley Putnam, 260; George Peabody, 56; and David Putnam, 36. The organization of the government took place in the Tabernacle Church, on Monday, May 9th, when, after a prayer by Rev. Dr. Brazer and the administering of the oath of office by David Cummins, one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, the mayor delivered his address. Thus the second incorporated city in the Commonwealth entered upon its career. Boston had been incorporated only fourteen years before, February 22, 1822, and Lowell, the third city, was incorporated less than a month afterwards, on the 1st of April, 1836.

It is not proposed in this chapter, somewhat disjointed and fragmentary in its character, to enter into any details of the history of the city. It is intended merely to supply such deficiencies as other chapters covering various specified departments necessarily leave.

It was not until December, 1837, that any movement was made towards the adoption of a city seal. On the 18th of that month an order was introduced into the Board of Aldermen, providing for the appointment of two members with such as the Council might join to consider and report upon the expediency of procuring a seal. The Council concurred, and on the 19th of February, 1838, at a meeting of the Aldermen an ordinance was introduced providing that a device should be adopted with the word Salem in the centre, inclosed in an olive wreath, and in a circle round the margin the words "Founded Sept.", 1628. City Incorporated, 1836." This ordinance was passed by the Aldermen on the date of its introduction, but in the Council it was referred on the 5th of March to its committee on the seal, who on the 12th reported a recommendation which was adopted that the further consideration of the ordinance be referred to the next City Council. On the 9th of April, 1838, the ordinance was taken from the files and referred to a joint special committee, consisting of Aldermen Peabody and Holman, and Councilmen Oliver, Putnam and Hunt. Mr. George Peabody submitted a device to the committee of which he was the chairman, which with some alterations was approved. On the 25th of February, 1839, the committee through Henry K. Oliver, chairman, on the part of the Council reported to the Council "an ordinance to establish the City Seal." Be it ordained by the City Council of the city of Salem that the following be the device of the seal of said city, to wit: In the centre thereof a shield bearing upon it a ship under full sail, approaching a coast, designated by the costume of the person standing upon it and by the trees near him, as a portion of the East Indies; beneath the shield this motto, "Divitis Indiæ usque ad ultimum sinum," signifying

"To the farthest port of the rich east," and above the shield a dove bearing an olive branch in her mouth. In the circumference encircling the shield the words:

" *Solyma condita*, 1628.
Salem founded, 1628."

" *Civitas regimine donata*, 1836.
Incorporated as a City, 1836."

The ordinance was recommitted with instructions to ascertain the correct date of the settlement of the city, but finally adopted after substituting 1626 for 1628, and changing *Solyma* to *Salem*. The committee to whom the date of settlement was referred reported that they had "investigated the subject and do not find any reason for changing the date as at present affixed to the proposed seal. As the history of the settlement of the town is so well known, they do not think it necessary to bring forward all the facts in relation to it. The whole question seems to turn upon the point whether the settlement is to date from the time when Roger Conant, Peter Palfray and others came here in 1626, and built a few houses, but without the means of remaining, or the time in 1628, when Endicott came out with colonists, and all the means necessary for founding a colony. The subject may admit of some argument, but the committee are of opinion that it would be better to fix the period of foundation of the town as it has been generally regarded, and will be found stated in many of our valuable gazeteers and other similar books in 1628, as this was undoubtedly the first permanent settlement." This report was signed by George Peabody, chairman, but notwithstanding its recommendation the date was changed as we have seen to 1626, and the seal was finally adopted March 11, 1839, nearly three years after the incorporation of the city.

The introduction of water into Salem, and the final evolution of its present water system cover a period of more than sixty years. The first practical scheme for the supply of water for the inhabitants of Salem and Danvers was conceived in 1796. About that time a wave of excitement swept over the State concerning the supply of water to towns, and during the last five years of the last century a number of water companies were incorporated. Luther Eames and others, of Boston, were incorporated Feb. 27, 1795; Lemuel Stewart and others, of Williamstown, Feb. 26, 1796; Theodore Sedgwick and others, of Stockbridge, June 15, 1796; John Bacon and others, of Richmond, November 24, 1796; Calvin Whiting and others, of Dedham, June 15, 1796; Chandler Robbins and others, of the South Parish of Hallowell, then in Massachusetts, February 9, 1797; Eli Stearns and others, of Lancaster, February 14, 1797; and Wm. Davis and others, of Plymouth, February 27, 1797.

A meeting of those interested in the scheme was held December 30, 1796, at the Sun Tavern, and those present were Abel Lawrence, William Gray, Jr., Samuel Gray, Joshua Ward, Ichabod Nichols, William Orne, Jerath Pierce, William Lang, Nathaniel

West, Jacob Ashton, Squiers Shove, John Jenks, Edward Southwick, Jonathan Dean, Joseph Fenno, Benjamin Carpenter, Abner Chase, Philip Chase, Aaron Wait, Jacob Crowninshield, Joseph Aborn, James Bott, Edward Pulling, Folger Pope, John Gardner, Jr., Samuel Derby, John Norris and John Daland. Mr. Ashton was chairman, and John Jenks clerk, and a committee was appointed consisting of Edward Southwick, of Danvers, William Gray, Jr., and Joshua Ward, of Salem, to procure an act of incorporation. A charter was accordingly obtained, dated March 9th, 1797, under the style of the "Proprietors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct." The charter provided that the towns of Salem and Danvers should have the privilege of placing conductors into the pipes for the purpose of drawing such water therefrom as might be necessary "when any mansion house or barn or other building" should be on fire, without paying therefor.

The proprietors organized April 7, 1797, by the choice of William Gray, Jr., president; Jacob Ashton, vice-president; John Jenks, treasurer; Joshua Ward and John Norris, of Salem, and Edward Southwick, of Danvers, directors. Thomas Nichols was chosen agent. The capital was fixed at ten thousand dollars, divided into a hundred shares of one hundred dollars each. The plant of the company consisted at first of a large hogshead sunk into the spongy ground in the neighborhood of Brown's and Spring Pond, of pine logs with a three inch bore, and a reservoir on Gallows Hill, ten feet deep and twenty-four feet square. The works were completed in the spring of 1799, and water was supplied to families at a yearly rate of five dollars. This rate was raised the next year to sixty cents per month. In 1802 a new fountain was built on land bought of William Shillaber to the southwest of the old one, and the supply was sufficient to enable the company to lead a pipe to Gray's Wharf and sell water to the shipping at twelve and a half cents per hogshead.

In 1804 the old logs were replaced by new ones with five-inch bore and paid for by assessments on the shares which, up to 1807, amounted to two hundred and sixty-five dollars per share, or twenty-six thousand five hundred dollars in all. In 1805 a new tariff of rates was adopted similar to that of the Boston company, to wit:—

For a family of five persons.....	Eight dollars.
For a family of six and less than twelve.....	Ten "
For a family of twelve or upwards.....	Twelve "
For a public or boarding house.....	Twelve "
For a West India Goods Store, from.....	Eight to Twelve "
For a mansion house and West India Goods Store under the same roof, to be supplied from one tube.....	Sixteen dollars.

Up to November, 1807, the company had expended on their works, including lost dividends, forty-four thousand one hundred dollars, making the cost of the shares four hundred and forty-one dollars each. In 1810 William Gray, Jr., resigned the presidency, and was succeeded by Jacob Ashton. In 1816, owing to

a deficiency of water, all branches leading to manufactories, bathing houses and stables were cut off, and precautions were taken against waste. At a date not far from 1817 another reservoir was built on Sewall Street with a capacity of twenty-two thousand gallons, and up to 1818, from 1807, regular dividends, with three exceptions, were paid. In 1819 an arrangement was made with the Salem Iron Company to erect a boring mill, and for the first time the logs were bored by machinery. During the period extending from 1818 to 1821 the earnings of the company were expended in laying new yellow pine logs, and very soon after arrangements were made with a view of connecting the pipes by iron castings. Up to this time it is presumed that in Salem as in other places one end of the log was tapered down and driven into its fellow log, the bore of which had been reamed out to receive it. An iron band encircled the butt of each log to prevent splitting when driven into. The iron connections were tubes tapered slightly on the outside at each end and with a flange in the middle. This flange served two purposes, preventing unequal entrances of the two ends of the tube, and when settled in the body of the wood by the operation of driving the logs home, lessening the danger of a leak.

In the winter of 1829-30 Mr. Ashton, the president, died, and Joseph Peabody took his place. From 1821 to about 1834 the affairs of the company went on smoothly, and for the most part regular dividends were paid. Little complaint was heard of a scarcity of water, but this was owing less to the abundance of supply than to the low standard of people's wants compared with those of to-day, and to the free use of pumps and wells owned either by individuals or the town. In 1855 there were no less than sixty town pumps in various streets, of which the following is a list:—

Two in English Street.....	near Derby Street.
One in Derby Street.....	near Turner Street.
Two in Derby Street.....	near the Custom House.
Two in Essex Street.....	near Herbert Street.
Two in Neptune Street.....	near Elm Street.
Two in Liberty Street.....	near the Centre.
Two in Derby Square.....	
Two in Washington Street.....	corner of Essex Street.
Two in Bridge Street.....	near Pleasant Street.
Two at foot of Central Street.....	
Two in East Street.....	near Essex Street.
Two in Essex Street.....	near Daniels Street.
Two in Bath Street.....	near Newbury Street.
Two in Brown Street.....	near Winter Street.
Two in St. Peter Street.....	near Brown Street.
Two in Marlboro Street.....	near the Court House.
Two in Mill Street.....	near Norman Street.
Two in High Street.....	near the Centre.
One in Crombie Street.....	near the Centre.
Two in Essex Street.....	near Summer Street.
Two in Essex Street.....	near Hamilton Street.
Two in Essex Street.....	near Flint Street.
Two in Essex Street.....	near Buffum's Corner.
One in Sewall Street.....	near the Centre.
Two in Federal Street.....	near North Street.
Two in Federal Street.....	near Beckford Street.
Two in Federal Street.....	near Dean Street.

Two in Boston Street.....	near Federal Street.
Two in Boston Street.....	near Smith's Store.
Two in North Salem.....	
One in South Salem.....	near Peabody Street.
Two in South Salem.....	near Putnam's Store.

In 1834 an act of incorporation was obtained by another company, but its operations were successfully checked by a reduction of the tariff, and no action was taken under its charter. In the same year a six-inch iron pipe was laid in Essex Street from North to Newbury Streets, at a cost of five thousand dollars, which sum was paid out of the earnings of the company. At various other times new pipes were laid, old lines of pipe extended and the fountain reservoirs improved and enlarged, so that in 1844 it was estimated that the company had expended one hundred thousand dollars on their works. In 1849 the condition of the company had become so perplexing, owing to increasing demands for water without adequate means of supplying it, that its stockholders became somewhat discouraged. At this juncture the steam cotton mill felt greatly the need of water, and its proprietors conceived the project of buying up the shares of the Aqueduct and securing control of the corporation. The result was a revolution in the organization of the company and the election of a new board of management, consisting of William D. Waters, president; Ebenezer Sutton, vice-president; and Joseph S. Leavitt, John Lovejoy, William Lummis and C. M. Endicott, directors. Under the new management the number of shares was increased to one thousand at one hundred dollars each, a line of pipe was laid to Spring Pond; the capital was again increased to two hundred thousand dollars and before the summer of 1850 an iron main pipe of twelve inches bore, measuring sixteen thousand one hundred and sixty-five feet, was completed, with a reservoir capable of holding six hundred and fifty-two thousand gallons. From this time on until 1860 improvements and extensions were constantly going on, iron pipes replacing the decayed wooden ones and sources of supply being enlarged to such proportions that at the last mentioned date a statement of the affairs of the company showed a capital stock of two hundred thousand dollars, forty miles of pipe including branches, thirty-six hundred takers, and reservoirs and fountains of one million one hundred thousand gallons capacity besides Spring Pond of fifty-nine acres as a reserve. But still the supply was inadequate to meet the demand, and in 1865, with a view to defeat the movement then going on to build city water-works, a connection was made with Brown's Pond, and a sixteen-inch main laid as far as the head of Federal Street. But the movement on the part of the city could not be checked,—it went successfully on, and the result was the retirement of the old company and the use of its pipes for the supply of the adjoining town of Peabody.

It is not necessary to give a detailed history of the present water system. A brief sketch will be suffi-

cient. On the 12th of October, 1863, John Bertram and ninety-three others petitioned the City Council "to take the necessary measures to procure from the Legislature power to establish city water-works." On the 23d of November, 1863, the City Council chose in convention, Stephen H. Phillips, James B. Curwen and James Upton, a committee to collect evidence showing the necessity of a larger supply of water and submit the same to the Legislature in support of the petition which the mayor had been directed to present when action was taken on the petition of Mr. Bertram. The petition of the mayor, supplemented by a second petition, asked for authority to take water from Humphrey's, Brown's and Spring Ponds and Wenham Lake. At the hearing before the Committee of the Legislature, on the 29th of February, 1864, the petitioners were represented by Robert S. Rantoul, and were opposed by the Aqueduct Company. On the 13th of May, 1864, an act was approved which provided that the city might take water from either Wenham Lake, or Brown's and Spring Ponds, and that the City Council should determine by joint ballot at least fourteen days before the first Monday in December, 1864, which source they would select, the act to be void unless accepted by a majority of the voters at a meeting to be held on that day. On the 14th of November, 1864, the City Council decided by a vote of twenty-two to five to select Wenham Lake, and on the 5th of December, the citizens voted to accept the act by a vote of ten hundred and twenty-three yeas to one hundred and fifty-one nays.

On the 22d of May, 1865, Stephen H. Phillips, James B. Curwen and James Upton, were chosen water commissioners, and on the 26th of June, Franklin T. Sanborn and Peter Silver were chosen in the places of Messrs. Curwen and Upton, who declined to serve. Mr. Phillips was made chairman, James Slade was appointed engineer, Charles A. Swan assistant engineer and Daniel H. Johnson, Jr., clerk. After many vexatious delays, on the 12th of February, 1866, the commissioners advertised for proposals for the construction of a reservoir on Chipman's Hill, in Beverly, and on the 18th of May the work was begun, by Collins & Boyle, the contractors. In July a Worthington pumping engine was bought at a cost of forty thousand dollars, and in the same month Willard P. Phillips was chosen commissioner in the place of his brother, Stephen H. Phillips, who had resigned. In October, contracts were made with J. W. and J. F. Starr, for six thousand feet of thirty inch, and twenty-five thousand feet of twenty inch iron pipe, and in the following April, with Boynton Brothers, for a pipe bridge and syphon at Bass River.

On the 3d of February, 1868, a contract was made with George H. Norman, of Newport, R. I., to furnish and lay the iron and cement distribution pipes, and to set hydrants and gates. On Wednesday, December 2, 1868, the filling of the distribution pipes

commenced, and on the 25th the houses and citizens were supplied. On the 19th of November, 1869, Mr. Phillips, on the part of the commissioners, transferred the charge of the works to the City Council, up to which time the amount expended was one million dollars.

Wenham Lake is situated in Beverly, and Wenham has an area of three hundred and twenty acres, with an extreme depth of fifty-three feet and a level of thirty-one feet above mean high tide. Its distance from City Hall is four miles and six-tenths, and it is capable of supplying two and a half millions of gallons of water daily. The reservoir on Chipman's Hill is four hundred feet square, with a capacity of twenty million gallons, and a level, when filled, one hundred and forty-two feet above mean high tide.

The works are in the charge of a board of five members, one of whom is chosen annually by concurrent vote of the City Council for the term of five years. Up to December 1, 1885, the total cost of the works was \$1,423,783.48, and the income from rates for the year 1885 was \$62,886.47. The number of takers is at present about 8000.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.—The extraordinary delusion concerning witchcraft which prevailed in Salem during the latter part of the seventeenth century must not be omitted in this narrative. It furnishes material for a sad chapter in the history of the town, and one which every lover of his kind pitying their infirmities, and sympathizing with their woes, would gladly see expunged and forgotten. It was no new delusion, and in Salem was only peculiar in the extent to which it possessed and influenced the minds of men. It was a part of the theology of the times, and had been handed down from generation to generation, from the earliest days of Christian history. In the 18th verse of the 22d chapter of Exodus it is written, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." In the 27th verse of the 20th chapter of Leviticus it is also written, "A man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones; their blood shall be upon them," and in the 18th chapter of Deuteronomy are found these words: "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter or a witch; or a charmer or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer, for all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord; and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."

A belief in witchcraft was universal, for it rested on what was thought to be divine authority. It was confined to no class, no order of minds, no degree of education. It was as much a matter of fact as the fires of hell and infant damnation. Nor was the punishment of death judged by the standards of the day excessive or unjust. As early as 1646 the Massachusetts Gene-

ral Court, following scriptural command, passed a law that "if any man or woman be a witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit they shall be put to death." At the same time thirteen other offenses were made punishable by death in accordance with quoted passages of Scripture; nor does this seem so strange when we reflect that the only lingering argument for capital punishment in our own day rests on the Old Testament books of Exodus and Numbers and Leviticus, which declare that "he that killeth any man shall surely be put to death."

So far was obedience to Scripture authority carried in dealing with actual or constructive offenses that after the defeat and death of King Philip, in 1676, most of the ministers of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies who were consulted as to what disposition should be made of his innocent son quoted from the Bible to justify their opinion that he should be put to death. Among those consulted were Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, Rev. Samuel Arnold of Marshfield and Rev. Increase Mather of Boston. The two former, in a united opinion, said "they humbly conceive on serious consideration, that children of notorious traitors, rebels and murderers, especially of such as have been principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, and that against a whole nation; yea, the whole Israel of God may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may *Salva republica* be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the Scripture instances of Saul, Achan, Haman, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their parents, although concerning some of these children it may be manifest that they were not capable of being co-actors therein."

Mr. Mather said: "It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him. He makes me think of Hadad, who was but a little child when his father (the chiefsachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and had not others fled away with him I am apt to think that David would have taken a course that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation."

This incident is quoted to show how potent in the witchcraft age what was believed to be literally the word of God was in its control over the judgments and actions of men.

Nor was the delusion confined to New England. It prevailed wherever the Scriptures were read and were recognized as authority. Chief Justice Matthew Hale, in his charge to the jury, on the trial of Rose Cullender and Amy Deering for witchcraft, in 1665, said: "That there were such creatures as witches he made no doubt at all. For first the Scriptures had affirmed so much. Secondly, the wisdom of all nations had provided laws against such persons, which is an argument in their confidence of such a crime. And such hath been the judgment of the Kingdom, as appears by an Act of Parliament which hath provided punishment proportionate to the quality of the offence."

The expression of such an opinion by the highest legal authority in England, and the existence of the statute to which he refers are sufficient to illustrate the universal prevalence of the delusion and the belief in the necessity of the severest punishment of the guilty.

It was not Salem witchcraft, but the witchcraft of the world. The people of Salem were constituted like others of their generation. The inflammable material lying hidden within the delusion existed in every community; it happened to be Salem where the spark ignited them and caused the consuming flame. It has been estimated that in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, more than a hundred thousand of both sexes were convicted of witchcraft and burned, drowned or hanged.

All through the earlier life of the American colonies there had been what might be called sporadic cases of supposed witchcraft which finally resulted like sporadic cases of disease in a violent epidemic at Salem. Hon. Wm. D. Northend in an address delivered December 8, 1885, before the Essex Bar Association says that "within half a century before the trials for witchcraft in this (Essex) county, accusations against persons for witchcraft had been made in Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge, Springfield, Hadley, Groton, Newbury, Rowley, Salisbury, Hartford, Hampton, Portsmouth and Salmon Falls in New Hampshire. During this period in the colony five persons were executed upon conviction of witchcraft, as follows: Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, executed at Boston, June 15, 1648; the wife of Henry Lake, of Dorchester, about 1650; Annie Hibbins, of Boston, June 19, 1656; Mary Parsons, of Springfield, May 29, 1657; and Goody Glover, of Boston, November 16, 1686."

There had been also accusations within the county of Essex and in Salem and its vicinity. In 1658 John Godfrey, of Andover, was accused of causing losses in the estate of several people and "some affliction in their bodies also." In November, 1669, "Goody Burt," a widow, was prosecuted, a physician testifying that no natural cause could have led to such effects as were wrought by her. Phillip Reed, a physician, preferred similar charges against Margaret Gifford, and in 1679 Caleb Powell was arrested as the warrant of arrest stated "for suspicion of working with the Devil to the molesting of William Morse and his family."

It is worthy of note that the delusion concerning witchcraft never made any considerable headway in the Plymouth colony. The people of that colony probably had as firm a faith in witchcraft as the people of Massachusetts, but it never grew into a panic as it did in the sister colony. Their laws against witchcraft were as severe as those of Massachusetts, and death was the punishment for "solemn compaction or conversing with the devil by way of witchcraft or conjunction." Only two cases, however, were

brought before the courts of the colony, in one of which the accuser was sentenced to be either whipped or to make public acknowledgement of her offense, and in the other the accused was acquitted. The following record of these cases may be interesting to readers:

"General Court, March 5, 1669.

"Joseph Sylvester, of Marshfield, doth acknowledge to owe and to stand indebted unto his majesty, his heirs, &c., in the sum of twenty pounds sterling in good and current pay; the condition of this obligation is that in case Dina Sylvester shall and doth appear at the Court of assistants to be holden at Plymouth, the first Tuesday in May next, and attend the Courts determination in reference to a complaint made by Wm. Holmes and his wife about a matter of defamation; that then this obligation to be void or otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

"In witness the above bounden hath hereunto set his hand the 9th of March, 1669.

"JOSEPH SYLVESTER.

"Dina Sylvester being examined saith the bear she saw was about a stone's throw from the highway when she saw it; and being examined and asked what manner of tail the bear had, she said she could not tell for his head was towards her.

"May 9, 1661. Concerning the complaint of Wm. Holmes, of Marshfield, against Dina Sylvester for accusing his wife to be a witch. The Court have sentenced that the said Dina shall either be publicly whipped and pay the sum of five pounds to the said Wm. Holmes, or in case she the said Dina Sylvester shall make public acknowledgement of her fault in the premises that then she shall bear only the charge the Plaintiff hath been at in the prosecution of his said suit. The latter of which was chosen and done by the said Dina Sylvester, viz., a public acknowledgement made as followeth.

"May 9, 1661. To the Hon. Court assembled, whereas I have been convicted in matter of defamation concerning Goodwife Holmes, I do hereby acknowledge I have injured my neighbor and have sinned against God in so doing, though I had entertained hard thoughts against the woman; for it had been my duty to declare my grounds, if I had any, unto some magistrate in a way of God and not to have divulged my thoughts to others to the woman's defamation. Therefore I do acknowledge my sin in it, and do humbly beg this Honorable Court to forgive me and all other Christian people that be offended at it, and do promise by the help of God to do so no more; and, although, I do not remember all that the witnesses do testify, I do rather mistrust my memory and submit to the evidence.

"The mark of DINAH SYLVESTER.

"March 6, 1676-77.

"The Inditement of Mary Ingham.

"Mary Ingham: Thou art indicted by the name of Mary Ingham, the wife of Thomas Ingham, of the towne of Scituate in the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth for that thou, having not the feare of God before thine eyes, hast by the heelp of the devill in a way of witchcraft or sorcery, maliciously procured much hurt, mischeiffe and paine unto the body of Mehittable Woodworth, the daughter of Walter Woodworth, of Scituate aforesaid, and some others and particularly causing her the said Mehittable to fall into violent fits, and causing great paine unto severall parts of her body att severall times, soe as shew the said Mehittable Woodworth hath bin almost bereaved of her senses, and hath greatly languished, to her much suffering thereby, and the procuring of great greiffe sorrow and charge to her parents; all which thou hast procured and don against the law of God, and to his great dishonor and contrary to our sov lord the Kings, his crowne and dignitee.

"The said Mary Ingham did putt herselfe on the tryall of God and

the country and was cleared of this inditement in procease of law by a jury of twelve men whose names follow:

<p>"Sworn. { Mr. Thos. Hucksom, John Wadsworth. John Howland. Abraham Jackson. Benajah Pratt. John Blacke.</p>	<p>Sworn. { Martha Snow. Joseph Bartlett. John Richmond. Jered Talbott. John Foster. Beth Pope.</p>
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"The jury brought in not guilty, and soe the said prisoner was cleared as above said."

While the witchcraft panic never extended to the old colony, the case of Dinah Sylvester, above quoted, bears the strongest internal evidence of the deep-seated belief there in witchcraft itself. That it should have been considered a serious defamation of character, and a deadly wound to personal reputation to be charged with communing with the devil shows that such a communion was an offense in the existence of which the whole community had faith, and one as real and positive as murder or any other well defined crime. It is probable that if at the commencement of the panic an accuser had received the punishment awarded to Dinah Sylvester, it would never have passed beyond its incipient and opening stage.

Various causes have been assigned to the outbreak of the excitement in Salem and its mad, but fortunately short, career. None of them, however, are satisfactory. Like vitiated blood in the human system, it gradually and necessarily came to a head, and as the location of the ulcer which gives relief to the body depends on some trivial and unknown cause, so in some mysterious and accidental way Salem became the gathering point from which was to be thrown off that insane delusion, which had for generations and centuries poisoned and terrified the minds of men. In the early months of the year 1692 the panic began. On the 29th of February warrants were issued for the arrest of Tituba, an Indian servant of Mr. Parris, Sarah Osborn, a woman who was bed-ridden, and Sarah Good, a woman of ill-repute, who, upon the complaint of Joseph Hutchinson, Edward Putnam, Thomas Putnam and Thomas Preston, were charged with afflicting sundry persons in remarkable and unaccountable ways. Other accusations and arrests speedily followed. Mr. Upham, in his exhaustive work on witchcraft, says,—"There was no longer any doubt in the mass of the community that the devil had effected a lodgment in Salem village. Church members, persons of all social positions, of the highest repute and profession of piety, eminent for visible manifestations of devotion, and of every age, had joined his standard and become his active allies and confederates." Arrest followed arrest, each arrest adding to the panic, and the panic leading to new arrests. On the arrival of Sir William Phips at Boston on the 14th of May, 1692, bearing the charter of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England," and his commission as its Governor, the prisons at Salem, Ipswich, Boston and Cambridge were full of persons awaiting trial for the crime of witch-

craft. Governor Phipps was a believer in witchcraft, as was William Stoughton, the Lieutenant-Governor, and took immediate steps to bring the accused to trial. Under the charter the General Court alone had the power to establish courts of justice, but by an unwarrantable usurpation of authority, the Governor organized a Court of Oyer and Terminer to act in and for the counties of Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex, and appointed William Stoughton, of Dorchester, chief justice, and Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill, Major John Richards, of Boston, Major Bartholomew Gedney, of Salem, Wait Winthrop, Captain Samuel Sewall and Peter Sargent, of Boston, associate justices. Mr. Saltonstall declined the appointment, and Jonathan Corwin, of Salem, was appointed in his place. Stephen Sewall was appointed clerk, and Thomas Newton attorney-general, the latter being succeeded in office, July 22, 1692, by Anthony Checkley. George Corwin, of Salem, was appointed sheriff. The commissions of the court were dated May 27, 1692, and the court convened at the court-house in Salem on the 2d of June. The court-house and the Salem town-house were combined in one building, which stood in the middle of what is now Washington Street, near Lynde Street, and facing south. Under the colony a law had been passed, as has already been stated, making witchcraft a crime, and fixing as a penalty the punishment of death. Sir Edward Andros during his administration adopted the colony laws, but after his expulsion and under the new charter it was supposed that prosecutions for witchcraft could only be made under the old English statute of James the First. The first trial was that of Bridget Bishop, of Salem. She was convicted on the 8th of June and executed on Gallows Hill on the 10th. On the day of her conviction the General Court came together and passed an act reviving the old colonial law, and under that law it is presumed the subsequent trials were held. After the conviction of Bridget Bishop the court adjourned to June 29th. During the recess the Governor and Council sought the advice of the principal ministers in Boston and vicinity, who on the 15th of June replied in writing, advising that all the proceedings should be "managed with an exceeding tenderness towards those who may be complained of, especially if they have been persons formerly of an unblemished reputation;" "that the evidence ought certainly to be more considerable than barely the accused persons being represented by a spectre unto the afflicted, and that they should not esteem alterations made in the sufferers by a look or touch of the accused to be an infallible evidence of guilt." They nevertheless recommended "speedy and vigorous prosecutions," according to the directions given in the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation for the detection of witchcraft.

The court again met on the 29th of June, and continued with several adjournments to September 17th, when it adjourned to the first Tuesday in November,

before which time it was formally dissolved. During its various sessions twenty-seven persons were convicted and condemned to death, as follows,—Bridget Bishop, Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Susanna Martin, Rebecca Nurse, George John Proctor, George Jacobs, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Martha Corey, Mary Eastey, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilmot Reed, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Elizabeth Proctor, Dorcas Hoar, Mary Bradbury, Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster, Abigail Hobbs and Abigail Faulkner. Of these Elizabeth Proctor was pardoned on the ground of insufficient evidence, and the six following her on the list finally escaped punishment. Such is the record of a court established expressly for the trial of crimes punishable by death, but without a justice on its bench educated to the law. In such a court unfamiliar with judicial methods, ignorant of the rules of evidence and not untouched by the popular frenzy, the trials were little more than a formal condemnation of persons already tried and convicted by the judgment of an excited and reckless people.

After the dissolution of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, the Superior Court of Judicature was established in November, 1692, with William Stoughton chief justice, and Thomas Danforth, Wait Winthrop, John Richards and Samuel Sewall associate justices. This court had jurisdiction in cases of witchcraft, and at its session in Essex County in the January following, indictments for the offense were found against fifty persons, and all who were tried were acquitted except three, and these were pardoned by the Governor. All not tried were discharged on payment of thirty shillings each to the attorney general. At the first session of the Court of Middlesex County several persons in prison under indictments were tried but all were acquitted. The storm of infatuation had burst and spent its force, the moral atmosphere of the community was cleared and the sober judgment of men once more held away. Let the present generation while it passes judgment on the delusions of a former age be sure that it is itself, free from delusions and follies if less dangerous and cruel, yet as little conformable to the standards and tests which wisdom and common sense should apply to the acts of men.

Little remains to be mentioned in this chapter. The industries, the schools, the churches, the commerce, the military, and many of the leading associations, are fully treated in other chapters. The following perhaps imperfect list will furnish some idea of the field in which the literary and scientific and benevolent tastes and energies of the people of Salem find opportunities for their exercise,—

Salem Athenæum.....	Incorporated in 1810
Salem Lyceum.....	Instituted in 1830
Young Men's Union.....	Instituted in 1855
Salem Marine Society.....	Instituted in 1766
East India Marine Society.....	Instituted in 1799
Salem Fraternity.....	organized in 1860

Salom Symphony Club.....organized in 1886
Colonel Henry Merritt Camp No. 8 of Sons of Veterans,
organized in 1894
Urban Club.....organized in 1894
Ward One Associates.....organized in 1895
Twelve Temperance Associations.
Winslow Lewis Commandery, Knights Templar.....org. in 1895
Salom Council Royal and Select Masters (Masons).....inst. in 1819
Washington Royal Arch Chapter (Masons)..... instituted in 1811
Button Lodge of Perfection (Masons).....instituted in 1894
Emax Lodge of Free and Accepted Masters.....chartered in 1799
Starr King Lodge of Free and Accepted Masters chartered in 1894
Emax County Masonic Mutual Relief Association.....org. in 1875
Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.
Royal Waterprie Lodge, No. 1895.....instituted in 1878
Nauvong Encampment, No. 13, I. O. O. F.....organized in 1845
Salom Encampment, No. 11, I. O. O. F.....organized in 1894
Unity Chapter, No. 5, Patriarchs Militant, I. O. O. F.org. in 1863
Emax Lodge, No. 28, I. O. O. F.....organized in 1883
Fraternity Lodge, No. 118, I. O. O. F.....organized in 1846
Union Relief Committee, I. O. O. F.....organized in 1877
Union Lodge, No. 11, Degree of Rebekah.....organized in 1870
Odd Fellows' Mutual Benefit Association.....organized in 1899
Three bicycle clubs.
Three boat clubs.
One yacht club.

In closing this chapter, it is only necessary to add a few statistics. According to the last census in 1885, the population of Salem was 28,084, and the valuation in the same year \$27,765,824. During the year 1885, 1599 vessels arrived at Salem, 114 of which were from foreign ports, and their aggregate tonnage was 270,003,29 tons. The receipts for duties in the same year were \$20,145.01, and the customs expenses \$7,095.15. If to the business by sea which these figures represent the large inland commerce by rail be added, it is easy to see that while Salem has lost the foreign trade upon which, as its seal indicates, its early prosperity was based, it has nevertheless made a satisfactory advance in its industries, its population and wealth.

SOCIETIES, ETC.

Sufficient space has not been allowed to do justice to the subject in this communication. It will be fully treated elsewhere. A few incidents that have

¹ By Henry Wheatland.

occurred in this direction can only be noted in their chronological order.

As preliminary to the notice of these institutions of learning, a brief allusion to some of the agencies leading ultimately to their present condition may not be deemed inappropriate.

The first great transaction in the settlement of the town was the organization of the church, a step marked by profound wisdom as well as ardent piety. Francis Higginson, "the father and pattern of the New England clergy," as he is justly called, prepared a document, which, while it formed an admirable manual of Christian faith and duty, embodied the principles of improvement and progress, and recognized the importance of a right education of children.

His brave compeer, Gov. Endicott, heartily co-operated with him, and subsequently took a provident care for the education of poor children at the expense of the town.

Salem has been blessed above most other towns in the wisdom, learning, piety and energy of the leading men among the early settlers or their immediate descendants. At the opening of the Grammar School arrived Rev. John Fiske, a learned scholar and divine qualified for the work. Roger Williams, afterwards the founder of Rhode Island, and Hugh Peters, who proved himself an able statesman and powerful friend of the whole colony, as well as a popular preacher and an energetic benefactor of Salem.

Peters's effective influence gave an impulse to industry and enterprise in every direction. Then we had the Brownes, whose charities, through successive generations, flowed freely in aid of education, learning, religion and the poor. William Browne was here with Fiske and Peters, to catch the love of learning from the one and the spirit of commerce from the other, and for more than half a century was considered a liberal and successful promoter of learning. He came over with his wife, in 1635, residing in Salem till his death, in 1688. William Browne, whose name appears among the early members of the Social Library, was a descendant in the fifth generation. Emanuel Downing came to Salem in 1636, where he lived in great esteem, after representing the town in the General Court. His wife, Lucia, was a sister of Gov. John Winthrop. His son George was then a lad of some fifteen summers, preparing under the tuition of Rev. John Fiske to enter the college, where he graduated in the first class, that of 1642. The son went to England, entered Cromwell's service and became highly distinguished.

Major William Hathorne came over in the "Arbella," with Winthrop, as stated by Savage, and came to Salem in 1636. Salem tendered him grants of land. From that time his name appears in the records as holding important positions, as commissioner, Speaker of the House of Representatives, counsel in cases before the courts, judge on the bench, etc. Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence," thus says of

him: "Yet through the Lord's mercy we still retain, among our Democracy, the Godly Captaine, William Hathorn, whom the Lord hath imbued with a quick apprehension, strong memory and Rhetorick, volubility of speech, which hath caused the people to make use of him often in Publick Service, especially when they have to do with any foreign government." He died in 1681.

His son John seems to have inherited many of his prominent traits of character, and to have succeeded to all his public honors. He died in 1717. The name appears, thus far, to have been as prominent in the civil history of that period, as it has been in the elegant literature of the present, in a descendant of the sixth generation, Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Other contemporary families of the colonial and provincial periods might be named of equal or superior distinction in the history of Salem, actuated by a like public spirit and not less zealous in promoting the higher interests of the town as well as its commercial prosperity, as Pickman, Orne, Curwen, Higginson, Cabot, Pyncheon, Oliver, Lynde, Turner, English and others.

THE SALEM ATHENÆUM was incorporated in March, 1810. Its conception was suggested undoubtedly by the Boston Athenæum, organized some three years earlier. The charters of the two institutions are in many respects similar, the leading objects of both being the promotion of literature, the arts and sciences. The founders of the Salem Athenæum were actuated by high motives, and laid a broad basis for future operations, commencing at first with a library, and trusting to the future for the further extension of their views and plans. To this end they purchased the Social and Philosophical Libraries.

THE SOCIAL LIBRARY.—This reminds us of the Social Evening Club, composed of the leading spirits of the town, which flourished during the middle of the last century, and was wont to hold its meetings weekly at the Tavern House of Mrs. Pratt, to discuss the topics of the day, especially those of a literary or scientific character. The following are understood to have been members: Benjamin Lynde and Nathaniel Ropes, both of the bench of the Superior Court of the Province, the former, as well as his father, its chief justice; William Browne, judge of the Superior Court, afterwards Governor of Bermuda; Andrew Oliver, judge of the Common Pleas; Rev. Thomas Barnard, of the First Church; Dr. E. A. Holyoke, a young physician; Stephen Higginson, Benjamin Pickman and Timothy Orne, merchants; William Pyncheon, an eminent lawyer, and others. A taste for literature and knowledge, and a zeal in the prosecution of scientific studies, were thus imparted to this community, of which the imprints can be distinctly traced through our subsequent history. The first movement in this

direction was the meeting of gentlemen, many of whom were members of this club, at the Pratt Tavern on Monday evening, March 31, 1760, for the purpose of "founding a handsome library of valuable books, apprehending the same may be of very considerable use and benefit under proper regulations." A subscription was opened, funds obtained, and Rev. Jeremiah Condy, a Baptist minister of Boston, being about to visit England, was employed to purchase the books. On their arrival a meeting of the subscribers was held, May 20, 1761, of which Benjamin Pickman was moderator and Nathan Goodale clerk. The Social Library was thus put in operation. The books imported, with those given by members or otherwise procured, amounted to 415 volumes. The society was incorporated in 1797. It may be regarded as the pioneer of all the institutions established in this place for the promotion of intellectual culture.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.—This also calls to remembrance some of the scenes in the Revolutionary period; the Cabots' privateer-ship "Pilgrim;" its bold and stalwart commander, Hugh Hill; his daring exploits; the capture of a schooner in the English channel, having on board the library of Dr. Richard Kirwan, a distinguished chemist; the bringing of these books into the neighboring port of Beverly; the purchase of the same by several scientific men of Salem and its vicinity, of whom may be mentioned Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of the Hamlet Church in Ipswich, now Hamilton, Rev. Joseph Willard of Beverly, afterwards president of Harvard College, Dr. Joshua Fisher of Beverly, Dr. E. A. Holyoke, Dr. Joseph Orne, Rev. Thomas Barnard and Rev. John Prince, all of Salem. They made it the foundation of the Philosophical Library in 1781. To show Dr. Bowditch's estimate of the value and character of these books, this extract from his will is inserted:

Item, "It is well-known that the valuable Scientific library of the celebrated Dr. Richard Kirwan, was during the Revolutionary war, captured in the British Channel, on its way to Ireland, by a Beverly Privateer, and that by the liberal and enlightened views of the owners of the vessel, the library thus captured was sold at a very low rate, and in this manner was laid the foundation, upon which has since been successfully established the Philosophical Library so called and the present Salem Athenæum. Thus, in early life, I found near me a better collection of Philosophical and Scientific books than could be found in any other part of the United States nearer than Philadelphia, and by the kindness of its proprietors I was permitted freely to take the books from that library and to consult and study them at pleasure. This inestimable advantage has made me deeply a debtor to the Salem Athenæum, and I do, therefore, give to that Institution the sum of one thousand dollars, the income thereof to be forever applied to the promotion of its objects and the extension of its usefulness."

ATHENÆUM.—The rooms of the Athenæum in Central Building, Market (now Central) Street, were opened to the proprietors on Wednesday, July 11, 1810, with a goodly collection of books upon the shelves, duly arranged and properly classified.

In April, 1815, the library was removed to rooms in Essex Place; in 1825 to rooms over the Salem Bank; in 1841 to Lawrence Place, and in April, 1857, to

Plummer Hall, the present resting place for this valuable and increasing collection of books.

The present number of volumes is about twenty-one thousand. These have been obtained principally by moneys arising from the sale of shares and annual assessments and subscriptions, although many valuable works have been received as donations from the friends of the institution.

The number of shares is one hundred. Each share entitles the proprietor to take from the library four books at one time. Books which have been in the library one year can be retained four weeks; if less than that time, two weeks; recent periodicals, in numbers, one week. Persons not proprietors, approved by the trustees, may have all the privileges of proprietors in the use of books for one year, on the payment of one dollar in addition to the annual assessment, which is determined at the annual meeting. The assessment for several years past has been five dollars.

Officers of the Salem Athenæum for the year 1887-8.—Edmund B. Willson, president; Henry Wheatland, clerk; Richard C. Manning, treasurer; William C. Endicott, Jr., Richard C. Manning, George P. Meserve, William Northey, Charles S. Osgood, George A. Perkins, Frederick P. Richardson, Henry Wheatland, Edmund B. Willson, trustees; Alice H. Osborne, librarian; Annie E. Suell, assistant librarian.

PLUMMER HALL.—On the 13th May, 1854, at her residence in Salem, "died Miss Caroline Plummer," leaving bequests to the city of Salem for the founding of a Farm School of Reform "for boys in the city of Salem;" to Harvard College for the foundation of a Professorship of Christian Morals, and to the Salem Athenæum the sum of thirty thousand dollars "for the purchasing of a piece of land, in some central and convenient spot in the city of Salem, and for building thereon a safe and elegant building of brick or stone, to be employed for the purpose of depositing the books belonging to said corporation, with liberty also to have the rooms thereof used for meetings of any scientific or literary institution, or for the deposit of any works of art or natural productions." Thus, by the noble bequests of this lady, an impetus has been given to the cause of literature, science, philanthropy and noble living, which will ever make her name respected, honored and beloved, not alone in the city of Salem or within the walls of Harvard, but wherever learning and liberality shall find a home.

The location selected is upon one of the leading thoroughfares of the city and near its centre, with agreeable and attractive surroundings, and about which cluster many associations of exceeding interest to the student in history, the scholar, the scientist and the general public.

The building is in the form of a parallelogram, ninety-seven feet three inches long by fifty-three wide. The exterior walls are faced with pressed brick, and are forty-five feet in height above the under-pinning, which is four feet six inches high and is of brown sandstone. The steps, doorway, window-dressings,

balcony, belts, &c., are also of the same stone. The style of the building is Romanesque. On the first floor were arranged the scientific and historical collections of the Institute; on the second floor the libraries of the Athenæum and of the Institute. The shelving in the library-rooms having been completed and the books placed upon the shelves, though not finally arranged, the building was accepted at a meeting of the proprietors, held on Monday, September 21, 1857, and dedicated on Tuesday, the sixth of October following. The order of exercises was as follows:

MUSIC, by a volunteer choir under the direction of Manuel Fenollosa, of Salem;
HYMN, by Hon. Joseph Gilbert Waters, of Salem;
PRAYER, by Rev. George Ware Briggs, of the First Church, Salem;
HYMN, by Rev. Jones Vary, of Salem;
ADDRESS, by Rev. James Mason Hopkin, of the Crombie Street Church, Salem;
HYMN, by Rev. Charles Timothy Brooks, of Newport, R. I.
BENEDICTION, by Rev. Robert Curtis Mills, of the First Baptist Church, Salem.

The following letter from the historian Prescott, received among others in response to invitations to attend the dedication, will be read with interest:

PEPPERELL, Oct. 6, 1857.

DEAR SIR: I, last evening, had the pleasure of receiving the invitation of the committee to attend the dedication of Plummer Hall. Unfortunately, being absent from town, it did not reach me till too late to profit by it. I beg you will present my acknowledgments to the committee for the honor they have done me. I need not assure them that I take a sincere interest in the ceremonies of the day, for I am attached to Salem by the reminiscences of many happy hours passed there in boyhood; and I have a particular interest in the spot which is to be covered with the new edifice, from its having been that on which I first saw the light myself. It is a pleasant thought to me, that through the enlightened liberality of my deceased friend Miss Plummer, it is now to be consecrated to so noble a purpose.

With great respect, believe me, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

WM. H. PRESCOTT.

DR. GEORGE CHOATE, Pres. Salem Athenæum.

Presidents of the Salem Athenæum.

Edward Augustus Holyoke.....	1810-20
Benjamin Pickman.....	1820-35
Ichabod Tucker.....	1835-38
Daniel Appleton White.....	1838-40
Benjamin Merrill.....	1840-47
Stephen Chardon Phillips.....	1847-50
George Choate.....	1850-54
Alpheus Crosby.....	1854-74
William Mack.....	1874-86
Edmund Burke Willson.....	1886

Clerks of the Proprietors.

John Sparhawk Appleton.....	1810-14
John Pickering.....	1814-19
John Glen King.....	1819-31
Ebenezer Shillaber.....	1831-41
William Putnam Richardson.....	1841-46
Henry Wheatland.....	1846

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.—The Essex Institute was formed by the union of the Essex Historical Society and the Essex County Natural History Society, and was organized, under an act of incorporation granted by the Legislature of Massachusetts in February of 1848, on the 1st of March following.

THE ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—At the suggestion of Hon. John Glen King and George A. Ward, Esq., several gentlemen, many of whom were active in the organization of the Salem Athenæum, eleven years before, assembled on the 21st of April, 1821, Hon. Joseph Story presiding, and formed themselves into an association under the name of the Essex Historical Society, the leading object of which was the collection and preservation of all authentic materials illustrating the civil history of the county of Essex, and in furtherance thereof they invited the co-operation of other kindred societies. An act of incorporation was obtained from the Legislature, June 27, 1821. The first corporate meeting was held on Wednesday, June 27, 1821, due notice having been given of the call at which the act was accepted and the society organized by the adoption of rules and regulations and the election of officers to serve until the annual meeting fixed on the 6th of September, in commemoration of the landing of Governor John Endicott on that day (O. S.), 1628.

The venerable Dr. E. A. Holyoke, who always took the most lively interest in whatever concerned American literature and science, was elected the first president. It is quite remarkable that in each stage in the progress of institutions of this character in Salem, a leading part was taken by one man, Dr. Holyoke; he signed the call for the meeting at the tavern of Mrs. Pratt in 1760, and was an original subscriber to the funds then raised to establish the Social Library; he was one of the purchasers of Dr. Kirwan's books, thus co-operating in founding the Philosophical Library; he was the first president of the Salem Athenæum, and the first president of the Essex Historical Society. The zeal and ability of the members and their friends, in a short time, gathered together a good collection of portraits and antique relics, illustrative of the early history of the county and the nucleus of a library containing files of several newspapers, pamphlets, documents, etc. These were first deposited in Essex Place, on Essex Street, facing Central; then in the room over the Salem Bank, where Downing Block now stands, afterwards in Lawrence Place, at the corner of Washington and Front Streets, until the union which formed the Institute.

On the 6th of September, 1825, the day of the annual meeting, Hon. Leverett Saltonstall delivered a public address, which was well received, before the society, in the First Church. On Thursday, the 18th of September (N. S.), 1828, the members of the society, with their invited guests, met to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of Endicott. The orator of the day was the Hon. Joseph Story, one of the justices of the United States Supreme Court, an original member and the vice-president of the society. The president of the society, Dr. Holyoke, the centennial anniversary of whose birth was appropriately observed

by the medical profession of Boston and Salem on the thirteenth of the month preceding, presided. The secretary was the Hon. Joseph G. Waters, secretary of the society for the twenty-one years preceding the union, in 1848. He will be long remembered for his deep interest in our literary and scientific institutions and for his versatile gifts and extensive knowledge of English literature and history. The society had on its roll of membership at that time many men of wide distinction. Probably no society in the United States could claim a greater number of influential men in the various walks of life. The eloquent address of Hon. Mr. Story at the North Church; the intellectual and social banquet at Hamilton Hall; these, and other interesting incidents connected therewith, rendered the occasion one long to be remembered in the annals of the society.

OFFICERS OF THE ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Presidents.

Edward Augustus Holyoke.....	1831-39
Benjamin Pickman.....	1839-35
Ichabod Tucker.....	1835-37
Daniel Appleton White.....	1837-48

Recording Secretaries.

George Atkinson Ward.....	1831-33
John White Treadwell.....	1833-34
William Proctor.....	1834-37
Joseph Gilbert Waters.....	1837-48

THE ESSEX COUNTY NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

—A communication was printed in the *Salem Gazette* for Tuesday, February 1, 1831, under the signature of Ebah, suggesting the feasibility of organizing a Society of Natural History; other communications occasionally appeared, but the various suggestions did not begin to take a tangible form until December, 1833, when, on the evening of Saturday, the 14th, a meeting of those friendly to the subject was held, which resulted, after several adjournments, in the organization of the Essex County Natural History Society, Dr. Andrew Nichols, of Danvers, president; William Oakes, Esq., of Ipswich and Rev. Gardner B. Perry, of Bradford, vice-presidents; John M. Ives, Esq., of Salem, secretary and treasurer; Rev. John Lewis Russell, of Salem, cabinet keeper and librarian; William Oakes, Esq., of Ipswich, John Clarke Lee, of Salem, Charles Grafton Page, of Salem, Thomas Spencer, Esq., of Salem, curators.

Upon the organization of the society the attention of its members was mainly devoted to horticulture; its rooms were opened occasionally during every season with greater or less frequency, as circumstances would permit, for exhibitions of fruits and flowers. The first exhibition took place on Tuesday, July 11, 1834. The first general exhibition, which continued several days, occurred on Tuesday and Wednesday, September 14th and 15th, 1841.

These exhibitions, though not an original object, became, in the course of years, one of the most

important features of the society. For several years exhibitions were held weekly during the summer months, with an annual show in September, and increased in interest with each successive season. Several nurseries were established, the demand for fruit trees, ornamental trees and shrubs increased, and Salem, for some years became, as it were, a centre for horticultural operations. The exhibitions at the Metropolis were largely indebted to the Salem gardens for their requisite proportion of fruits and flowers.

This city and its vicinity had a goodly array of enthusiastic and successful cultivators of the choicest gifts of Flora and Pomona; among them the name of Robert Manning stands as a pioneer in the cultivation of fruit, especially of the pear. The garden of Mr. J. Fisk Allen exhibited, for several seasons, a fine display of that gorgeous lily, "Victoria Regia," and his excellent treatise on that flower, with illustrations, finds a place in every well stored library. Salem was also noted for the great variety of grapes and other fruits grown under glass. The gardens and grounds of the Messrs. Putnam, Lee, Cabot, Emmer-ton, Upton, Ives, Bertram, Hoffmann, Derby, Phippen, Ropes, Oliver, Glover, Bosson, Gardner and others, may be mentioned in this connection.

The *Journal of the Essex County Natural History Society*, comprising one volume in three numbers, issued in 1836, 1838 and 1841, was published by the society.

OFFICERS OF ESSEX COUNTY NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Presidents.

Andrew Nichols.....	1833-48
John Lewis Russell.....	1848-48

Secretaries.

John M. Ives.....	1833-38
Henry Wheatland.....	1838-48

During the autumn of 1847 the Historical and the Natural History Societies held several meetings to effect a union. A joint committee was appointed to draft a plan to serve as a basis of organization. The plan offered by the committee was accepted by the two societies at a meeting held January 14, 1848. An act of incorporation was obtained in February of that year, and upon its acceptance, on the 1st of March following, the Essex Institute was organized.

The organization of the two societies being on an entirely different basis, generous concessions were called for from both parties to bring about the desired results.

The Historical Society always had a small membership. Members were elected by ballot, and an entrance fee was required. There was no regular assessment, though occasionally one was levied; the rooms were never opened to the public at stated times, though persons could obtain access by calling upon the librarian or some officer, who was always courteous and ready to grant such a favor.

The Natural History Society was differently constituted. Any inhabitant of the county could be-

come a member by signing the constitution and paying the small annual assessment. The rooms were always central and accessible, and were frequently opened for horticultural and other exhibitions, the aim being to make them attractive and thereby to awaken an interest in the objects of the society. The collections increased in value and importance, the membership was enlarged, and consequently more means were available to extend its operations.

The Institute, in organizing in 1848, took up with vigor the work of its two component members, as well as new undertakings of its own. If the Essex Historical Society had busied itself with collecting and perpetuating the history of the county, the Institute, with its new blood, hoped not without reason to push this important portion to still greater results. If the Natural History Society had been successful in its delightful exhibits of fruits and flowers, so did the Institute at the outset perpetuate this excellent example and call to its aid a new class of generous contributors. Moreover, it began at once, by means of field meetings and other popular and original appliances to make science, local tradition and history, literature and the arts, so far as it could with its modicum of means and membership, a part of the daily diet of the people.

The library and various collections were removed to Plummer Hall as soon as the shelving and cases were prepared for their reception.

The several departments of the Museum were arranged on the first floor, and were well represented; in several of the classes of the animal kingdom the collections were inferior to but one or two others in the country. Those in some classes were arranged and identified, and catalogues commenced. In consequence of a liberal use of its rich supply of duplicates, the Institute became the recipient of large and valuable collections from scientific institutions and individuals, both in this and foreign countries.

These various scientific collections, containing some one hundred and forty thousand specimens are now deposited at East India Marine Hall, in the custody of the trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science, according to terms of agreement signed May 29, 1867, by the contracting parties.

The Peabody Museum was, after thorough re-arrangement, dedicated to the public on Wednesday afternoon, August 18, 1869, the first day of the meeting, in Salem, of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

All contributions of specimens in natural history which have since been received by the institute, either by donations or otherwise, have been likewise deposited with the trustees above named, at East India Marine Hall.

The collections of antique relics, paintings, portraits, engravings, etc., are placed in the halls of the institute, and are of great historic value, and will be alluded to in another place.

The agreement by which the institute has occupied Plummer Hall, jointly with the Athenæum for thirty years, was cancelled from the end of April by the governing board of the two institutions, February 25, 1887, and at the same time another agreement was adopted to go into effect on the 30th of April, 1887, by which the institute retains the use of the first floor and the basement for the deposit of a portion of its library and collections, and the hall to be used for lectures and meetings, horticultural and art exhibitions, and for other purposes not inconsistent with the provisions of Miss Plummer's will. Each society, as heretofore, may freely consult the books of the other.

Library.—The library of the institute contains about fifty thousand bound volumes, and some one hundred and fifty thousand pamphlets. In the early stages of the growth of a great library, its energies are mainly absorbed in mere accumulation. At a later stage, and when exchanges are established and a law of growth confirmed, while accretions are not less rapid, more attention can be given to extending its usefulness and acquainting others with the value and character of its treasures. The institute library has now reached this stage. It is for the first time able to display its quality and richness in the new building purchased March 12, 1886, and since suitably fitted for the purposes intended. Among the valuable features which, on being catalogued, it will be found to contain, are,—

A very complete collection of the legislative and official publications of Massachusetts from early dates, as well as those of several other States of New England and of the Union at large.

A large and daily increasing collection of the works of the authors of Essex County, both native and resident, already counting about six hundred volumes. Full files of newspapers possessing to the antiquary, the historical student and the conveyancer, a value hardly to be exaggerated.

Some eight thousand volumes of English, Greek and Latin classics, also historical and other works, selected for the private library of the donor, the late Judge Daniel A. White, first president of the Essex Institute. A collection of some three hundred Bibles and parts of Bibles of curious antiquity, including one, doubtless the oldest book in Essex County, dated before the discovery of America, in the year 1486, a well preserved copy brought from a Carmelite Monastery in Bavaria, and presented to the institute October 2, 1858, by Rev. J. M. Hoppin, then of Salem, now a professor in Yale College. Part of the library of the late Francis Peabody, the third president of the institute, containing some three thousand volumes, principally, architectural, horticultural and scientific. Also the libraries of the late Augustus Story, comprising about fifteen hundred volumes of literary and historical books—and that of the late William Sutton,

about sixteen hundred of agricultural and historical works.

The China Library, containing nearly seven hundred volumes, an unique collection of publications relating to that country and her people; the Library of the Art Department, numbering upwards of five hundred volumes, together with many periodicals in its various branches, to which additions are being constantly made, and a small Musical Library.

A large portion of the books are arranged in the new building,—the Historical in the western section of the second floor; the Literary in the eastern section and the Essex County books in the central. On the third floor are the Theological, in the western section; Scientific, in the eastern; the Directories, Horticultural and Educational Books, in the central.

The national, state and city Documents, those relating to Finance and Trade, bound volumes of Newspapers and Pamphlets, are retained in Plummer Hall. The large room is furnished with settees and chairs, and is used for lectures, concerts, meetings and exhibitions of Art, Horticulture, etc.

Meetings of the Institute.—Regular meetings are held on the first and third Monday evenings of each month; field meetings, during the summer months, at such times and places as may be appointed by a special committee.

The Institute was organized in the spring of 1848. It at once introduced a system of field meetings, unique and interesting, as well as useful to those who have attended them. These meetings gather from one to three hundred or more persons; four or five of them are held in each season. Railroads, local authorities, church committees, educational, scientific and literary organizations, have uniformly united their efforts to make attendance easy and agreeable. The first of these gatherings was held at Danvers, June 12, 1849, and, with the interval of three summers, in 1853-4-5, they have since been uninterrupted. One hundred and thirty-five field meetings have been held in ninety-six different places in thirty-three of the towns and cities of the county of Essex, and twelve meetings in twelve towns or cities beyond the county limits. Members of the Institute and all others are invited on equal terms. A spot is selected for its scientific and historical interest, and with some regard to its facilities for transportation, shelter and refreshment. Physicists and antiquarians, especially local students of science, tradition and history, are sought out. The party attending provides itself with a basket luncheon, and is usually transported at half fare. Reaching its destination, it is often welcomed by a local committee, deposits its baskets and extra clothing, and, in self-appointed sections, follows the lead of its specialists in botany, geology, entomology, local history or antiquity, to various points of interest in the neighborhood. Coming together at noon in the village church, the school-house, the town hall, or some inviting grove, a meeting is held, after the bas-

kets are emptied, and the results of the previous rambles are exhibited, compared, analyzed and discussed.

In yet another way has the effort been successful to make science and sociability tributary to each other. For several seasons, beginning May 1, 1866, and for several evenings during each season, meetings were held, which might be described as microscope shows. From twenty-five to fifty instruments of every variety of make, were brought together in Hamilton Hall, where the friends of the Institute, to the number of two hundred, passed most agreeable evenings in examining the specimens shown, in listening to the comments of experts and specialists, and in general social relaxation. The occasions owed much of their success to the interest and labor of the late well-known microscopist, Edwin Bicknell.

Lectures.—During the past fifteen or twenty years, regular courses of lectures have been delivered annually in the winter months, with perhaps a few exceptions; and before this occasionally as opportunities offered. These embrace a wide range of topics in science and literature. In addition to the above, courses of lectures or single lectures have been given by those who were or are now active members of the institute.

Commemorations.—The fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the Essex Historical Society was observed on the 21st of April, 1871. The address was by A. O. Goodell, Jr., Esq.; an excellent choir, under the direction of General H. K. Oliver, sang an original hymn, written for the occasion by Rev. Jonas Very; after which remarks were made by Rev. George D. Wildes, of New York City; General H. K. Oliver and J. Wingate Thornton, of Boston; and Dr. George B. Loring.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Essex Institute, on the 5th of March, 1873, was commemorated by a banquet in the rooms of the Institute, with addresses by the President, His Excellency Governor William B. Washburn, Mayor William Cogswell of Salem, Hon. George B. Loring, president of the Massachusetts Senate, Hon. John E. Sanford, speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, of New England Historical-Genealogical Society, Prof. O. C. Marsh, of Yale, and others.

The centennial of the Destruction of the Tea in Boston Harbor, December 16, 1773, was noticed at a special meeting on that evening by an address from James Kimball, Esq., whose grandfather, William Russell, was one of the actors on that occasion.

The first centennial of the meeting in Salem, October 5, 1774, of that memorable body which formally and finally resolved itself into a Provincial Congress and established in Massachusetts "a government of the people, by the people & for the peo-

ple," was commemorated by an address from A. C. Goodell, Jr., Esq.; a fine double quartette, under the direction of Mr. M. Fenollosa, sang some patriotic pieces.

The directors of the institute, in compliance with several official circulars and personal letters from the chief of the Historical Department of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, made an exhibit of specimens illustrative of the History of Essex County. Portraits of Governors Endicott, Leverett and Bradstreet, of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Rev. Dr. Manassah Cutler and Colonel Timothy Pickering and about one hundred articles of historical interest, also an album containing one hundred and twenty photographs illustrating our city, were contributed. These remained during the exhibition.

The commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of John Endicott at Salem, September 6, 1628, was conducted by the Essex Institute, September 18, 1878. The forenoon exercises, in Mechanic's Hall, consisted of an organ voluntary by Mr. B. J. Lang, reading of Scripture and prayer by Rev. R. C. Mills, hymn by Rev. Jones Very, poem by Rev. C. T. Brooks, ode by Rev. S. P. Hill, oration by Hon. W. C. Endicott; Mrs. Hemans' hymn, "The Breaking Waves Dashed High," sung by Mrs. J. H. West; poem, by W. W. Story, read by Prof. J. W. Churchill; the one hundredth Psalm sung by a chorus.

The guests then proceeded to Hamilton Hall, where an elegant lunch was served by Cassell. The divine blessing was invoked by Rev. R. C. Mills, D.D. The president opened the afternoon speaking, and was followed by Rev. E. C. Bolles, toast master, Governor A. H. Rice, Mayor H. K. Oliver, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, President of Massachusetts Historical Society, Hon. M. P. Wilder, President of the New England Historico-Genalogical Society, Dean Stanley, of Westminster Abbey, Hon. W. C. Endicott, Hon. L. Saltonstall, Prof. B. Peirce, Hon. G. B. Loring, Rev. F. Israel, Joseph H. Choate, Esq., of New York, B. H. Silsbee, Esq., President East India Marine Society, and Rev. E. S. Atwood.

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of John Winthrop at Salem, with the charter and records of the Massachusetts Bay Company, occurring on the 22d of June, 1880, the first field meeting of the season was held on that day, at the Pavilion on Salem Neck, and the occasion was devoted to a commemoration of this important event. At 1 p.m. lunch was served in the dining hall; at 2.30 o'clock the afternoon session was held in the great hall below.

The president introduced Robert S. Rantoul, Esq., who then delivered an historical and eloquent address. Rev. De Witt S. Clarke, read a poem written for the occasion by Miss Lucy Larcom, who was present, and was followed by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of the Governor's staff, a lineal de-

scendant of Rev. Francis Higginson. Hon. George Washington Warren, president of Bunker Hill Monument Association; Hon. George B. Loring, M.C., Mayor H. K. Oliver, and Seth Low, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.; selections from the correspondence were read by Rev. E. S. Atwood, and a communication from E. Stanley Waters, Esq., by Rev. George H. Hosmer, giving a reminiscence of his predecessor in the pulpit of the East Church, Rev. William Bentley, D.D., whose birthday this gathering also commemorated, he having been born in Boston June 22, 1759. The proceedings at these commemorations were fully reported and are in print.

The Publications of the Institute.—"Proceedings and Communications," 6 vols., 8vo., 1848-68. These volumes contain a large number of descriptions and figures of new species, especially of corals, insects and polyzoa, and many valuable papers in natural history. The first three volumes also contain many important historical papers. In addition to the papers on special subjects, the volumes contain the proceedings of the meetings of the institute, the records of the additions to the library and the museum, and many important verbal communications made at the meetings, etc.

"Bulletin," 17 vols., 8vo, issued quarterly; a continuation of the "Proceedings of the Essex Institute," containing an account of the regular and field meetings of the society and papers of scientific value.

"Flora of Essex County," by John Robinson, 8vo, pp. 200.

"Historical Collections," 23 vols., 8vo, issued quarterly, contain extracts from the records of courts, parishes, churches and towns in this county; abstracts of wills, deeds and journals; records of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths, and inscriptions on tombstones; also papers of historical, genealogical and biographical interest. In these volumes will be found memoirs of the following persons: of Daniel A. White, by George W. Briggs; of George A. Ward, Daniel P. King and Francis Peabody, by Hon. Charles W. Upham; of Asahel Huntington, by Hon. Otis P. Lord; of Henry C. Perkins, by Rev. Samuel J. Spalding, of Newburyport; of James Upton, by Rev. Robert C. Mills; of Augustus Story, by Rev. Charles T. Brooks, of Newport, R. I.; of Benjamin Peirce, James Kimball, Charles Davis and James O. Safford, by Robert S. Rantoul; of John Bertram, by Rev. E. S. Atwood; of John Lewis Russell, John C. Lee and Charles T. Brooks, by Rev. E. B. Willson; of Gen. John Glover, by William P. Upham; of Jones Very, by William P. Andrews; of Oliver Carlton, by L. Saltonstall; also genealogies of the families of Gould, Chipman, Browne, Pope, Fiske, Ropes, Hutchinson, Becket, Higginson, Webb, Gedney, Clarke, Silsbee, Fabens, Newhall, Perkins and Townsend.

The institute exchanges publications with fifty societies in Germany, fourteen in France, eight in Switzerland, five in Belgium, four each in Sweden, Russia,

Italy and Norway, three each in Austria and Denmark, two each in Spain, Australia, South America and Java, one each in Portugal, China, Tasmania, Mexico, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, four in Canada, sixteen in Great Britain (besides receiving the government surveys of India and the United Kingdom), and with twenty-seven miscellaneous, forty scientific and thirty-three historical societies in the United States of America.

Art Exhibitions—In February, 1875, the proposal of the Misses Mary E. and Abby O. Williams, of Salem, to deposit temporarily their valuable collection of paintings, many of which were copied by them from acknowledged masters during a residence of several years in Rome, and had earned the praise of Ruskin, was gratefully accepted.

The collection was received on Thursday, March 4th, and it had been found expedient, with so fine a basis, to arrange an art exhibition, and to solicit other contributions. The exhibition was opened Thursday, March 11th, and continued to Friday evening, March 19th. From the day that notice was given, pictures of all kinds were sent in with the greatest liberality, and some three or four hundred of them were hung upon the walls of the exhibition-room.

The second exhibition opened on Tuesday, November 9, 1875, and closed Wednesday, the 17th. The eastern ante-room was occupied with a display of bronzes, porcelain and pottery; this was the first ceramic exhibition in Salem.

Encouraged by this success, exhibitions have been held in June, 1879, in April, 1880, and in May, 1881, May, 1882, May, 1883, May, 1884, and June, 1886.

The collections in these exhibitions have been confined, with one or two exceptions, to the recent productions of Essex County artists.

Manuscripts.—The collection of manuscripts is large and valuable, consisting of original charters, commissions, account-books, records and papers of extinct local organizations, such as old stage and insurance companies, orderly-books in our several wars, court papers, correspondence, journals, almanacs with written notes; also a large number of log-books containing records of voyages made at the period of our city's commercial prominence.

The day books of Dr. E. A. Holyoke contain an accurate record of his professional practice; they comprise one hundred and twenty-three volumes of ninety pages each. The first entry was July 6, 1749, the last February 16th, 1829.

Membership.—The members of the institute number about three hundred and fifty. Resident membership is secured by election and the payment of an annual assessment of three dollars, and this entitles the member to admittance to all horticultural, anti-quarian and art shows during the year, to the use of the books of the library to the extent of four vol-

umes at a time and to consultation, free of cost, of the books of the Salem Athenæum, whose shareholders enjoy the reciprocal right of consulting free the books of the Essex Institute. Life membership of the institute is obtained by paying at one time the sum of fifty dollars.

OFFICERS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Presidents.

Daniel Appleton White.....	1848-51
Amabel Huntington.....	1861-65
Francis Peabody.....	1865-67
Henry Wheatland.....	1868-

Secretaries.

Henry Wheatland.....	1848-68
Anne Howe Johnson.....	1868-70
John Robinson.....	1870-71
Anne Howe Johnson.....	1871-73
John Robinson.....	1873-75
George Manton Whipple.....	1875-

The Library.—It began with a few shelves of books, miscellaneous and unselected in a small back room. There are now some five or six thousand volumes. The increase in the size of the library, and the greatly increased use of it, have made necessary a migration from room to room, until it has reached its third station, where it has fair accommodations in the room which is the last added to the suite occupied by the Fraternity.

This library has been gathered by gift wholly. It is the only free public library in Salem. Its large number of readers show an active circulation. The number of books lost is very small comparing favorably with all known similar institutions in this respect.

Its Reading-Room is supplied with the Salem papers by the favor of the publishers, and from some of their offices come besides many of their most desirable exchanges, several daily and weekly newspapers, pictorial weeklies, religious, scientific and literary periodicals.

In 1875 the Fraternity became incorporated under the statutes of Massachusetts, that it might hold and administer larger funds, and that its permanence and efficiency might be the better assured.

Its Funds. In 1873, Dudley P. Rogers of this city bequeathed the income of fifteen thousand dollars to the Fraternity with something more at the death of certain favorite animals. Miss Harriet A. Deland died June 29, 1876, leaving by will five thousand dollars. Martha G. Wheatland died June, 1885, leaving two thousand to the Fraternity. With the income accruing from these funds and subscriptions from its friends collected annually, and small sums occasionally from other sources, the Fraternity, with the gratuitous assistance of several ladies and gentlemen, is enabled to do some good work in the promotion of the objects of its organization.

Officers for the year 1887-88.—Henry Wheatland

president; G. W. Mansfield, secretary; William Northey, treasurer.

EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY.—Soon after the termination of the Revolutionary War, the merchants of Salem directed their attention to the opening of new avenues of trade, especially with the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn with which this country had previously no commercial relations.

Elias Hasket Derby was the pioneer in this direction. His ships were the first to visit any of these ports, and to him, in a great degree, may be attributed the establishment of the East India trade in Salem. Other vessels soon followed, and gradually an extensive business was developed, which created great activity in the various industries of this place, especially those connected with the building, rigging and fitting for sea of vessels of various kinds. The young men of Salem and its vicinity, on leaving the school, the academy, and the college actuated by the prevailing spirit of the period, for the most part entered upon a commercial career, and found employment in the counting-room, on shipboard, or with some of the commercial agencies established in these distant ports to facilitate the conducting of their business operations. The influence of these surroundings greatly modified public sentiment, and the outcome was the organization of an institution, having in view, the assisting its unfortunate members or their families, in improving themselves in the knowledge of navigation and of the various trades in which they were engaged, and incidentally in collecting a museum which should represent the peculiarities of the strange people, and strange places visited by its members in their long and distant voyages.

During the summer and early autumn of 1799, the first suggestion of such an institution was made by a few shipmasters who were standing under the lee of a store on the end of Union Wharf, where they were in the habit of congregating, during the intervals between their voyages. An agreement was drawn up and signed by Jonathan Lambert, Jona. Ingersoll, Jacob Crowninshield, John Gibaut, Nathaniel Silsbee and others to form an association consisting of such shipmasters only, as have had a register from Salem, and who had navigated those seas at or beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to be called the East India Marine Society, or by any other name which may hereafter be determined. And they also further agree that the first meeting to carry into effect the above purposes shall be held at Capt. Webb's tavern, on the 18th of September (Wednesday evening), 1799.

The meeting was held, and a committee was appointed to prepare the articles and to report at the meeting to be held on Monday, October 14, 1799.

At the adjourned meeting the articles were read separately and adopted. Officers chosen as follows: Benjamin Hodges, president; Ichabod Nichols, Jonathan Lambert, Benjamin Carpenter, committee of ob-

servation; Jonathan Hodges, secretary; Jacob Crowninshield, treasurer.

Rev. William Bentley of the East Parish, many of whose parishioners followed the sea and were interested in or members of the new society writes in his journal:

"Tuesday, October 22, 1799, Captain Carnes from Sumatra showed me various specimens of shells, a large oyster-shell, a petrified mushroom cup and stem, two specimens of boxes in gold, with the pen work extremely nice and open flowers, the work is of uncommonly thin plates of gold, by the Malays.

"It is proposed by the new marine society, called the East India Marine Society, to make a cabinet. This society has been lately thought of. Captain Gibaut first mentioned the plan to me this summer, and desired me to give him some plan of articles or a sketch. The first friends of the institution met and chose a committee to compare or digest articles from the sketches given to them. Last week I was informed that in the preceding week the members met and signed the articles proposed by the committee and had chosen officers. (See above.)

"Thursday, November 7, 1799, Mr. Carnes has presented his curiosities to the new-formed East India Marine Society and they are providing a museum and cabinet. The above were the first specimens given to the Society.

"November 6, 1799, Rooms were obtained in the Stearns' building on the north east corner of Essex and Court, now Washington, Streets for their meetings and a place for the deposit of books, charts, etc., and in July of the following year glass cases were provided to arrange therein the specimens that had been accumulated."

This may be considered one of the earliest museums in this country, and it has had a world-wide fame. There was at that time a museum in Boston which commenced with an exhibition of a few wax figures at the American Coffee-house, on State Street, Mr. Daniel Bowen the proprietor. In 1795 he moved his collections to a hall in Bromfield Street, when it took the name of the Columbian Museum; it was destroyed by fire January 3, 1803. Other collections were formed but had not a continuous history, nor were any of these earlier museums established for scientific purposes.

The act of Incorporation having passed both branches of the Legislature was approved by the Governor March 3, 1801. The objects are:

1st. To assist the widows and children of deceased members who may need the same from the income of the funds of the society, which were obtained from the fees of admissions and the annual assessments; also from donations and bequests.

2d. To collect such facts and observations as tend to the improvement and security of navigation. For this purpose every member bound to sea was authorized to receive a blank journal, in which he is to insert all things worthy of notice which occur during his voyage, particularly his observations on the variation of the compass, bearings and distances of capes and headlands, of the latitude and longitude of the ports, islands, rocks and shoals; and upon his return to deposit the same with the society. These journals are afterwards bound in volumes under the direction of the inspector, with a table of contents or index. Ninety of these journals, prior to 1831, of voyages made to various parts of the world, and in several in-

stances to places rarely visited, have already been deposited; recourse has often been had to them to correct the latitudes and longitudes of our ships, also for historical purposes.

Many of the journals are beautiful examples of neatness and fine penmanship, and are embellished, here and there, with diagrams, maps, drawings of coasts and even with sketches of native craft. The society was in constant communication with the United States Government and the scientific records made by its members have received more than ordinary mention by well-known authors of works on meteorology. The endorsement of the society was ever considered a guarantee of the highest character. Commodore Maury in compiling his well-known wind charts continually used the society's journals, and Captains Charles M. Endicott and James D. Gillis, members of the society, prepared charts of Sumatra which are spoken of in the report of the cruise of the United States frigate "Potomac," which vessel was sent out in 1831 for the purpose of performing this in connection with other work, as "more ably performed (by these gentlemen) than it could have been with our limited material." (See Hist. Sketch of Salem, p. 154.)

To the library of which these journals formed the nucleus, were added by purchase and gift "books of history, of voyages & travels and of navigation; among them are several rare valuable editions of the celebrated voyages of Perouse, Cook & Vancouver."

With "the same view the President and committee have authority to purchase books of similar character as they may deem useful to the society." This was more applicable in the palmy days of the India trade in Salem than at the present time; since then other institutions have been organized, whose objects are mainly to take care that this and allied classes of books are accessible to scholars as well as to the general reader.

3d. To form a museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. This has been obtained, to a considerable extent, by the valuable donations of the members as well as of others friendly to the institution. The fame of this Museum was, at first, in a great measure, due to public interest as a collection of curiosities, and not on account of its scientific value; yet the originators of this work devised for themselves methods and plans, based upon the orderly ways of transacting business at that time, which are very commendable. They instructed the members whenever their voyages should take them among uncivilized people to collect the utensils, weapons and dresses of such people; also accounts of native customs were often noted in their journals or communications by letter to the society; collections of shells, birds, mammals, etc., also specimens of the flora and of the geology were contributed.

The scientific man of to-day finds among these fruits of their labor much valuable and interesting material to aid him in his researches and investigations, especially in the science of anthropology. They builded better than they knew.

The Annual Festivals of the Society in November were very attractive and interesting to the public in the early years of its history. The society formerly paraded through the streets, the officers usually dressed in Eastern costume, with battle axes, spears and other warlike weapons; there was also a palanquin, in which reclined a boy appparelled in most gorgeous habiliments, borne by persons in the East Indian dress, attended with fan and hookah bearers and every other accompaniment of an East Indian equipage.

The exercises of the day closed with a banquet with toasts, sentiments, etc. These have now passed away, and the annual gathering is not marked by any outward display. We copy from the press of that day a report of the meetings in 1804 and 1805.

On Wednesday last was the annual meeting of the EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY. On this occasion is the choice of their officers, and an elegant dinner is provided. Before dinner the members proceeded from their hall under an escort of the cadet company and attended with an excellent band of music. As their cabinet displays the richest collection of Eastern curiosities, and furnishes the principal dresses and ornaments, as well as martial instruments and inventions of the oriental nations, a proper exhibition was made for the gratification of the numerous citizens assembled to view the procession. The whole scene provoked curiosity, and indulged it, while good taste and dignity of manners justified it. Capt. Benjamin Hodges has continued to receive the annual invitation to be their president, while all the members have generously contributed to afford such communications and such articles as have enriched their records and their collections. The Museum is decorated with instructive historical paintings, at the expense of the society. The celebrated navigators appear on its walls. Rich specimens in the whole extent of Natural History are already obtained, and no country is forgotten which has afforded anything to the antiquarian, the historian, or the friend of commerce.¹

On Wednesday last THE EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY had their annual meeting, with the festive scenes in which they recall their former friendships, recount their services and urge their common zeal for the promotion of the end of their society. Their success has been worthy of their great attempts, and their exertions have been such as have been unprecedented in our country. Their museum, happy in its arrangements and elegant in its display of its riches,—with the many subjects it embraces—the great

¹ Salem Register, Monday, November 12, 1804.

variety with which it is enriched, does honor to their taste, their inquiries and their diligence. It was a great diminution of their pleasure to be deprived of the company of their president, Capt. B. Hodges, who was unable to attend. Captain Carpenter, the vice-president, presided on the occasion with dignity.

The military parade was by the Light Infantry, under Captain Saunders, and the procession was admired as a just display of the eastern manners. The whole scene was powerful in convincing us of the personal merit of the members, of the benefits from their institution, and of the zeal with which they have promoted its best reputation.¹

November 2, 1803, the society voted to take the room in the second story of the building then being erected for the accommodation of the Salem Bank and the Salem Insurance Company on the first floor, on the eastern portion of the land now occupied by the Downing Block—dimension of the same forty feet by fifty-four. On the 7th of March, 1804, a committee was appointed to remove the collections and to arrange the same in the new hall.

July 8, 1817,—*Voted* to accept the invitation from the committee of arrangements to join the procession this day,—reception of James Monroe, President of the United States. Also *voted* that the president of the society be requested to wait on the President of the United States of America, and in the name of the society to invite him to visit the museum with his suite, and also to wait on the Governor of the commonwealth with a similar invitation,—and at such time as they shall appoint for the purpose, the officers of the society to attend them to the hall.

July 5, 1820, *Voted* that the president and committee be authorized to procure printed copies of the catalogue² now preparing, to furnish each member (or the family of each member deceased) with a copy and to present the same in the name of the society to such gentlemen of the town and its vicinity as the president and committee may think proper.*

Voted, That the president and committee be authorized to engage Dr. Seth Bass to superintend the museum under their direction and for such compensation as they may judge reasonable.

January 7, 1824.—*Voted*, That the subject of enlarging the hall or procuring another hall be submitted to a committee. May 19, 1824, the committee reported that a new building may be erected that will accommodate the society in the most convenient manner and they subjoin for their consideration the following proposal, to be offered for subscription immediately:—

¹ *Salem Register*, Monday, November 11, 1803.

² The first printed catalogue of objects in the museum, journals, list of members, etc., while the collections were in the Salem Bank Building. This gave 2269 members. In 1825 the museum moved to the East India Marine Hall, and by the impetus thus given the collections were rapidly augmented, so that in 1831, when the second edition was printed, besides having some entailment, gave 4299 members for the museum.

"A lot of land may be had near the present hall, of a proper size for erecting the contemplated building, and that it may be completed in the course of the next year, proposals for erecting a building of about 45 by 95 feet for E. I. M. S. and other purposes, by an association to be incorporated for the purpose under the name of the East India Marine Hall Corporation; one hundred and fifty shares at \$100 each; the society to take as many shares as they may deem proper, the remainder to members of the society or other parties."

Twenty-sixth Anniversary—Dedication of the New Hall, Friday, October 14, 1825.—Celebration by a public procession and dinner, on the occasion of taking possession of the hall which they have lately erected and fitted up in splendid manner for their accommodation. This hall, over one hundred feet in length and forty in breadth, is as chaste and beautiful a specimen of architecture as our country can exhibit, and filled as it is by the rare and curious productions of nature and art from the four quarters of the globe, forms a cabinet unrivalled in this and excelled perhaps by few in any country.

On this occasion the society was honored by the company of the President of the United States and many other distinguished guests, amongst whom were Mr. Justice Story, of the United States Supreme Court; Hon. Benjamin W. Crowninshield, member of Congress for this district; Hon. Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston; Hon. Mr. Hill, of the Executive Council; Hon. Timothy Pickering, President Kirkland, of Harvard University, and a large number of merchants, professional men and others.

The society, with its guests, moved in procession at two o'clock from Hamilton Hall, under the direction of Richard S. Rogers and Jonathan P. Saunders, Esqrs., and, escorted by a fine band of music, proceeded through some of the principal streets to their new hall on Essex Street. The occasion drew together a vast concourse of citizens, who testified by repeated cheers and greetings their happiness at beholding the Chief Magistrate.

The dinner was served in a style of magnificence. The religious services were performed by Rev. Dr. Kirkland and Rev. Mr. Cornelius. Hon. Stephen White, President of the Society, presided at the tables. The President of the United States appeared in good health and spirits. The toasts were announced by John W. Treadwell, Esq., the Corresponding Secretary.

December 31, 1866.—The report of Mr. John B. Silsbee, respecting the arrangements for the transference of its building and collections to the Essex Institute, or Mr. Peabody or his trustees, was read and accepted.

Too much praise cannot be given to the thoughtful originators and promoters of this institution, which, after flourishing for three-quarters of a century, transfers to younger hands the care and continuance of its scientific and other collections, reserving for itself the administration of its noble charities, which will continue as long as the institution exists.

Superintendents of Museum, Seth Bass, M.D., Mal-

thus A. Ward, M.D., George Osborne, M.D., Charles G. Page, M.D., Henry Wheatland, M.D., George D. Phippen.

THE PEABODY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—With the decline of Salem's foreign commerce the East India Marine Society found it more and more difficult to obtain means for conducting the museum which it had maintained with increasing success since 1799. Few new members joined the society, and the proceeds of its invested funds and membership assessments were all required for the charitable objects of the organization. The museum, therefore, became a burden, and serious thoughts were entertained of selling the collections.

At about the same time the Essex Institute had accumulated a large and valuable collection of objects relating to natural history, the care of which, with the limited means then at its disposal for this purpose, threatened to seriously embarrass the society and disperse the band of scientists who had collected and were working under the auspices of that institution.

In 1866, through the instrumentality of Mr. Francis Peabody, at the time president of the Essex Institute, the existing condition of affairs with these institutions was brought to the attention of Mr. George Peabody, of London. After a very careful consideration of the matter, both on the part of Mr. Peabody and those interested in the institutions here, a general understanding was arrived at, and on February 26, 1867, Mr. George Peabody generously placed in the hands of several gentlemen the sum of one hundred and forty thousand dollars, "for the promotion of science and useful knowledge in Essex County," to be expended in a manner indicated by a letter of trust and as understood between himself and the trustees named, and who, on Saturday, March 2, 1867, organized as the "Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science," with Mr. Francis Peabody as president. The East India Marine Hall property was purchased and the large exhibition-room was refitted for museum purposes with a special portion of the fund, according to the request of the donor. The museum of the East India Marine Society and the natural history and ethnological collections of the Essex Institute were then placed in the hands of the academy trustees as permanent deposits. These were arranged in East India Marine Hall, which was dedicated August 19, 1869, and opened to the public, the act of incorporation, approved April 13, 1868, having passed both branches of the Legislature.

Thus, through the instructions of the founder, the work of the institution was clearly indicated, and, although the funds were given for the benefit of the citizens of the county, the directions as to the purchase of the East India Marine Hall property and the agreements with the societies depositing their collections definitely located the institution in Salem, where its work must be conducted.

It has been the effort of the trustees to carry out Mr. Peabody's wishes by managing the affairs of the institution on as broad a plan as the income from the funds will permit. The museum, to which very large additions have been made by the trustees since 1867, through exchange, purchase and by gift, is arranged as an easy object-lesson in natural history. All the specimens in the cases are labelled clearly, larger cards and signs being placed to indicate the groups of the animals or minerals and the divisions of the ethnological collections. By this means the difficult problem of a catalogue for the use of visitors is avoided. This system is with the trustees a necessity, as the visitors to the museum number upwards of forty thousand annually, and are, with very few exceptions, persons without any scientific training whatever, and, in order that the museum shall be of any benefit to them and furnish them with instruction, the arrangement of the collections must at once be made simple and attractive. The office of the academy is ever open to any one who may desire to make inquiries as to the nature of any rock, animal or plant, or, in fact, anything coming under the general head of science. All such inquiries are answered as far as possible, and, at least, the inquirer is directed where he may gain the information he seeks. In 1876 a summer school of biology was established by the trustees, which was conducted for six seasons, and only discontinued when it was found that very few persons from Essex County cared to avail themselves of its instruction, nearly all the students coming from the Western States. During the continuance of the school, lectures were given and laboratory work conducted by well-known specialists in all branches of natural history. In addition to this work, special students have been received at the academy and classes in various branches of natural history are from time to time conducted, and, since the completion of the addition to the building and the opening of Academy Hall, public lectures have been given by men of acknowledged scientific attainments at such hours and at a rate of admission so low as to come within the reach of all. Of scientific memoirs the academy has published two volumes, chiefly of original researches by the officers of the academy, and, in addition, nineteen annual reports, several of which include scientific papers, have been issued. By a system of exchange, a large library of the publications of similar institutions, both of this country and abroad, has been brought together.

The officers of the academy at the present time are: Trustees,—William C. Endicott, President; Henry Wheatland, Vice-President; Abner C. Goodell, Jr., Secretary; all of Salem; James R. Nichols of Haverhill, George Peabody Russell of England, S. Endicott Peabody of Salem, George Cogswell of Bradford, John Robinson of Salem, Treasurer. The last three named have been chosen to fill vacancies caused by the deaths of Mr. Francis Peabody and Dr. Henry C. Perkins and the resignation of Prof. Asa Gray.

The first director under the trustees was Professor Frederick Ward Putnam, now of Cambridge, who was followed in 1876 by Dr. Alpheus S. Packard, Professor in Brown University, and, in 1880, by the present director, Prof. Edward S. Morse.

The museum and assistants there employed are in charge of the Treasurer, Mr. Robinson. The museum is open free to the public every week day from 9 to 5 o'clock, and, pending the completion of the new exhibition room in the addition to the main building, as at present arranged in East India Marine Hall, it contains, on the western side of the main floor, an educational collection illustrating the orders of the animal kingdom, arranged in their proper sequence, from the lowest forms to the highest. This collection was chiefly derived from the Essex Institute in the year 1867.

On the eastern side are arranged the Ethnological collections, principally received from the East India Marine Society, which are subdivided according to races or countries. This collection ranks among the very highest in importance in America. It is especially rich in South Sea Island implements, cloths, models, idols, domestic utensils, etc., and Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian life-size models of native characters, besides the boats, clothing, utensils, implements of war and of domestic use from these countries, and from Africa, Arabia, and North and South America. The collection from Japan is very fine, having been formed by the director during his last visit to that country. A collection from Korea and another illustrating the Indian Tribes of North America, have just been added to the museum.

The gallery is devoted to the Natural History and Archaeology of Essex County. Nearly all of the species of the flora and fauna are represented by preserved specimens; the collection of birds and that of native woods being especially fine. The academy has, also, the best local collection of prehistoric implements and utensils of stone, bone and clay to be found in Essex County.

An educational collection of minerals has recently been arranged in the central gallery case.

Academy Hall, previously referred to, is on the lower floor of the fire-proof addition to the East India Marine Hall building. It has a pleasant audience-room with a seating capacity for three hundred and fifty persons, and is well ventilated and tastefully decorated. The hall was arranged primarily for the use of the academy, but, having a separate public entrance, it is rented for such other purposes as are deemed suitable by the trustees.

THE SALEM LYCEUM was founded in the month of January, 1830, "for the purpose of mutual instruction and rational entertainment by means of lectures, &c." The persons engaged in this formation were among the principal gentlemen of the town. The first meeting was held at the house of Colonel Francis

Peabody, on January 4, 1830; a meeting was subsequently held in Town Hall, where a committee was appointed "to prepare a constitution and submit the same for inspection to the citizens of Salem."

On the evening of January 18, 1830, a meeting was held at the Essex House, and a formal organization was effected by the choice of Daniel A. White, president; Stephen C. Phillips, vice-president; Charles W. Upham, corresponding Secretary; Stephen P. Webb, recording secretary; Francis Peabody, treasurer, and a board of ten managers which included the names of Rufus Choate, Leverett Saltonstall and Caleb Foote.

In the original plan a series of public debates was contemplated, but this intention was never carried out. A course of lectures was, however, started at once, and in the first course all but four were delivered by gentlemen of Salem. The lectures were first given in the Methodist meeting-house on Sewall Street, and afterwards in the Universalist meeting-house. But during the summer of 1830 plans were adopted for the construction of the present Lyceum Hall, which was built and ready for occupancy in January, 1831, at a cost of \$3036, the land upon which it was erected costing seven hundred and fifty dollars.

For over half a century an annual course of lectures has been delivered before the Salem Lyceum, and during a portion of that time the demand for tickets has so far exceeded the seating capacity of the hall that a duplicate course has been given—gentlemen's tickets at the outset were sold for one dollar, and ladies' tickets for seventy-five cents; but it was not considered proper for ladies to purchase tickets unless "introduced" by a gentleman, and the tickets issued to them ran as follows: "Admit to the Salem Lyceum a Lady introduced by ———." In the changes which fifty years have brought about, ladies not only purchase tickets on equal terms with gentlemen, but appear upon the platform as lecturers, without question or comment.

Nearly a thousand lectures have been delivered before the Lyceum, and it is doubtful if any other institution in the country could present such a distinguished list. Judge Daniel A. White delivered the first lecture, his subject being "Advantages of Knowledge," and the list of lecturers includes such names as Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, Edward Everett, John Quincy Adams, Caleb Cushing, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Wendell Phillips, Louis Agassiz, George Bancroft, Charles Francis Adams, Horace Mann, Jared Sparks and Robert C. Winthrop. Among the Salem lecturers were Judge Daniel A. White, Francis Peabody, Rufus Choate, Thomas Spencer, Stephen C. Phillips, Henry Colman, Henry K. Oliver, Charles W. Upham, Leverett Saltonstall, Joshua H. Ward, Caleb Foote and George B. Loring. Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured in thirty-two different courses.

His first lecture was given in 1835, and his last in 1870.

The Lyceum can no longer offer such attractions to its patrons. The public taste has changed, and demands amusement rather than instruction in such a form. The purely literary lecture as a source of general entertainment is almost a thing of the past. The small cost of the cheap editions of the books of the present day which enables an author to address a larger audience at less inconvenience to himself, may have something to do with this change. Whether this be so or not the interest in the Lyceum lectures has not been maintained of late years, and the time may not be far distant when it will be deemed advisable to bring the affairs of this old time institution to a close.

The board of officers at present consists of President, George B. Loring; Secretary, Charles S. Osgood; Treasurer, Gilbert L. Streeter. Trustees, George Peabody and Caleb Foote, and a board of eight managers.

SALEM FRATERNITY.—On the 7th of February, 1869, Mr. Alfred Stone, of Providence, formerly a resident of Salem, by invitation addressed a meeting at the East Church, explaining the working of the Providence Union. The next evening a few persons came together in the parlor of Benjamin H. Silsbee, Esq., to confer upon the matter further. Other meetings followed at the same place, and resulted in the formation of the Salem Fraternity, under a constitution which states the purpose of the organization to be "to provide evening instruction and amusement" for such of our population as "being confined to their work during the day need recreation at the close of their labors."

The experiment fairly began on the 21st of April, 1869, on which evening the western range of rooms on the second floor of Downing's Block, 175 Essex Street, was opened for the purpose from front to rear. The place was well chosen; central, accessible, attractive in its principal rooms, while the thoroughfare of the Essex Street promenaders led directly past its door. The rooms were designated as amusement, reading, school and work-rooms.

A year and a half after its opening a winter course of lectures was started. On Saturday evenings the games and amusement were suspended, and their room was taken for this object. Gen. H. K. Oliver gave the first lecture on Saturday evening, October 22, 1870, subject "Good Manners." These lectures were continued on successive Saturday evenings for several years with great success, interspersed with familiar talks upon different mechanical trades and various industries by practical workers in them.

THE YOUNG MEN'S UNION was organized in 1855, and was for many years a flourishing institution. It maintained a reading-room, and each season a course of lectures and entertainments was given under its

auspices, but, failing to maintain its membership, it was dissolved some four or five years ago.

SALEM CHARITABLE MECHANIC ASSOCIATION.—Organized October 1, 1817; incorporated June 4, 1822; consists of regular apprenticed mechanics and of manufacturers, citizens of the city of Salem and vicinity. Its object is to extend the means of usefulness by encouraging the ingenious, by assisting the necessitous, and by promoting mutual good offices with each other.

A donation of books from Mr. Oliver Parsons, in April, 1820, laid the foundation of the library belonging to this institution. A committee was then appointed to solicit contributions, and in July of that year the number of volumes amounted to three hundred. In January, 1821, Mr. Benjamin Pickman presented a complete set of Rees' Cyclopædia. From this time the library has annually increased by donations and special appropriations, and at present numbers five thousand one hundred and twenty-five volumes. It is deposited in the middle eastern room under the Mechanic Hall, and is opened on Saturday evenings for the delivery of books. This institution early adopted the plan of having popular lectures on literature and science delivered to the members and their families. The first lecture was delivered by Dr. George Choate on Thursday evening, January 24, 1828, in Franklin Hall. These lectures were continued weekly, usually on Thursday evenings, during the winter season, for about thirty-eight years. They have since been delivered in their rooms, Derby Square, then Washington Hall, Lyceum Hall and Mechanic's Hall.

This association was instrumental in the building of Mechanics' Hall, in 1839. A stock company was incorporated for this purpose, in which the association invested a portion of its funds, the remainder of the stock being taken by the Salem Lyceum and the members and friends of the association. In 1870 it was enlarged and entirely remodelled, in its present condition.

In September, 1849, its first meeting was held in the above-named building. It was very successful and creditable to the Board of Managers and all who were interested in its success.

The first exhibition under the auspices of the government of the association was held at the Mechanic's Hall, Salem, commencing on Monday September 24, 1849. A good representation of the products of our varied industries was arranged upon the tables making a very creditable appearance. Forty-four medals and fifty-two diplomas were awarded by the judges.

ODD FELLOWSHIP.¹—The exact date of the origin of Odd Fellowship in Massachusetts is not known. The first lodge, self-instituted and without a charter, held its sessions in Boston. No records of its early meetings were preserved. On the 26th of March,

¹ By Daniel B. Hagar.

1820, it was organized by the choice of officers, the adoption of a name, and of laws for its government, and the commencement of a record of its proceedings. It was instituted under the name of Massachusetts Lodge, No. 1. On the 11th of March, 1823, Siloam Lodge, No. 2, was instituted. On the 28th of March, Massachusetts Lodge wrote to the Grand Lodge of Maryland, recognizing it as the Grand Lodge of the order in the United States, and asking for a charter to be granted to it as the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. The request was granted, and the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was duly organized June 9, 1823.

The growth of the order in Massachusetts was not rapid, and after a few years it became nearly extinct. Prior to 1832 seven lodges had been instituted, all of which had at that time ceased to exist, Merrimac Lodge, No. 7, being the last to give up. The Grand Lodge of the State died with the subordinate lodges. In 1883 Merrimac Lodge was revived, and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of the United States. On the 22d of June, 1841, Massachusetts Lodge, No. 1, was reorganized. By request of these two lodges, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was reinstated December 23, 1841. From this time the growth of the order was encouraging. Within two years the number of lodges increased to twenty-five. Between 1850 and 1860 there was a period of declension in the prosperity of the order in Massachusetts. Since 1860 the order has rapidly grown in numbers and influence, until it has come to be recognized as the leading beneficial order in the commonwealth. The present number of lodges is one hundred and ninety-one; the number of members, according to the last report, August, 1887, is thirty-four thousand six hundred and sixty-two.

The organization of the order includes the Grand Lodge, the Subordinate Lodges, the Grand Encampment, Subordinate Encampments, Cantons of Patriarchs Militant, and Lodges of the Daughters of Rebekah.

Essex Lodge, No. 26.—On the 20th of October, 1843, the first step was taken towards establishing a lodge of Odd Fellows in Salem. Adrien Low, G. D. Lyons, William Durant, Thomas Harvey and C. C. Hayden met at the house of Mr. Low, and, after deliberation, determined to apply to the Grand Lodge for a charter for Essex Lodge, No. 26, I. O. O. F. The charter was granted, and on the evening of November 6, 1843, the grand officers duly instituted the lodge and installed its officers. The officers were,—N. G., Thomas Durant; V. G., C. C. Hayden; Secretary, George Russell; Treasurer, Adrien Low; W., W. Merrill; C., B. F. Steadman; I. G., T. E. Page; R. S. N. G., T. Harvey; L. S. N. G., J. Kimball; R. S. V. G., N. Goldsmith; L. S. V. G., W. Saunders; R. S. S., W. R. Allen; L. S. S., I. T. Kimball; Chap., I. P. Atkinson.

The lodge at once entered upon a very prosperous career.

At the close of the year 1844, it numbered one hundred and thirty-four members, and January 1, 1849, five years and two months from its organization, it numbered three hundred and fifty-seven members. The whole number of members from its formation to the present time is nine hundred and twenty-five; of these one hundred and thirty-seven have died. The present number is three hundred and eighty-seven. A large number of members have withdrawn from Essex Lodge to aid in establishing other lodges. It furnished three of the five charter members of Atlantic Lodge, four of the five for Ocean Lodge, and four of the five for Holton Lodge. For the organization of Fraternity Lodge, it gave forty-three members; for Bass River Lodge, thirty-one; for Magnolia Lodge, twenty-seven; for Danvers Lodge, eleven. Essex Lodge has furnished in part the membership of some fifteen lodges.

Since its organization the lodge has paid in weekly benefits to the sick, \$26,580.87; in funeral benefits, \$5826.10; in other charities, \$3366.39; total, \$35,773.36. This amount does not include frequent private subscriptions not entered on the lodge books.

The lodge has a trust fund of over \$15,000, which is at present under the charge of three trustees, Rufus B. Gifford, Daniel B. Hagar and Charles H. Kezar.

The membership of the lodge has included men of every profession and almost every occupation; many of whom have held prominent positions in city and State and in the high ranks of Odd Fellowship. One of its members, Levi F. Warren, has been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and one, Rufus B. Gifford, has been Grand Patriarch of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts, and Grand Representative to the Sovereign Lodge of the United States.

The Noble Grands of Essex Lodge, in their order of service, have been: William Durant, C. C. Hayden, James Kimball, Thomas Harvey, Adrien Low, Warren G. Rayner, Joseph A. Goldthwait, Richard Lindley, Thomas H. Lefavour, George Russell, Henry Luscomb, Benjamin S. Grush, John W. Rhoades, Walter S. Harris, Hale Hildreth, Charles E. Symonds, Alvah A. Evans, Joshua W. Moulton, Simeon Flint, Enoch K. Noyes, Robert P. Clough, E. B. Phillips, Willis S. Knowlton, Samuel B. Foster, George C. S. Choate, Benjamin S. Boardman, Charles B. Luscomb, Charles H. Manning, Samuel Fuller, Rufus B. Gifford, George W. Kingsley, Thomas Oakes, Walter Norris, James M. Brown, John R. Norfolk, Jonathan S. Symonds, Joseph Beadle, Edwin Verry, Joseph A. Kimball, Moses H. Sibley, Seth S. Currier, Joseph Swasey, Albert Day, Benjamin Edwards, Levi F. Warren, John White, William Holland, Charles Adams, Eleazer Hathaway, Richard N. Knight, Edward E. Dalton, James Donaldson, William P. Hayward, Nathaniel M. Jackman, John S. Wardwell, Jr., Perry Col-

lier, George M. Harris, Aaron C. Young, George H. Blinn, John F. Staniford, Joseph Batchelder, John H. Russell, Henry Conant, William D. Dennis, William R. Tebbetts, Aaron J. Patch, William O. Arnold, Charles Babbidge, John Wilson, William P. Pousland, George M. Gallup, Charles C. Rondes, Charles B. Trumbull, Joseph N. Petersen, John E. Kimball, John E. Matthews, Frank Cousins, Benjamin A. Touret, David B. Kimball, Clarence Hayward, Howard C. Kimball, Amos J. Vincent, Robert E. Hill, Daniel B. Hagar, Arthur S. Pulfray, George Z. Goodell, Warren B. Perkins, A. L. Burnham, Andrew J. Wilson.

The Secretaries have been: George Russell, James C. Briggs, Samuel B. Buttrick, Amory Holbrook, Jonathan F. Worcester, Israel D. Shepard, John G. Willis, Joseph Farnham, Franklin Grant, Benjamin S. Boardman, Charles E. Symonds, Charles B. Luskomb, John W. Moulton and E. B. Phillips; the last named has been secretary since 1858.

The Treasurers have been: Adrien Low, Nathaniel Goldsmith, James Harris, E. B. Symonds, Samuel Smith, John Beadle, Jr., Rodney C. Fletcher, Robert P. Clough, Volney C. Stow, George C. S. Choate, James M. Brown, John J. Ashby, Andrew H. Lord, Charles H. Norris, John P. Langmaid, William P. Hayward and John Wilson.

The present chief officers of the lodge are: N. G., A. J. Wilson; V. G., E. A. Reed; Secretary, E. B. Phillips; Treasurer, John Wilson.

Fraternity Lodge, No. 118, was instituted November 13, 1847, at Lynde Hall. The charter under which the lodge exists is signed by Rev. Dr. E. H. Chapin, at that time Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. Of the Board of Grand Officers that instituted the lodge, Judge W. E. Palmenter, now chief-justice of the Municipal Court of Suffolk County, is the only survivor.

The charter members were James Kimball, Adrien Low, Stephen Whittemore, Jr., T. H. Lefavour, George Russell, William Lummus, Jesse Smith, S. B. Buttrick, Ephraim Annible, William Saunders, B. R. White, Gardner Barton, John Barlow, Joseph Hunt, James Harris, Jr., Nathaniel Wiggin, Alexander McCloy, C. B. Elwell, Alva Kendall, John Lovejoy, John G. Willis, Franklin Grant, William Brown, Joseph Farnum, S. O. Dalrymple, Jonathan Perley, George W. Pease, Jonathan F. Worcester and D. C. Haskell.

The first board of officers were James Kimball, N. G.; Stephen Whittemore, V. G.; Jonathan F. Worcester, Sec.; Thomas H. Lefavour, Treas.; Franklin Grant, W.; William Brown, C.; John Lovejoy, I. G.; E. Annible, O. G.; Joseph Farnum, R. S. N. G.; S. O. Dalrymple, L. S. N. G.; C. B. Elwell, R. S. V. G.; Alva Kendall, L. S. V. G.; Jonathan Perley, R. S. S.; George W. Pease, L. S. S.; Trustees, S. B. Buttrick, Jesse Smith and James Harris, Jr.

These brothers were all active members of the

order: Messrs. Kimball, Low, Whittemore, Lefavour and Russell having been at the head of Essex Lodge, of Salem, and many others having held other positions in that lodge.

The lodge inaugurated an entirely new arrangement of the system of dues and benefits. The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts endorsed and especially commended the system of Fraternity Lodge, and it has been substantially adopted by all Odd-Fellows' Lodges in the country.

Of the twenty-nine original members, nine are now living (July 1, 1887), and in active membership, having held continuous membership more than forty years; all the other charter members are dead.

The Noble Grands of this Lodge, in regular order, have been James Kimball, Stephen Whittemore, Jr., Joseph Farnum, Jonathan F. Worcester, Benjamin Whittemore, I. D. Shepard, George H. Pearson, Jonathan Perley, S. O. Dalrymple, William Brown, H. E. Jocelyn, H. E. Meloney, Alva Kendall, E. C. Webster, William B. Brown, F. H. Lefavour, C. B. Elwell, Charles Estes, William B. Ashton, John R. Smith, N. A. Horton, George L. Upton, Joseph J. Rider, T. H. Lefavour, William M. Hill, Richard Harrington, T. M. Dix, W. H. Caulfield, C. D. Stiles, Charles Odell, A. J. Lowd, J. W. Averell, Joseph L. Lougee, C. H. Ingalls, Edward F. Brown, T. B. Nichols, N. A. Very, R. W. Reeves, G. C. Fernald, John P. Tilton, J. A. Hill, William Harmon, Charles B. Fowler, B. L. Morrill, B. M. Kenney, George H. Hill, Jesse Robbins, W. D. Gardner, W. G. Hammond, Samuel C. Beane, A. J. Tibbets, W. L. Welch, Charles Phelps, James A. Evans, J. R. Lambirth, W. A. Upton, F. A. Newell, C. H. Harwood, David Allen, William Meade, Joseph A. Sibley, E. W. Woodman, I. G. Taylor, Edward Mitchell, John M. Raymond, E. O. Richards, W. S. Nevins, A. B. Fowler, A. W. Batchelder, H. C. Strout, George W. Burnham, J. D. H. Gaus, George Putney, Fred. Tibbets.

The secretaries, in regular order, have been Jonathan F. Worcester, Richard Gardner, I. D. Shepard, Daniel T. Smith, William Archer, Jr., H. E. Meloney, Joseph J. Rider, T. H. Lefavour, N. A. Horton, William M. Hill, Joseph L. Lougee, C. H. Ingalls, J. P. Tilton, C. B. Fowler, J. W. Averell, J. A. Hill, A. J. Lowd.

The treasurers have been T. H. Lefavour, I. D. Shepard, A. B. Keith, James A. Wallis, George R. Buffum, T. M. Dix, Joseph Farnum, Joseph L. Lougee.

The present trustees of funds are William M. Hill, George Russell, N. A. Very, C. B. Fowler, E. F. Brown.

The present number of members is three hundred and twenty; fifty-nine members have died. The lodge has paid for relief of members, \$12,544.67; for burial of the dead, \$2640; for other charitable purposes, \$2376. The lodge has remaining a large fund for relief.

An examination of the list of members of this lodge, in its forty years of history, shows that its members have been among the most prominent citizens of Salem. Two have filled the position of mayor of the city, thirteen have served as aldermen, five have served as president of the Common Council, sixty-four as members of the Common Council, and others in many prominent public positions in State, county and municipal affairs.

In the order itself the members of this lodge have been highly honored. Nathaniel A. Very has served as Grand Patriarch of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts, and William M. Hill has served as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; and other members have filled many important positions in the Grand Encampment and the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

Naumkeag Encampment, No. 13, I. O. O. F.—The Naumkeag Encampment was organized June 26, 1845. Its members are connected with various subordinate lodges including Essex, Fraternity, Holton, Bass River, Agawam, Ocean, Hockomoco, Asylum, Mc., and Boston. The large majority of the members belong to Essex and Fraternity Lodges. The present number of members is three hundred and fifteen. Fifty-three of its members have died.

Its first officers were: C. P., William Archer, Jr.; H. P., Benjamin H. Grush; S. W., Israel D. Shepard; J. W., John C. Howard; Secretary, Samuel B. Foster; Treasurer, William Saunders, Jr.

The present officers are: C. P., William A. Saunders; H. P., C. C. Rhoades; S. W., Andrew J. Wilson; J. W., Edward N. Reed; Secretary, E. B. Phillips; Treasurer, J. Archer Hill. The trustees of its fund are Samuel A. Potter, Aaron C. Young and James Buxton.

The Chief Patriarchs, in the order of their service, have been: William Archer, Jr., Samuel B. Foster, Franklin Grant, John C. Howard, Walter S. Harris, James Kimball, Jonathan Perley, Jr., Jefford M. Decker, Stephen Whitmore, Joseph Farnum, Jr., John White, Robert P. Clough, James H. Conway, Edward C. Webster, Alva A. Evans, E. B. Phillips, Isaac Young, Simcon Flint, Andrew H. Lord, Rufus B. Gifford, Nicholas Woodbury, John R. Smith, Andrew F. Wales, B. W. Standley, Richard L. Woodfin, Thomas Oakes, William A. Foster, John R. Norfolk, Joseph J. Rider, Thomas W. Webber, George M. Hildreth, Moses H. Sibley, Joseph Swasey, Simon Lamprell, John E. Davis, Daniel F. Staten, Eleazer Giles, Caleb Prentiss, Jr., Ezra Stanley, John Conway, Jr., William M. Smith, T. D. Hanners, N. A. Very, Abram A. Fiske, Charles H. Ingalls, Charles F. Wilkins, Charles B. Fowler, Andrew J. Tibbetts, Aaron C. Young, George H. Blinn, Jr., William D. Gardner, William O. Arnold, James W. Averell, Joseph N. Peterson, N. M. Jackman, George M. Harris, Frank Cousins, S. Augustus Stodder, Wesley K. Bell, Edward F. Brown, F. A. Newell, Albert Day, Jr., John Wil-

son, George W. Ingalls, William E. Mead, Andrew J. Lord, George W. Grant, Fred. J. Gifford, Arthur S. Palfray, Arthur R. Millett, C. D. Bliss, J. O. Buxton, Robert E. Hill, A. J. Vincent, J. K. Saunders.

Salem Encampment, No. 11, I. O. O. F.—The Salem Encampment was organized January 1, 1884, with fifty-eight charter members. Since that time fifty-eight members have been initiated, making the total number one hundred and sixteen. Of these, one has died and one has been dropped, leaving the present number one hundred and fourteen.

The Chief Patriarchs, in the order of service, have been: William E. Mead, George Millett, John M. Raymond, Otis Burnham, I. G. Taylor, W. P. Poussland, W. H. Dayton, E. M. Carpenter.

The present leading officers are: C. P., E. M. Carpenter; H. P., J. F. Lovejoy; S. W., A. M. Batchelder; J. W., W. L. Nevens; Secretary, A. J. Lowd; Treasurer, W. D. Dennis.

This Encampment pays for sick benefits one dollar per week; for funeral benefits, fifty dollars.

Union Lodge, Daughters of Rebekah, No. 11, I. O. O. F.—Union Lodge of the Daughters of Rebekah was instituted April 12, 1870. Sixty-nine charter members were present at its first meeting, mostly from Essex Lodge.

Its first officers were, N. G., Eleazer Hathaway; V. G., Eliza A. Ingalls; Recording Secretary, Charles H. Ingalls; Permanent Secretary, Sarah H. Baker; Treasurer, Margaret J. Robinson.

The present membership consists of seventy-nine brothers and ninety-two sisters.

The present officers are, N. G., Amos J. Vincent; V. G., Eliza A. Ingalls; Recording Secretary, E. B. Phillips; Permanent Secretary, Lula H. Graham; Treasurer, Lydia A. Tyler.

Patriarchs Militant, I. O. O. F.—Canton Unity, No. 5, Patriarchs Militant, I. O. O. F., was instituted January 6, 1883, as Unity Uniformed Degree Camp, No. 5, with twenty-seven charter members. The officers installed were, Commander, George H. Blinn; Vice-Commander, Walter J. Norris; Officer of the Guard, William O. Arnold; Secretary, John Wilson; Treasurer, Samuel A. Potter. Among the charter members were Nathaniel A. Very, Past Grand Representative, and William M. Hill, then Mayor of Salem.

The camp grew in a short time to one hundred and thirty-five members, taking its membership from Salem, Beverly, Ipswich, Gloucester, Danvers, Peabody, Marblehead and Lynn.

On the 12th of February, 1886, Unity Camp was merged into a canton, taking the name Grand Canton Unity, No. 5, P. M., I. O. O. F. It consisted of three component cantons, numbered 13, 14 and 15. The officers of the new organization were:

No. 13. Captain and Commandant, Arthur S. Palfray; Lieutenant, Charles F. Wilkins; Ensign, Chas. D. Bliss.

No. 14. Captain, William W. Pinder; Lieutenant, Charles W. Wallis; Ensign, George O. Tarbox.

No. 15. Captain, John Karcher; Lieutenant, William E. Luscomb; Ensign, Horace A. Roberts.

Clerk of Grand Canton, John Wilson; Accountant, Samuel A. Potter.

The canton made a creditable appearance in the parade on the 22d of September, 1886, given in honor of the Sovereign Grand Lodge, at Boston. It turned out the largest number of any canton in the line.

Many of the most prominent men of Essex County are members of the canton.

Its present officers are:

No. 13. Captain and Commandant, Fred. J. Gifford, of Salem; Lieutenant, George H. Stickney, of Salem; Ensign, A. S. Edwards, of Beverly.

No. 14. Captain, Arthur R. Millett, of Salem; Lieutenant, W. G. Hussey, of Salem; Ensign, Edward N. Reed, of Salem.

No. 15. Captain, John E. Graham, of Salem; Lieutenant, John O. Buxton, of Peabody; Ensign, Joseph C. Shepherd, of Gloucester; Clerk, John Wilson; Accountant, Henry C. Millett. Cantons pay no benefits, its objects being social.

Odd Fellows' Burial-Ground.—A joint committee consisting of Brothers Walter H. Harris, Alvah A. Evans and Nathaniel M. Jackman, of Essex Lodge, and Brothers G. C. Fernald, William M. Hill and Nathaniel A. Very, of Fraternity Lodge, purchased eight lots in what was then known as the Orne Street Cemetery, since called Green Lawn Cemetery. The price paid was \$218.40, each lodge paying one-half that amount.

This purchase was made in August, 1868. In 1871 the sum of two hundred dollars was expended in grading these lots into one large lot, and putting it into a good condition. A monument was erected upon the lot in 1884, at the cost of eleven hundred and twenty-five dollars. The fund for the erection of this monument was donated by Naumkeag Encampment, the same being a part of the proceeds of a fair held by that encampment.

The monument is of granite and consists of a base and sub-base of hammered stone, a square stone upon whose several faces are the memorial inscriptions, an octagonal stone embellished with emblems of the Order, a polished column, around which is twined a vine of leaves, and upon its summit a polished globe. It is four feet five inches square at the base, and is thirteen feet high.

The lot is under the care of a joint committee, consisting of three brothers from each lodge.

Up to the present time, there have been fifteen interments in the lot; five bodies have been removed to other lots, leaving at present ten graves, four of which represent an entire family—father, mother and two children; one is that of a brother of a lodge in a distant part of the State; the remainder are those of brothers belonging to the Salem Lodges.

CHAPTER XI.

SALEM—(Continued).

MILITARY HISTORY.

BY CHARLES A. BENJAMIN.

UNLIKE many cities of equal historic importance, Salem is fortunate in her inability to point to a record of battles fought within her limits or sieges sustained by her. No turreted walls have enclosed her, nor, with one exception, since the precautions taken in the earliest life of the infant settlement, have her streets been watched by sentinels or, except in peaceful parade, echoed to the tread of armed men or rumble of artillery. As her name imports, she has indeed been a city of peace, and her citizens for nearly two centuries, have, within her borders, enjoyed immunity from the scourge of war. Her fame rests upon the success of her people in the paths of commerce and manufacture; their devotion to science and art and a charity and large-heartedness that, accompanying wealth, have prevented want and made her ever the abode of comfort and plenty. But although thus given to peaceful pursuits and preserved in herself from the devastation and ruin of war, this by no means implies that Salem has not indirectly suffered from its effects, or that her men have been slow to respond to the demands of their country upon their patriotism and courage; for they have manfully borne their full part in the wars of the nation, and sustained its honor and that of their native town on all occasions. In every Indian skirmish, and on every smoke-wreathed field known in our history, from the taking of "Sassacus his fort" to Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, or fighting their guns on the ocean in all latitudes, have stood the men of Salem, patriotic, brave and enduring. Their blood has wet the sod from the chapparal of Mexico to the shores of the great lakes, and their shattered bones lie fathoms deep in every sea.

This, then, is the military history of Salem—not that of a Saragossa or Leipsic, shaken in her own territory with the thunder of cannon, the crash of falling walls, and the groans of the wounded and dying—but steadfastly enduring in almost every cycle of her existence the departure of numbers of her best and bravest, and keeping green the memory of those who never returned, with tears, but in great honor and gratitude.

Within the limited space necessarily given in a county history to a monograph of this character, it is impossible to render full justice to all those whose services constitute the military record of the city, and if any for themselves or their ancestors or kindred shall feel neglected in this particular, their indulgence is requested on this account, and because of the sometimes scanty sources of information existing, with relation

to the connection of individuals with the warlike events of our history.

The first settlers of Salem, in common with their neighbors, landing in the wilderness and surrounded by a race of savages not numerous, but singularly active and enterprising, to whose keen, though untaught comprehension, their habits appeared objectionable and their civilization a menace, soon found that a conciliatory attitude was ineffectual to remove the suspicions of the Indians and enable the colonists to rely upon their good faith. The Indian, once fairly committed to a friendship upon a sound basis, may be expected to keep his engagements, and is a steadfast ally. When, however, as has usually been the case in our history, treaties and alliances were forced upon him as the weaker party, he fully realized the moral weakness of these compacts, and felt justified by his simple code of ethics in evading them upon the least sign of bad faith on the other side, or by simple treachery, followed by such violent efforts to as far as possible restore the proper equality of numbers between himself and his antagonist, as made the Indian wars extremely destructive and cruel.

Our ancestors therefore found it essential to their continuance here, to organize for defense. At the meeting of the Court of Assistants in September, 1630, the first step was taken in this direction by the appointment of Captains Underhill and Patrick, doubtless old English soldiers, as military instructors (probably charged also with the early organization of the forces), and an assessment was levied upon the various settlements for their maintenance. Salem's share toward this comfortable billet for these old veterans was three pounds.

In the following April the same authority directed that the companies should be drilled by their officers on each Saturday: Captain Underhill or Patrick no doubt superintended the operation, and with the latitude presumably allowed to the military hope of the pious colonists, were doubtless sometimes permitted to be well sustained with strong waters and to swear freely at both officers and men, after the fashion of military instructors in all ages. Every man was at this time required to bear arms, and the colony seemed to be establishing itself on a sound military basis. Several cannon were brought to Salem about this time.

In August of the same year (1631), a considerable hostile body of Tarrentines or Eastern Indians,—probably from Maine,—made their appearance in the vicinity of Salem, and caused much alarm to the settlers, as they were reputed to be puissant in warfare with the unpleasant habit of eating their captives. The people, however, fell in at once, and dragging out their six pounders, discharged them into the woods in the supposed direction of the enemy: whereat the Tarrentines, being unaccustomed to the sound of heavy ordnance, and apparently finding it disagreeable, took themselves off without further de-

lay. This bloodless victory scored one for the Salem men, and must have been a gratifying result of their first engagement with the enemy.

About this time Captain John Endicott commanded an expedition composed of Salem men and other colonists to the number of ninety, to beat up the Indians who had gathered about Block Island with mischievous intent and had committed some depredations. The Fabian policy of the gentle savage prevented any general fight, although a few Indians were picked off by some accurate long-range practice, and the general effect of this energy and promptness appears to have been salutary.

While bearing a hand generally upon the simple fortifications and block-houses built for the safety of the colony, the Puritan warriors of Salem kept up their military habits by frequent drills, though they do not seem to have been engaged with the Indians again until 1636. It was on the occasion of a parade of the Salem company during this interval that the Cross of St. George was cut out of its colors by the pious sword or command of Capt. John Endicott, whose military and religious instincts seem to have been quite equally developed. This assertion of the puritan dislike of papistical emblems, raised a considerable breeze on both sides of the Atlantic, and the offense to the authority of the Crown was only condoned after suitable apologies. In August, 1636, hostilities having broken out with the Pequod Indians, a force of four small companies under Captain Endicott, one of which comprised the Salem contingent and was commanded by Ensign Davenport, of this place, was sent out against the enemy. Marching westward they had some skirmishes with the Indians, and returned September 14th, after inflicting on them considerable loss, while themselves losing but two men killed and a few wounded. The military officers appointed for Salem that winter were, Captain William Trask, Lieutenant Richard Davenport and Ensign Thomas Reade.

The following year Salem furnished two officers, Captain Trask and Lieutenant Davenport, and twenty-eight men as a part of the quota of one hundred and sixty from the Massachusetts Colony, who, under the general command of Captain Stoughton, marched to join the Connecticut forces in the campaign against the Pequod chief, Sassacus, who had assumed a hostile attitude. Before the arrival of the Massachusetts reinforcement, Colonel Mason had severely defeated the Indians, but they gallantly rallied, and the forces of the colonists having united, nearly exterminated them in a second engagement where Lieutenant Davenport and a party of his Salem men particularly distinguished themselves. Lieutenant Davenport was promoted, and in 1644 was appointed as captain to the command of the castle in Boston harbor. Later on he became a colonel, but had then removed from Salem.

There followed a considerable period during which

the settlers were not harassed by the Indians to any great extent; but realizing their constant danger, their vigilance was not relaxed and the military were kept in a good and increasingly efficient condition, with numbers continually augmenting, while the garrison and outpost duty they were required to perform was arduous and constant.

The discipline of the colonial soldier seems to have been carefully looked after at this time, for we read that it was enacted that "any disobeying his officer should be set in the bilboes or stocks, or be whipped." Military officers also directed the arms that men should carry in going from home, and particularly when attending church. The sight of a stalwart citizen of Salem of to-day, heavily armed and marching up and down the sidewalk in front of the First Church door narrowly watching every approach, while Sunday morning service was in progress; and the subsequent exit of the congregation at its close, each man with a heavy matchlock carrying a bullet of fifteen to the pound, on his shoulder, would strike us as rather odd; but it was quite the correct thing in the sixteen-forties at the very same place.

As a sample of the good fighting stuff of which the ancient Salemite was constructed, it might not be out of place to draw attention to the military talents of that distinguished Salem divine, the Rev. Hugh Peters, who officiated in the First Church at about this time, and who doubtless imbibed some of the belligerent spirit of his colonial parish: for, sometime later being in England, he served as chaplain of one of the "Ironsides" regiments of Cromwell's army, and on one occasion in Ireland, we are told, took command of the regiment, and handled it in action like a born soldier. It is to be regretted that the active part he took in the affairs of the English Commonwealth ultimately cost him his head.

In the summer of 1645 war was declared by the colonists against the Narragansett tribe, and the Salem military marched with other troops against them. The Indians, however, do not seem to have laid in sufficient ammunition or had their tomahawks properly sharpened, for they "weakened," if the expression may be permitted, and sued for peace, which was concluded before the combatants came to blows. In October of that year the officers appointed for the Salem company were: Captain William Hathorne; Lieutenant William Clark and Ensign William Dixey, while John Endicott, who had previously held that commission, was continued as sergeant-major-general, which, though now an obsolete title, was then given to the commander-in-chief of the forces of the colony.

Fifteen years later we find the military establishment of what had now become the County of Essex, well organized and containing two troops of cavalry, one of which was composed of men of Salem, Manchester, Lynn and Riverhead, under Captain

George Curwen and Lieutenant Thomas Putnam of Salem, and Cornet Walter Price of Manchester.

Captain Thomas Lathrop of Salem, though he may afterwards have been of Beverly, was, in 1663, appointed to command the Eastern foot company of the town. It would appear that at this early date there were two standing companies of infantry and part of a company of cavalry furnished by the town of Salem, which, considering the probable population of the settlement, must have comprised a large part of its able-bodied men.

Quiet continued to prevail until in 1675 the sudden uprising of Philip, Chief of the Wampanoags, with his tribesmen and allies, dispelled the fancied security of the colonists and called into immediate action their well-appointed and trained forces. Nevertheless, so well had this astute warrior laid his plans and so carefully had they been kept from the knowledge of those whom it was his purpose to annihilate, that his preconcerted attack was a complete surprise and for a time it seemed as if the accomplishment of that purpose was by no means impossible.

Towns were destroyed in an hour, large numbers of the people were massacred and the outlying settlements were abandoned by the inhabitants who flocked toward the larger towns to the eastward. In the hasty muster and advance of the troops to succor their hard-pressed brethren, their eagerness in some cases outran caution, and in the first contact with the insidious foe they had difficulty in holding their own and met with some severe reverses.

Captain Lathrop, before mentioned, while in command of a picked body of young men of the Essex companies, called by contemporaneous writers "the flower of Essex," was conveying a supply train, and being ambuscaded in Deerfield while crossing Muddy Brook, was killed with seventy of his men—nearly his entire force. Hearing the noise of the firing, Captain Mosely hastened from the upper part of Deerfield with his company, and finding the Indians engaged in scalping Lathrop's men, attacked them without hesitation, though greatly outnumbered, and drove them off with severe punishment. The company of Captain Mosely seems to have contained many Salem men and his lieutenants, Savage and Pickering, both of Salem, did much in aid of his victory by their resolution and gallantry. As in Lathrop's company there were also a number of Salem young men, this town shared in the general mourning of the county over the disaster that befell them.

The powerful Narragansett tribe, having at length allied themselves with Philip, the colonists determined to avail themselves of the inclement weather of approaching winter that would draw the Indians together, and, with a very strong force, to deal this tribe a crushing blow that should render them powerless for future harm. Thirty-one men, under Captain Gardner, were drawn from the Salem companies

and joined the force that marched southward to attack the stronghold in Rhode Island, where a large part of the Narragansetts were gathered. In the attack upon this palisaded fort in a morass, which was signally successful and utterly broke the power of that formidable tribe, Captain Gardner and six other men of Salem were killed and eleven wounded, which would indicate that the men from this town were not shirking their work to any great extent.

Hostilities continued during the following year and while the enemy had been much weakened and the military had begun to get hold of their work and were equal to the Indians when they could find them, yet with such subtle foes and in a country full of difficulty for moving columns, constant vigilance had to be exercised, and the troops had little rest. More men were impressed from Salem for active service. Those remaining strengthened the main fort here and built "garrisons" (block-houses), for the protection of the farm people outside of the town. These were all garrisoned, and the military of Salem must have been nearly all on duty during this time, at home or with the active forces. Lieutenant John Pierce and Ensign Gardner were appointed in the winter of 1676 to the foot company lately commanded by Captain Gardner, who fell at the Narragansett Fort.

In the spring of this year Captain George Curwen, of Salem, who was commanding a troop of cavalry in the field, had a difficulty with a Major Henchman, his superior officer, and the General Court,—which useful body, by the way, seemed to be available for any service from expounding doctrine, to sitting as a general court-martial—sentenced the gallant captain to dismissal and a fine of £100. As, however, he seems to have been too good an officer to lose, and quite likely the General Court finding that they had blundered about the evidence, he was presently restored to his rank. Although the record is silent on this point, it is also to be hoped that he got back his hundred pounds.

In September of that year, Major William Hathorne, with part of the Salem contingent bore a hand in the final surprise of Quiccheo, where the greater number of the Indians remaining in arms were captured and King Philip's war ended; that gallant chief having been killed the previous month.

Civilization has its advantages, and looking at the question practically, it is perhaps best that its onward march should not be obstructed by a few savages. Nevertheless it is difficult to withhold admiration for this man Philip and his brave followers, who, believing that the English were driving them from the land of their fathers, died in the effort to preserve their inheritance as gallantly as did Leonidas or Winkelreid. As to the Indian methods of warfare, if they made more cruel work of it than the pious Puritan did on several occasions, the chroniclers have much misled us.

Early in 1677 some Eastern or Maine Indians rather disgusted the Salem ship-owners by capturing a number of their vessels that were on that coast, probably engaged in fishing. Exactly how it was done is not clear, and the fact is rather surprising; for while dashing fighters on land, the red man has rarely gone in much for naval distinction. However, in some way or another in this case they managed to pick up "no less than thirteen ketches and *captivate* the men," so goes the record. The ketch was a small schooner-rigged vessel which was much used in those days. As was quite customary, on receipt of this intelligence, a fast was immediately ordered, while an armed ketch with a crew of forty men and doubtless the destructive big guns that had proved so noisily effective on a previous occasion, was dispatched as a man-of-war to the rescue. "The Lord gave them success," is the brief and pious record of this first of Salem's long list of maritime victories. Matters rather calmed down after this naval exploit for a dozen years or so, and the good Puritans of Salem in the absence of war's alarms, were able to improve their material condition and to indulge in those fierce doctrinal squabbles in which their souls took stern enjoyment. But their military matters were not neglected, and in 1689 Jonathan Walcott was appointed captain, and Nathaniel Ingersoll and Thomas Flint, respectively lieutenant and ensign of the new company formed at Salem village, afterward the town of Danvers. Samuel Higginson, of Salem, was about this time serving as lieutenant-colonel of the South Essex regiment that embraced the Salem companies and those of adjacent towns.

The Indians in this year, instigated by the French, gave signs of restlessness, and in July seventy men were told off from the Essex lower regiment of foot, that included the Salem companies, to join in the defence of the frontier towns. Captain B. Gedney, who declined, and subsequently Captain S. Sewell, Lieutenant Robert Kitchen and Ensign Edward Flint were appointed officers of the West Salem company.

The companies of Salem seemed to have been well filled, for Capts. Sewell and John Price were presently ordered to organize four companies from their commands. The names of the new officers commissioned in consequence of this mobilization do not appear. As the savages became more threatening in their demonstrations and things were looking rather blue, a fast was now ordered in Salem. It is pleasant to observe the practical military preparations that in each emergency accompanied the prayers of our excellent ancestors. They were ever buckling on the sword, as it were, even while they were in the act of bending the knee.

In August Captain Simon Willard marched with a contingent from Salem and vicinity to Casco Bay, while the Essex lower cavalry troop, possibly still under the efficient command of our old friend Captain Curwen, were ordered to Newichewannock.

Late in the fall Captain Willard writes to the governor for supplies for the Casco Bay outpost, and takes occasion to say that "the parents of his soldiers are much displeased because they have not already returned as was promised." What effect this statement had upon the governor does not appear, but it is to be hoped that the displeasure of their parents was not visited upon the unhappy young recruits themselves when they ultimately turned up in Salem.

In 1690 war was declared against the French by the Colonists, who were much harassed by them in the fisheries and by their Indian allies in the Eastern settlements. Great military activity prevailed and while a few Salem men form part of the one hundred and sixty from Massachusetts reporting at Albany, four companies under Maj. John Price, Capts. Sewell and Walcott, and other officers whose names are not given, join the larger New England force preparing to attack Port Royal, the French stronghold in Nova Scotia. Benjamin Gedney, of Salem, now a colonel, and apparently held in high estimation, was appointed to command this expedition, but he declined the honor in favor of Sir William Phipps, who this year captured the place.

No especial mention is found of the conduct of the Salem portion of the beleaguering force, but it requires little penetration to feel quite assured of their gallantry on every opportunity, and it is pleasant to observe that Colonel Gedney is upon his return, placed upon the committee to divide the plunder obtained from Port Royal, which was very valuable. Let us hope that he saw to it that Salem received her just share thereof.

The cavalry (Essex lower troop) now under command of Captain Brown, of Salem, are in the field again this year, though the direction of their service is uncertain—probably to the eastward—while three hundred and eight men of Colonel Gedney's regiment, doubtless then under his command, from Salem and vicinity, rendezvous late in the year, and take part in the unsuccessful expedition against Montreal and Quebec, Captain John Curwen being one of the officers, with no doubt others from Salem.

A desultory warfare was continued with the French and their Indian allies for a long period, during which there is little to be gleaned in the chronicles, of the doings of the Salem soldiery. In fact little actual fighting was done by any body in this part of the country, though the scouts and Indians had no end of quiet amusement in the depths of the forest, bushwhacking and scalping each other to their heart's content.

In 1692 Colonel Gedney went down to Wells, Me., with an escort of thirty troopers (probably of the Essex lower troop) and made a peace with the Maine Indians, independently of the French, which appears to have endured until 1695, when, by the bad faith, according to Colonel Gedney's account, of one Captain Chubb in command at Kittery, the Indians again

took up arms, obliging the colonel to march on that place with four hundred and sixty men. We presume that this imposing force, combined with Colonel Gedney's diplomatic abilities, restored the broken peace, for there do not seem to have been any further difficulties in that region for some little time thereafter.

In 1703 we find the Governor ordering the impressment of twenty men for the "Flying Horse," an armed cruiser of Salem. As the good people of the town with solemn pleasure watched the fitting out of this vessel, how little did they realize the very large number of armed cruisers that were, in later times, to be sent from their harbor! It appears that the buccaneers of the Spanish main, who had for many years been making things very unpleasant for treasure-ships and settlements in the vicinity of the equator, now began to extend their operations to the northward and appeared occasionally off the New England coast. Hence arose the necessity for this incipient naval force.

In the year 1704 a party of pirates, in a vessel commanded by one Quelch, remained off and on the coast for a time, having a secret rendezvous in a house near the entrance of Marblehead harbor. Where the armed cruiser was at the time is not clear, except that she was out of the way. However, the good people of Salem got along without her very well, according to the record; for, the character of the gang developing itself by some depredations, they were tracked to Gloucester, and Major Stephen Sewall, with one party, and Judge Samuel Sewall (who, by the way, was the chief promoter of the expedition), in personal charge of another, followed them down and carried their vessel by boarding, killing or capturing the entire lot after a rattling fight. The survivors were promptly hanged as a suggestion of the insalubrity of the New England climate to gentlemen of their profession. The hint was not lost upon the unchanged residue, and it was not until eighteen years later that the exploit of the notorious Capt. Low in Marblehead harbor, indicated that these lively sea-rovers must have learned of the demise of the belligerent Salem justice, and had good hope of the immunity that they actually enjoyed on that occasion.

During the interval of comparative repose that ensued for Salem and vicinity, in common with the rest of the colony, between King William's and Queen Anne's War, there is nothing to record. But this afforded but a brief breathing-space, and soon the border towns were again suffering from Indian attacks, and the Colonists involved in expensive and abortive expeditions in the effort to conquer Canada, so much desired by England. The pressure of danger was not severely felt in Salem just now, since we find the town indulging in a rather acidulous controversy in 1706 with the Governor, as to whether Fort Anne, in Salem should be repaired by the town or the Province.

In August, 1708, Major Walter Turner, with Cap-

tains John Gardner and Walter Price and a Salem contingent, join with other troops in pursuit of a party of French and Indians that had threaded the wilderness in one of their numerous raids and suddenly appeared near the northern towns. A sharp action, in which the enemy were discomfited and driven off, and John Gyles, of Salem, lost an arm, with a few others killed and wounded, was the net result.

There is little to record in the next few years of a military character that concerns Salem. Although until the peace of Utrecht, in 1711, there was constant warfare on the border.

In 1714 the town petition the General Court—having evidently had enough of the Governor in this matter—to repair and garrison Fort Anne. We are not told the result.

The peace of New England began to be again disturbed in 1720 by French intrigues among the Eastern Indians whose depredations on the border recommence, although it is uncertain as to what part Salem took in the Norridgewock episode and other border affairs that succeeded.

Soon after the opening of the French War, in 1745, we read that Capts. Grant, King, White and Covell, all of Salem, embarked with the troops bound for Cape Breton and the siege of Louisbourg. Capt. George Curwen also took part in that brilliant and successful campaign, for an extract from a letter from him to his wife says “young (Gray) (of Salem) is killed, June 2d, in the attack upon a battery, and three more of Grant’s men missing.” The officers mentioned were doubtless in command of men from Salem and vicinity.

In the spring of 1746, a French fleet being reported off the coast with an army, preparing for an attack upon Boston, the Salem companies march to its protection. Perhaps this circumstance may have come to the knowledge of the French commander; at any rate the force made no landing: as a matter of fact it never got very near Boston, if it were, as is probable, the one commanded by the Duke D’Anville.

In 1755 the final war between the French and English on this continent was formally opened, so to speak, although, as usual, the Indians instigated by French officers and priests, had precipitated actual hostilities for a year or more before, and in the early part of the spring of this year Salem sends twenty-eight men, her quota of reinforcements to Col. Johnson’s army operating towards Crown Point. To refresh the spirits of these men before their departure, the Rev. Mr. Clarke preaches them a sermon entitled, “a word in season to soldiers.” We trust that in their conduct at the ensuing battle of Lake George, the good effects of Mr. Clarke’s exhortations were made manifest. Captain Samuel Flint on September 25th (1755) marches with his company to join the same army.

In May, 1755, Col. Plaisted leaves Salem to assume his command at Crown Point; probably in the expedition about to move under Col. Winslow.

A liberal bounty is offered about this time by the

General Court for the scalps of any Indians of all ages and both sexes, and a fast is ordered in Salem to pray for victory over the French and Indians.

In the spring of the following year (1757) a force of eighteen hundred men was drafted in Massachusetts, and under command of Col. Joseph Frye, of Andover, marched to reinforce the garrison of Forts Edward and William Henry. Captains Goodhue, Plaisted, Clarke and Pickman, of Salem, commanded companies in this force. Other Salem officers may have been with it, and some, at least, of the men in these companies were volunteers from Salem. King George promised £10 to every man who should enlist this year, and in the case of these men he failed to pay up. The old gentleman doubtless having considerable paper maturing about that time, may have been a little short. At any rate they got no money out of him, and a number of loyal citizens of Salem made it up to them by private subscription. The names of the men receiving this bounty were,—

In Capt. Goodhue’s Company.

Peter Stokey.	John Elkins.
Jacob Vorry.	John Baley.
David Morrill.	John Ward, Jr.
David Philpen, Jr.	Klousor Symonds.
Barnabas Herrick.	Joseph Sands.
James Gonid.	John Collins.
Thomas Symonds.	Moses Townsend.
Aphania Seavy.	

In Capt. Plaisted’s Company.

John Swasays.	John Leaman, Jr.
Robert Elliot.	Edward Ross.

In Capt. Clarke’s Company.

Thomas Kneeland.	Sam’l Morrill.
John Webb.	Jos. Florn.
Jo. Symond.	Jos. Sibly.
John Osgood.	John Dowd.

The record gives none of the names of the men in Capt. Pickman’s company, who received this money, although it indicates that there were some. It will be remembered that Lord Loudon, this year, withdrew a large part of his army from the Champlain country and elsewhere for his abortive attempt upon Louisbourg, which by the peace of Aix la Chapelle had been returned to the French. The astute Montcalm saw his opportunity and reckoning, with reason, upon the probability of Loudon’s failure in the east, marched straight south with a strong army of French troops and Indians, and suddenly appeared before Fort William Henry. In the short siege of the place, followed by its surrender and the subsequent shocking Indian massacre, Richard Butman, Daniel Robertson and possibly others of Salem were killed, while six Salem men were captured and carried to Canada. These things had a depressing influence upon Salem, and another fast was ordered.

In 1758 General Abercrombie’s bloody repulse before Ticonderoga was hardly calculated to raise the spirits of the people, but there was hardly time to

have a fast ordered in Salem, before the very different news of General Amherst's recapture of Louisbourg that followed almost immediately after would seem to have obviated the necessity for it.

Whether any Salem men were with Abercrombie cannot be stated with certainty, but as his force contained over nine thousand provincial troops there can be little doubt of it; some also were presumably serving under Amherst.

There is extant a journal of one Gibson Clough, of Salem, a private of Captain Giddings' company, in the Fourteenth Provincial Regiment, that under Colonel Jonathan Bagley, was sent to reinforce the garrison of Louisbourg after its capture.

Captain Giddings and a considerable portion of his company were evidently from Salem as well as Clough, whose running account of his experiences gives a fair idea of the life of the New England soldier of that day. Some of his comments are rather amusing. Speaking of certain disciplinary proceedings he remarks that "there is no spair of whip here;" and further on in an apparent fit of disgust with the service, he says, "if we get clear this year, I think we shall be unwise if we come here again to serve our King and country."

As the severe weather of a Cape Breton October approaches, Mr. Clough observed that they would soon stand in need of winter clothing and good liquors . . . "for to keep up our spirits;" . . . "But," he dryly adds, "we are not likely to get liquors or cloathes!" . . . He describes, in his odd manner, the dismantling of the fortifications of Louisbourg and the daily incidents of garrison and outpost duty; tells of the news of the taking of Quebec by General Wolfe and of the subsequent operations of General Amherst against Montreal and the French lake forts, all of which is filtered through the usual camp rumors and gossip. For the most part our friend writes in very low spirits, until his final description of his return home with Amos Hilton, Jonathan Buxton, Robert Picket and Daniel Dutman, of Salem, and other comrades whom he does not name, which is marked, to use his own words, by "great joy and content."

At the capture of Quebec Captain John Tapley, of Salem, took part, with no doubt other Salem men, although it is probable that a larger number of them were serving with General Amherst's army, that failed to reach Quebec in time to co-operate with Wolfe, but performed signal services the following year in the reduction of Montreal and the remaining French posts that finally ended the dominion of that people on this continent.

Lemuel Woods, a soldier in this army, believed to be from Salem, wrote a fragmentary journal that has been preserved. No doubt his soldierly qualities were superior to his scholarship; for his style, even for a diary, must be regarded, in whatever light we view it, as very slovenly. He speaks of Lieutenant Granger and Ensign Peabody having obtained permission

to look at the works of Fort Ticonderoga after its surrender, naively adding, . . . "I accidentally went with them and viewed the fort," etc. (we decline the reproduction of his spelling). When the journal, in describing the accidental death of a man of his regiment, says, . . . "a heavy stick slipped and stove him all to mash, and they brought him over and buried him," . . . we must admit a conciseness of expression that in a measure redeems Mr. Woods' manuscript; but when, in another place he speaks of the camp being . . . "all in a combustion a raging things up for a sudden push when called for," . . . it seems hardly worth while to quote more although the diary is of much interest as illustrating the life of a soldier of the time in active service.

The French wars were now ended. The people of the colonies while impoverished by the aid rendered the mother-country, had nevertheless learned their strength; and the presence among them of a large body of trained soldiers, just returned from efficient service in the field where they had often proved themselves fully the equals of the British regulars, did not tend to make them tolerant of any tyrannical measures of the Crown. So for the next fifteen years the people of Salem, in common with their neighbors, were warming up in their quarrel with the mother-country.

The General Court meeting in Salem in 1774, Governor Gage brought down two regiments as a display of force that should overawe the court and the people. But upon his return to Boston the troops were withdrawn, fortunately without any collision with the exasperated people.

It was in Salem that the Revolution really began, when the General Court, the same year, formed itself into a Provincial Congress, and subsequently, after adjourning to Concord, appointed officers independently of the crown and proceeded to procure arms and ammunition. Here also occurred the first actual collision with the British troops, which, though without bloodshed, resulted in their retirement without the accomplishment of their purpose.

For on Sunday morning, February 26, 1775, Colonel Leslie in command of a battalion of infantry, sailed around from Boston and debarking at Marblehead, marched rapidly to Salem, with the purpose of seizing some cannon and munitions collected and stored at a point across the North River. A draw bridge that was there had been raised by the people, who shrewdly guessed their unlawful object. In endeavoring to push across in batteaux moored near by, some resistance was made by the crowd, and one man received a slight flesh wound from a soldier's bayonet. The number of people increased, and some prominent citizens warning Colonel Leslie that with the present temper of the people he would never take his command back alive if he persisted or fired upon them, he said that if, as it was a matter that concerned his honor,

they would permit him to pass the bridge, he would immediately withdraw. This was agreed to, and the bridge being lowered, he led his men across and at once countermarching, returned to Marblehead and re-embarked for Boston. This bloodless expedition was the first military movement made by the English in the Revolutionary War. On April 18th, Colonel Pickering, with three hundred men from Salem, marched in pursuit of the British troops retreating from Lexington, but failed to come up with them. Captain Hiller commanded one of his companies. Some others from Salem were in the engagement, however, and Benjamin Pierce was killed at Lexington village.

Just previous to the Lexington affair Salem had been getting in order for the coming war. A general muster was held March 14th, of all persons liable to military duty in the town armed and equipped. The new pine tree flag was raised, perhaps for the first time, on this occasion.

The Provincial Congress had recommended the tactics and manual of 1764 (probably English) for the provincial troops, but very shortly after, the system prepared by Colonel Timothy Pickering, of Salem, was, it appears, adopted.

No compromise seemed possible after Lexington. Men arranged their affairs and joined the army, now gathering near Boston. A lady writing from Salem, June 10, 1775, says: "The men are listing very fast; 3 or 400 are gone from here." Many of those who were able to do so, now sent their families back into the country, to Nantucket and other inaccessible places, believing Salem to be too near the scene of hostilities for safety.

In the historic engagement of Bunker Hill that naturally followed the prompt erection of works commanding Boston, a few Salem men took part, and Lieutenant Benjamin West, of Salem, a gallant young officer, was killed at the breastworks. As has been stated, many Salem men now joined the fighting force as minute-men, militia or Continentals. Colonel Timothy Pickering, who seems to have had a genius for military matters, made "a plan of exercise" or tactics, already spoken of, that the Congress ordered to be used by officers of the Massachusetts Militia. He was, in 1776, appointed quartermaster-general of the army, and served as such and as adjutant-general, with distinction throughout the war. In an interesting diary of one Lieutenant Craft, from Manchester, kept while serving with the army in the environs of Boston, are many allusions to officers, whose names indicate that they may have been from Salem. His regiment, at any rate, was raised in lower Essex County, and doubtless largely in Salem, and Colonel William Mansfield, who commanded it, was a Salem man. The pay of the army was not excessive at this time, captains receiving six pounds per month, and lieutenants four and three pounds; sergeants forty-eight shillings, and privates forty

shillings. Captain John Felt commanded a company of artillery in service this year, his lieutenant being John Butler, both of Salem.

The same year (1776) Fort Lee was built to command Salem harbor, and a company of men, under Captain John Symonds and Lieutenant Benjamin Ropes, Jr., stationed as its garrison. In 1777 forty-four men were raised in Salem as her quota for the army, presumably under a Captain Greenwood, for we read that he marched from Salem on public service with his company, on November 11th, 1777. Fifty-four men additional were also drafted to act as guards for Burgoyne's surrendered army, under Captain Simeon Brown. Another company, under Captain Benjamin Ward, also marched to join the army at New York December 17, 1777. This was doing pretty well for a little town in one year, and in 1778 we find the town still promoting enlistments by voting bounties to the men who should volunteer for the army. This would indicate that even in that day of intense patriotism, it was necessary to use extraordinary means to induce men to be steadily food for powder, while they might be quite ready to dodge about as minute-men for a few days' fun.

In July of this year Captain Samuel Flagg commanded a small company raised for special service in Rhode Island. Captain Flagg's lieutenants were Miles Greenwood and Robert Foster. Major Hiller, of Salem, also had a command in this expedition, which, under General Sullivan, attempted, with the co-operation of the French fleet under the Count D'Estaing, to wrest Rhode Island from the English, who held it under Sir Robert Pigot. Owing to the failure of the French fleet to render the promised assistance, the objects of the expedition were not attained. Considerable mention is made of the services of the Salem company in the accounts of this campaign.

The same year the town had to proceed with the additional task of raising forty-two men for the Continental army, and some others for some special short enlistment not particularly described.

In 1779 a committee are appointed in Salem to raise thirteen more men for the Rhode Island service and twenty-eight for the Continental army, in which they no doubt had difficulty; for it is stated that in October large additional pecuniary inducements, in addition to Continental and State pay, were voted to recruits to serve three months in the army. On December 11th Captain Addison Richardson marched with his company to join the army.

Early in 1780 the town voted a very large sum for those days, to devote to the raising of sixty-two men to serve for six months in the army.

These records bear continual testimony to the baneful practice so prevalent in that war of enlisting men for short terms of service. It was a constant cause of complaint by the officers of the Continental Army, and did much to destroy its efficiency.

Major Samuel King, of Salem, an aide to General De Kalb, was killed in action this year in South Carolina, and Captain Nathan Goodale, of Salem, is also reported as made prisoner by the enemy.

A letter dated in camp near West Point, on the Hudson, February 12, 1782, to Joshua Ward, from a Salem soldier of the Continental Army, whose signature does not appear, asks to have sent him certain articles on credit, and speaks of the hardships endured by the army without supplies or money. Captain Flint, killed this year in the first day's battle at Saratoga, is believed to have been from Salem. Mention should be made of Colonel Samuel Carleton, of the Continental line, who was from Salem, and who so distinguished himself that Washington declared him to be one of the most intrepid officers who served under him.

Of the special part taken by Salem and her soldiers in the succeeding years of this war, there is too little trace. There is evidence, however, that her record in point of numbers and service was quite up to the average, though it is to be regretted that so little can be written of the gallant deeds of her officers and men in an army where all were so brave and steadfast, and that, though in the appendix a list is given of the names of those who served from Salem, there is some doubt as to its accuracy, and it tells nothing of the actions in which those men took part, or of the character of their service.

But in the record given of the part borne by Salem and her citizens in our revolutionary armies, though, it were much more complete, but a small part of her services to the country can be fully comprehended. Long before the colonies took the first decisive action that resulted in their independence, Salem had been steadily increasing her commerce, and in 1775 she had become an important port of entry, her merchants were becoming wealthy and a large part of her people followed the sea. Very soon after the war broke out, it became evident that a navy was almost as necessary to our success as an army. Congress fitted out a few armed vessels, but the resources of the young nation were inadequate to equip any sufficient number to cope with the powerful navy of Great Britain, or even to be of much use in the destruction of her commerce.

Here, then, was the opportunity of Salem, with her ships lying idle at her wharves in fear of English cruisers, and her fine seamen idling about her streets. Procuring commissions for private armed cruisers and letters of marque and reprisal for her trading ships, she fitted out her ablest and swiftest vessels with heavy guns and powerful crews well officered, and sent them over the sea in quest of the enemy's merchantmen. Nor did they neglect her smaller men-of-war, but, as eager for glory as plunder, promptly attacked any armed ship whose weight of metal was not absurdly disproportionate to their own, and in the majority of cases with success; while her trading vessels made

their voyages well armed, and with double complement of men, and showed their teeth when interfered with or when falling in with a vessel whose chances of capture were sufficiently good to justify the risk to their owners. Our privateer navy was intensely active and successful, and played an important part in that contest, severely crippling the enemy's merchant marine and keeping her navy busy in every part of the world to protect it.

It is impossible to give more than a glance at the exploits of the gallant officers and men who ranged the seas in the Salem privateers, sending in a rich return of captured vessels to their owners.

And it is not to be understood that in the capture of these merchantmen no fighting was involved. Many of the English trading vessels were letters of marque, and nearly all carried guns and had strong crews well armed, and, defending themselves with true English courage, they were often only taken after a severe struggle. The actions between our privateers and British men-of-war or privateers were of the most sanguinary description, and were only finally determined by boarding and a hand-to-hand fight on the deck of one or the other of the vessels.

The Salem privateers and letters of marque formed a large part of those sailing from American ports during that war, and, indeed, the principal business of the town became that of privateering, the results of which laid the foundation of many fortunes that are but now being dissipated.

Some of the regulations governing the crews of Salem privateers in the Revolution were curious. The owners of the vessel, after deducting outfit and expenses, took one-half of the value of the prizes, and the officers and crew the other half, divided in certain proportions according to rank. A prize of \$500 was given to the man first sighting a sail, and \$1000 and best firelock to the first man to board the enemy. For the loss of a leg or arm in action \$4000 was paid as compensation, \$2000 for an eye and \$1000 for a joint. If one of the crew were detected in thieving, he suffered the loss of all prize money, which, to judge by the liberal schedule above given, must have been in some cases a severe penalty.

As illustrating the work of these gallant little vessels, it is related that the ship "General Pickering," sixteen guns, Captain Jonathan Harraden commanding, on May 20, 1780, engaged and whipped an English man-of-war of twenty guns; on June 1st fought and took a schooner of fourteen guns and fifty-seven men, and on the 4th boldly luffed up and sustained the attack of the "Arguilles," thirty-four-gun frigate, and though quite unable to take a vessel of such size, beat her off after an engagement of nearly two hours. The "Julius Caesar," of Salem, a small schooner, the same year, simultaneously engaged two vessels, both of heavier metal than herself, and made it so warm for them that they were glad to make sail and leave their plucky little antagonist in possession of the field.

In June, 1782, it took a British sloop-of-war four hours to capture the little privateer "Jack," of Salem, and she did not strike until her captain, David Ropes, and more than half her crew were killed or wounded.

The "Jack" was a small ship that had the peculiarity of having a mizzen mast that could be taken down at sea and as easily put up again. By this expedient she constantly deceived the enemy and escaped capture, appearing alternately as a ship and a brig.

Captain Perkins, of Salem, commanding a small privateer, had on one occasion manned two prizes, and was making the best of his way home with only four men left before the mast, when an English privateer quickly hove in sight. Instead of running away, he immediately made all sail for her, and she, not liking his apparent readiness for a fight, wore around and sailed away. A rather amusing incident occurred to the privateer Oliver Cromwell, Captain James Barr, when cruising in the West Indies in 1779. Sighting a vessel with low top-masts and apparently no guns in a fog off the coast of Cuba, one morning, she supposed it to be a large merchantman and was ranging up alongside, when in a trice up went a string of painted canvass that covered her ports, and the "Oliver Cromwell" narrowly escaped being blown out of water by the discharge of a frigate's full broadside. She was much crippled, but managed to get away in the fog and light breeze.

The letter of Marque "Ranger" twenty men, when anchored in the Potomac, the night of July 5, 1782, was attacked by sixty Tories in boats. The captain, Lucum, was shot at the first volley and Joseph Peabody, of Salem, second officer, springing to the deck in his night clothes, drove the enemy off by the clever expedient of directing the crew to drop cold shot into the boats. One was sunk and the others pulled away.

Many more incidents of this character might be given did space permit; suffice it to say that these are but a sample of the adventures of the Salem fighting marine during these years.

It would be interesting reading could we follow the adventures of Captain John Leach, who commanded at different times the privateers "Brutus," "Franklin," "Eagle," "Dolphin" and "Greyhound;" Capt. Nathan Brown the first commander of the "Jack" and also of the ship "Hunter;" Capt. Joseph Robinson, who commanded the ship "Pilgrim" and also the "Franklin;" Capt. Sam'l Masury of the schooner "Panther;" Capt. John Donaldson, who sailed the brig "Captain;" Capt. John Mason of the brig "Lion;" Captain Jacob Wilds, who sailed in the privateers "Greyhound," "Hawk" and "General Greene;" Capt. William Patterson, who commanded the ship "Disdain" and brig "Favorite;" Capt. Benj. Dean of the strong sloop "Revenge;" Capt. Benj. Moses, another commander of the ship "Oliver Cromwell;" Captain Anthony Diver, a former officer

of the English Navy, who was a lieutenant on several vessels, and later ably commanded the privateers "Civil Usage" and "Sturdy Beggar;" Capt. Ebenezer Pierce of the schooner "Liberty;" Capt. John Gavett of the brig "Flying Fish;" Capt. John Brooks, also a commander of the "Junius Brutus;" Capt. Edward Rolland, also of the brig "Sturdy Beggar;" Capt. William Carleton, who sailed the heavily armed and manned sloop "Blacksnake;" Capt. Benj. Hammond of the schooner "Greyhound;" Capt. Charles Hamilton commanding the ship "Jason;" Capt. John Fearson of the ship "William;" Capt. Thomas Benson who had the schooner "Dolphin," and later the ship "Hendrick;" when he was captured in the latter in 1782, a petition to the General Court asked that an exchange be arranged forthwith for Capt. Benson, his services being so valuable to the country. There were also Captains John Revell, Forrester, Mascoll (killed while boarding an enemy's ship in 1777), McDaniel, Daniel Ropes, John Buffinton, John Carnes, John Turner, Samuel Tucker, Joseph Lynde, Pratt, Briggs, Cook, Baker, Brookhouse, Gray, Nehemiah Buffinton, Dunn, James Cheever, Neill, John Felt, Ingersoll, Crowell, Baldwin and many others, all Salem men, commanding Salem ships with good Salem officers and crews, and handling them with great seamanship and bravery. It is impossible to give a list of the other officers and crews of the vessels sailing as privateers from Salem during the Revolution. Their aggregate would be little, if any, under five thousand men, first and last, and would comprise a large majority of the able-bodied men of the town who did not join the army. They were largely sea-faring in their training, and took to this rough and tumble naval experience as naturally as ducks to water.

A fairly accurate register of the privateers of Salem in this war, will be found in the appendix; and the following copy of the commission of a Salem privateer commander in the Revolution may be of interest:

"The Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. To all unto whom these presents shall come, send greeting—know ye, that we have granted and by these presents do grant license and authority to Samuel Croel Mariner, Commander of the Schooner called the 'Greyhound' of the burthen of forty tons or thereabouts, belonging and others—mounting six carriage guns and navigated by eleven men, to fit out and set forth the said schooner in a warlike manner, and by and with the said schooner and the crew thereof, by Force of Arms to attack, subdue and take all ships and other vessels whatsoever carrying Soldiers, Arms, Gunpowder, Ammunition, Provisions, or any other Contraband Goods to any of the British Armies or ships of war employed against these United States. And also to attack, seize and take all ships or other vessels belonging to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, or to any subject or subjects thereof, with their Tackle, Apparel, Furniture and Ladings on the High Seas or between high and low water marks (the ships or vessels, together with their cargoes belonging to any Inhabitant or Inhabitants of Bermuda, Providence and the Bahama Islands, such other ships and vessels bringing Persons with intent to settle and reside within any of the United States, or bringing Arms, ammunition or warlike stores to the said States for the use thereof, which said ships or vessels you shall suffer to pass unmolested,

the commanders thereof permitting a peaceable search and giving satisfactory information of the contents and lading and destination of the voyages, only excepted). And the said ships or vessels so apprehended as aforesaid and as prizes taken, to carry into any Port or Harbor within the dominions of any neutral State willing to admit the same, or into any Port within the said United States in order that the Courts there instituted to hear and determine Causes Civil and Maritime, may proceed in due form to Condemn the said captures, if they be adjudged lawful prizes, or otherwise according to the usage in such cases at the port or in the State where the same shall be carried. The said Samuel Croel having given Bond with sufficient sureties that nothing be done by the said commander of schooner or any of his officers, Marines, or company thereof contrary to or inconsistent with the usage and Customs of Nations, and that he shall not exceed or transgress the Powers and Authorities contained in this Commission. And we will and require all our officers whatsoever in the Service of the United States to give succor and assistance to the said Samuel Croel in the Premises. This commission shall continue in force until the Congress shall issue orders to the contrary. Dated at Boston, 14th day of October, 1779, and in the 4th year of the Independence of the United States of America.

"By order of the Congress,

"JOHN JAY, President.

"JOHN AVERY, Attest.

"CHAS. THOMPSON, Secretary."

After the Revolution the new nation being nominally at peace with other countries, there is nothing to record until the War of 1812, though Salem shipping, which had vastly increased in value since the independence of the country had been established, suffered considerably from the depredations of the French navy, which, had we been a little stronger, were a quite sufficient *casus belli*.

Subsequently, that government frankly recognizing their fault in this matter, paid over a large amount to the United States as an indemnity fund for the ship-owners who had suffered loss. Our government, with a calm dishonesty for which an individual would have been promptly punished, put the money in its coffers, and no part of it has, up to date, been paid to those to whom it properly belonged. As it is difficult to get a government indicted and put into States prison, or even to force it to file an answer in a civil proceeding, the unhappy people who were swindled in this matter were obliged to die without getting their money, and their heirs have since hung around the steps of the capitol at Washington or caught the members of Congress in the lobbies in the hitherto vain attempt to recover their own.

A little later, when the Barbary corsairs began to pick up our merchantmen, with some Salem vessels among them, we felt that if we could not make it convenient to quarrel with France, we did not propose to have Algiers or Tripoli tread upon us, and promptly whipped those people into the belief that we were something of a naval power, after all.

What part was taken by such Salem men as were serving in the United States navy, in that quite creditable little war, we cannot say, but it was doubtless, as usual, efficient and valuable.

In 1798, it being obvious that the United States needed a navy, and the government having no facilities for ship-building, a request was made that the citizens of certain maritime localities loan funds to aid in the equipment of the navy. In Salem a large sum was subscribed, and the frigate "Essex," afterward

to become a very famous vessel, was built by Salem ship-builders on Winter Island, rigged and turned over to the government. It was a patriotic task for a little town of nine thousand inhabitants to undertake. The "Essex" proved a very fast sailer, and had a noted career.

The following are the names of the subscribers to this loan, on which the government paid only six per cent. while borrowing other moneys at eight per cent., a fact well known to these gentlemen:

Wm. Gray, Jr.....	\$10,000	John Derby.....	1,000
Elias H. Derby.....	10,000	Edward Allen, Jr.....	500
Wm. Orne.....	5,000	Pago & Ropes.....	100
John Norris.....	5,000	Thomas Perkins.....	500
John Jenks.....	1,500	John Murphy.....	500
Ebr. Bickford.....	2,000	Joseph Cabot.....	500
Benj. Pickman, Jr.....	1,000	Edw. Killen.....	100
Stephen Webb.....	500	Isaiah H. Derby.....	1,000
Benj. Pickman.....	1,000	Jona. Mason.....	50
Jos. Poubody.....	1,500	Saml. Ropes, Jr.....	50
John Osgood.....	1,000	Saml. Brooks.....	50
Wm. Prescott.....	1,000	Am. Pierce.....	50
Ichabod Nichols.....	1,000	Nathl. Pierce.....	250
Benj. Carpenter.....	500	Upton & Porter.....	400
Jacob Ashton.....	1,000	Buffum & Howard.....	450
James King.....	500	Jos. Osgood, Jr.....	25
Samuel Gray.....	2,000	Wm. Appleton.....	50
Wm. Ward.....	500	John Hathorne.....	200
Joshua Ward.....	750	Isaac Osgood.....	500
Jonathan Neal.....	2,000	Elias H. Derby, Jr.....	400
John Deland.....	100	Jona. Lambert.....	40
Joseph Nowhall.....	100	Henry Osborn.....	50
Benj. Goodhue.....	800	Joseph Hill.....	300
Nathl. Batchelder.....	50	Walter P. Bartlett.....	100
Daniel Jenks.....	500	Israel Dodge.....	500
Samuel Archer.....	100	Saml. Very.....	100
Jos. Vincent.....	200	Brackey Rose.....	100
Joshua Richardson.....	500	Am. Kilham.....	20
Jos. Mosely.....	100	A lady, by J. Jenks.....	50
Walt & Pierce.....	2,000	Benj. West, Jr.....	350
Thos. Saunders.....	500	Thomas Chipman.....	100
Abel Lawrence.....	500	Richd. Manning, Jr.....	200
Harly Ropes.....	200	David Patten.....	50
Thos. Cushing.....	50	Edw. J. Sanderson.....	200
E. A. Holyoke.....	800	John Treadwell.....	500
Moses Townsend.....	100	John Barr.....	500
Timothy Wellman, Jr.....	100	Wm. Luskomb.....	300
John Morong.....	50	Jona. Waldo.....	40
Lane & Son (in work).....	100	Thos. Bancroft.....	100
Enos Briggs.....	50	Nathl. West.....	1,500
Ephraim Emmerton.....	100	Saml. McIntire.....	100
Wm. Marston.....	250	Benj. Felt.....	100
Edw. Lang.....	100	George Dodge.....	1,000
Thos. Webb.....	200	Peter Lander.....	200
Michael Webb.....	100	Stephen Phillips.....	1,000
Edmund Gale.....	10	Richd. Derby, Jr.....	1,500
Benj. Webb, Jr.....	100	Jos. Waters.....	415
Richard Manning.....	1,000	C. Crowninshield.....	500
Benj. Hodges.....	500	John Pickering.....	200
John Beckett.....	100	Edmund Upton.....	300
James Gould.....	50		

Total.....\$74,700

During the years that preceded the War of 1812, the Salem merchantmen in common with others lost men by the high-handed impressments of the British men of war, that exercised a pretended right to take from the ship of any nation met on the high seas, such seamen as their officers chose to consider English subjects; and as they were in need of sailors they were by no means nice in drawing distinctions. Therefore, while opposed on general principles to the

embargo and subsequent declaration of war against England, these unwarrantable acts had left sufficient sting in the minds of the Salem merchants and seamen to render them very ready to again sweep the seas with their privateers to the serious detriment of the British merchant marine. Again it may be said, without much exaggeration, that from commerce this became the principal business of Salem, and if it were possible to give a list of the men who at some time during this war, served on her privateers and letters of marque, it would give a very fair idea of the seafaring portion of the town's population.

In writing of the exploits of the privateers of Salem in this war, it is difficult to know how to begin and where to end. For three years forty vessels, practically men of war, cruised from this port heavily armed, and officered, and manned by as skillful and brave navigators and seamen as were then afloat. And this does not include over one hundred letter of marque trading vessels, that kept the sea and did some fighting as well as trading. Of these, as their warlike character was merely incidental, we shall be unable to make more than this passing mention.

With regard to the privateers, the records of the time are more or less imperfect: some of the deeds performed by them are recounted while others are unnoticed, and the history of their actions and captures is imperfect and unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, it is impossible to turn this remarkable page in the history of the town without glancing at the careers of a few of these notable vessels, and recalling some of the incidents of their warfare.

The daring with which these fine vessels were fought and the brilliant seamanship that so fully utilized their admirable sailing qualities, were the wonder and exasperation of the English navy, and caused British merchants many hours of painful reflection.

These qualities of vessel and crew were never better illustrated than in the ship "America," twenty guns, and carrying a crew of one hundred and fifty men, more or less. She was owned by George Crowninshield, and was the largest privateer sailing from this port. Admirably commanded by Captains Joseph Ropes, John Kehew and John W. Cheever at different times, she was considered by some to be the fastest vessel afloat during that war. Her success in capturing prizes was phenomenal, and the amount realized by her owner was very large; her captures up to March, 1814, were estimated at the value of \$1,100,000. Unlike the greater number of privateers, she escaped capture by the enemy, and may be said to have died peacefully in her bed, long subsequent to the war.

A smaller full-rigged ship, called the "Alfred," sixteen guns and one hundred and ten to one hundred and thirty men, was an effective cruiser. She was built in Salem in 1805, and at her launch the rudder, which, against the remonstrance of the builder, was

already hung, struck the bottom and was thrown out, falling immediately across the stern-post and stopping the vessel, so that she lay aground one tide. When floated she was found to be badly "hogged." She was brought to the wharf and large blocks of wood placed under her stern-post and forefoot, and her weight brought upon the extremities, which caused her to settle in the centre and resume her original lines. She was never apparently the worse for this severe test of her elasticity, but proved a good ship and fast sailer. When fitted as a privateer she sailed less well than previously and was altered into a brig. She seemed under both rigs to have had bad luck with her spars in heavy weather. As a brig she was probably over-sparred, but that had not been the case when ship-rigged. She was well commanded by Captains Stephen Williams and Philip Bessom, under both of whom, if the vessel lost a few sticks, she never failed to send in prizes enough to fully atone for this one foible. Two of her prizes alone sold for one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. She was ultimately captured in February, 1814.

The ship "Alexander," eighteen guns and about one hundred and forty men, was commanded on her first cruise by Captain Wellman, and gave promise of a successful career, which was fully borne out by her performances on the next cruise under Captain Benjamin Crowninshield, when, with the greater part of her crew away in seven prizes just previously taken, she was, on May 19, 1813, crowded on shore in Wells' bay by two English men-of-war, and captured. So closely was she pressed by the enemy that only twenty men of her crew succeeded in reaching the shore and escaping.

The other full-rigged privateer sailing from Salem, the ship "John," sixteen guns and a strong crew of one hundred and sixty or more men, was commanded by Captains Fairfield and Crowninshield (who afterwards commanded the Alexander), and after a short season of great usefulness, in which she picked up some twenty English merchantmen, more or less, was in her turn picked up by an English frigate in February, 1813, and Salem saw her no more.

Of the privateer brigs of Salem, perhaps the most profitable and fortunate was the "Grand Turk." She was large for the time, carried eighteen guns and one hundred and fifty men, and became noted for her good qualities as a sailer and her audacity and uniform good fortune. At one time, in 1813, under one of her two gallant commanders, Captain Breed or Greene, she stood off and on at the mouth of the English channel for twenty days, capturing a number of vessels almost in sight of their home ports; finally eluding all pursuit and making off in safety. She was never captured.

The smaller brig, "Montgomery," twelve guns, commanded in turn by Captains Holton J. Breed (who was also in the "Grand Turk"), Joseph Strout (who had been a naval officer), and Benjamin Upton, was almost as fortunate a vessel as the "Grand Turk."

She made many prizes and distinguished herself by some hard fighting. On one occasion she had a desperate action with a large, heavily-armed ship, which she captured after losing many men, her then captain, Upton, being severely wounded. At another time, falling in with a British troop ship, near Surinam, full of soldiers and carrying eighteen guns, a man-of-war to all intents and purposes, she attacked without hesitation, and after two hours' hot work, drew off for repairs, intending to "resume business at the old stand," as it were, as soon as she could splice up some of her rigging and plug two or three troublesome shot-holes. But the Englishman had had quite enough of her, and crowding all sail made good her escape. After a very successful series of cruises, the "Montgomery" was ultimately obliged to succumb to superior force, but it took the British line-of-battle ship, "La Hogue," seventy-four guns, to bring her to terms.

The "fore and aft" rig seems to have commended itself to those engaged in privateering, doubtless from the fact that by pointing higher, a schooner could more easily work to windward of a large merchantman, while, in case of pursuit by a man-of-war, she could go off dead before the wind, still holding one of her best points of sailing. At all events, the greater number of our privateers in this war, from all ports, were top-sail schooners, twenty-three of this class sailing from Salem. These vessels were, some of them, of fair size for the time, others very small, but nearly all were good sailers and were always well handled. They carried but few guns, but one of these was usually a large one, and their strong crews of daring seamen, eager for the chance of boarding, rendered them exceedingly formidable to everything they met, short of an enemy's frigate. They chased, fought and ran away, as the occasion required, with equal bravery and address. Most of them met their fate sooner or later, but this resulted usually from their own temerity, and not before the English had paid for them many times over, in their prizes taken.

Room can be given to the notice of but few of these gallant little vessels, though a book might well be filled with the record of their exploits. There was a little pink-sterned fishing schooner changed into a privateer, called the "Fame," of only thirty tons, and carrying two six-pounders, that had wonderful luck and was never captured, though finally lost in a storm. She sailed fast, and her excellent reputation did not seem to suffer under any of her numerous commanders, for she changed them, apparently, at almost every cruise; being commanded successively by Captains Webb, Upton, Poland, Greene, Chapman, Endicott, Brookhouse and Evans.

The "Frolic," a much larger schooner, carrying one twenty-four pounder and a smaller gun and commanded by Captains Green and Odiorne, proved a very lively vessel in more senses than one, sweeping the sea like a broom during her short life, though her captures were not of great value. She was built on

Salem Neck, and was very fast, but had the peculiarity of being unduly sharp aft; so much so, indeed, that she was unseaworthy, and on her second cruise, being taken aback in a slight squall, ran stern under as far as the main hatch, and was only saved from swamping by great exertions. So little did her crew enjoy this particular phase of her frolicsomeness, that they came aft in a body and offered the captain to give up all advances if he would abandon the cruise. The British man-of-war "Heron," happening around about this time, saved the officers from any embarrassment on this score by capturing and burning the vessel, in spite of her desperate endeavors to escape through a long stern chase.

Dr. Benjamin F. Browne, well remembered by our citizens, was taken on board of the "Frolic," and many are familiar with his experiences in Dartmoor prison, where he and his shipmates were confined until the peace. He narrowly escaped being shot in the savage suppression of restlessness among the prisoners, by Colonel Shortland, commanding the guard. Dr. Browne, in those days, of course, a mere boy, took also a short cruise on the ship "Alfred," already spoken of.

The "Dolphin" was a still larger schooner, carrying more men, though less weight of metal, than the "Frolic." She was built in Baltimore, before the war, and altered to a privateer, and under Captain Jacob Endicott, made, perhaps, as good a record as any privateer schooner sailing from Salem in proportion to the time of her service; for she was captured in September, 1812. A single vessel and cargo taken by her brought the large sum of sixty thousand dollars. A lady passenger, on one of the prizes taken by the "Dolphin," in a published letter, bore pleasant testimony to the politeness of Captain Endicott, who caused her to be landed at the port most convenient to her destination and scrupulously secured to her all her money and baggage. Judging from the batteries carried by some of the ships taken by the "Dolphin," she must have done considerable fighting, first and last.

The vicissitudes sometimes attending the career of a privateer were well illustrated by the "John" and "George," a fine American-built schooner, captured early in the war by an English man-of-war, and for some reason turned adrift. She was found off Cape Sable by the American privateer "Regulator," August 13, 1812, and sent in to Salem, where, being found to be fast, she was turned into a privateer. She made one short cruise under Capt. Sinclair, in which she was successful. Her name was then altered to the "Revenger," though it would seem as if the name she already bore had given her sufficiently good luck. Certainly the new one brought her none, for she was captured on her very next cruise. The Englishmen who bought her continued her as a privateer, again changing her name to the "Retaliation." Subsequently a Portsmouth privateer retook her, but she was lost to Salem, and

her further changes of name are no longer a matter of history.

The "Dart," a small schooner of but forty tons and two small guns, commanded successively by Captains Davis, Symonds, Green and Poland, under each of whom she was admirably handled, was a profitable little vessel. She sailed well and took some valuable prizes. One in particular, a large armed merchantman, heavily manned and carrying six guns, she gallantly took after a most determined resistance. She was never captured, though, as if the elements conspired with the enemy against these plucky little vessels, both she and the "Fame" already spoken of, were wrecked in the Bay of Fundy.

The "Fair-Trader," another little schooner, of the same tonnage as the "Dart," seems to have been a good cruiser, and under her Captain John R. Morgan took a number of prizes before her capture in September, 1812.

The largest privateer schooners that sailed from Salem during the war were the "Diomedé," commanded by Captain J. Crowninshield; the "Enterprise," Captain Morgan; and the "Growler," Captains Graves and Lindsay. They were all built for this purpose on the "Baltimore Clipper" model, and were all ultimately captured by the enemy after a more or less fortunate service. The "Diomedé" was a very fast sailer. On one short cruise of a few weeks she sent in six vessels, and among others of her captures was one large ship carrying sixteen guns; while among the "Growler's" captures, one vessel and cargo are mentioned as valued at one hundred thousand dollars.

Four sloops figured as privateers from Salem in this war, of which the little "Jefferson" was very successful considering her size, which was that of a mere pleasure boat, for which purpose, indeed, she was originally built in Salem. She carried one gun and twenty men, and managed to escape capture.

The sloop "Wasp," rather larger, was also built in Salem, carried two six pounders and twenty-five men. Upon her first cruise after making some captures, she was herself taken, but in a manner that reflected honor upon her captain and crew. Attacked by the British schooner-of-war "Bream," of ten guns, she only surrendered, after a close fight of half an hour, and a running fight of nearly nine hours, most of the time at musket range, during which Captain Ervin in vain tested the fine sailing qualities of his little vessel to the utmost, in the effort to escape. So great was the gallantry displayed in the defence of the "Wasp," that Captain Ervin and his crew were treated with the greatest consideration by their generous captors, after the surrender of the sloop, and when walking in the streets of St. John on parole Captain Ervin was pointed out as the Salem captain who defended his vessel with such heroism.

The "Polly" was a large, powerful sloop, built on the Hudson before the war. She was oversparred until

it was ascertained that she sailed better by shortening her mast. She kept the sea as well as vessels of any class, and could go to windward of anything she was after, while no English ship could catch her in the open sea. She was not taken until April, 1814, and then only by being cornered and driven ashore by an English corvette. This, by the way, seems to have been a favorite manœuvre of the enemy in dealing with our swift and sometimes audacious little privateers. The English man-of-war "Indian," twenty-two guns, had previously tried to come it over the "Polly" in a different style, and failed most signally; for both vessels being becalmed off Cape Sable, she sent in her launch and other boats to board her, but the "Polly" beat them off with such slaughter that it was with difficulty that they could get back to their ship, which made no further effort to molest her antagonist, and made off when a breeze arose. Captains Samuel C. Hardy and Robert Evans successively handled this wonderful little vessel with great skill, and with her one twelve pounder and eight sixes, and a strong crew of sixty men, she was for nearly two years a most effective sea rover.

A large number of the privateers were captured by the enemy, as will be seen by the list given in the appendix; but so great was the aggregate value of their prizes that the pecuniary loss to the owners was of little consequence, although many good men of their crews lost their lives or languished long in English prisons.

There were a number of small craft, launches and open boats that ran out on occasion, and made some captures, being, in the hands of desperate men, no mean antagonists. Mention should be made of the schooner "Helen," loaned by the Messrs. White and Knapp, Salem merchants, at their own risk, and fitted out and manned by a volunteer crew of seventy men, gathered by fife and drum in Salem streets, all within the space of about four hours. It appears that news was received Nov. 12, 1812, in Salem, that the "Liverpool Packet," a well-known and very active British privateer, had been seen inside of Halfway Rock, and this sudden expedition was organized for her capture. The Englishmen had sailed for St. John in time to avoid the "Helen," but the incident sufficiently indicates the high spirit of the time and the courage of the men, who, at a moment's notice, were ready to attempt the capture of a strong and well-armed vessel.

It would seem that many English prisoners came this way, for in 1814, and perhaps previously, the government maintained the prison-ship "Aurora" in the North River, in which many were confined, principally sea-faring men.

During the war, in addition to the ordinary militia and the volunteer companies of the town there was a company of sea-fencibles, so called, organized and composed entirely of masters and mates of merchantmen who were idle, to serve as artillerymen or otherwise, as

the coast was threatened from time to time by British men-of-war.

The venerable William H. Foster, now living, was a member of the cadet company of that day, and was also acting as assistant to the United States provost marshal of the district, in which capacity he took the parole of three English officers, who had been taken in Maine, and reported to be paroled until exchanged. Mr. Foster's youthful appearance, and the easy absence of ceremony in dealing with them, rather astonished the Englishmen, one of whom, a colonel, remarked that it would have taken several British officers to manage such a matter with them, instead of one young boy. Young Foster looked after them that night, and in the morning they were sent to Andover, where, with others, they enjoyed for a time the good air and ample religious and literary privileges of that hill town, if any there were there then. We were economical of men and means in the prosecution of that war.

Mr. Foster also remembers various alarms, musters and marches hither and thither on various occasions. When the frigate "Constitution" was forced to take refuge in Marblehead harbor from a pursuing squadron of the enemy, the company of fencibles dragged their twenty-four pounders over to the shore of that town to play on the enemy in case they should follow her. The English vessels, not being acquainted with the shore and depth of water, did not venture in, and an attack with boats upon a formidable frigate was out of the question, of course.

The next day the "Constitution" was brought around to Salem by Joseph Perkins, the harbor pilot, who died but a few years since, and anchored under the guns of the fort. With the crowd of others from Salem and Marblehead who lined the headlands, Mr. Foster a year later shared in the intense excitement and bitter disappointment of witnessing the combat of the ill-fated "Chesapeake" with the "Shannon," in which our ship was taken but a mile or two off shore.

It is to be regretted that a list of those who served in the army during the war of 1812 from Salem cannot be given, as in that existing at the State house the residences of the men are not given. The number was, it is understood, not large, as the war was not over-popular in this neighborhood, and the tastes of a maritime people led them to seek the enemy on their proper element.

It may not be considered out of place to allude to the services of General Miller, who held a command in this war, and who, though not originally from Salem, was long identified with the town by his residence here. His modest but determined answer to General Scott, at the battle of Lundy's Lane, when asked if he could carry a certain position with his brigade, followed by his gallant and successful attack, will ever live in the memory of his countrymen.

The Mexican War called for but few regiments to augment the strength of the regular army. The

names of the few from Salem who served in the Massachusetts regiment of volunteers, commanded by Col. Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, are to be found in the appendix. This regiment served in the army commanded by General Scott, and took part in the engagements that signalized its resistless march from Vera Cruz to Mexico. If any men from this place joined the so-called New England regiment, it has been impossible to obtain their names.

It is proper to speak of some volunteer militia organizations that have been identified with the history of the town; for without a hearty recognition of the long existence of some of them in the face of many difficulties, and of the services they have directly and indirectly been able from time to time to render, no military record of Salem would be complete.

Incidentally, it may be stated that under the system adopted soon after the Revolution, the entire male population of the State, within certain ages, was enrolled as a militia, and were liable to be called out by the Governor for service within the State upon any emergency. Meanwhile they were required to attend at certain stated times and places for musters or trainings in companies, regiments and brigades of local establishment, under officers chosen and commissioned by the Governor. With the heterogeneous mass of raw material that, under this system, were, within the memory of man, annually formed upon Salem Common, under officers for the most part quite ignorant of the simplest requirements of military duty, it is not necessary to trouble ourselves in an article that assumes to treat of things military. These gatherings served to amuse the people, and the vanity of many excellent citizens was tickled by military titles that often as ill-fitted their characters as their uniforms did their persons.

Here and there in the State, however, from the beginning, there were a few, who, having a real desire to learn the duties of soldiers and to be of some use in case of need, formed themselves into volunteer companies by permission of the State, elected men of military instincts and application as their officers, and in neat uniforms and equipments steadily labored to be as far as possible real and not caricatures of soldiers. They kept alive the germs of the military spirit sown in the different wars, and furnished tactical schools that proved of value when the State or nation required troops for actual service. The superiority of these organizations over the mob of enrolled militia, became ultimately so apparent that Governor Banks, some years before the war, remodeled the entire military establishment of the State upon the volunteer plan that has endured to this day, and furnishes us with two brigades of fairly instructed militia.

Of the original volunteer companies the Salem Light Infantry, the Mechanics' Light Infantry and the Salem Cadets were among the best in the State.

First parading, July 4th, 1805, under Captain John Saunders, the Salem Light Infantry was from the out-

set a select body of men, numbering in its ranks in every period some of the most substantial citizens of the town, and actuated always by a strong *esprit du corps* that told in its invariable excellence in drill and discipline.

It did some slight service as coast guards during the War of 1812, and at the breaking out of the civil war in 1861, went to the front with the Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Militia, and served three months. One incident of this service was its voyage from Annapolis to New York as guard for the old frigate "Constitution," which relic of our former naval prowess, the government was determined should not fall into the hands of the enemy. It subsequently served nine months, in 1862-63, as part of the 50th Mass. Militia, in the service of the United States, seeing plenty of warm work in the Department of the Gulf. And in 1864 it again volunteered for another three months' service. Throughout the war the company was constantly sending from its ranks large numbers of men, in the aggregate nearly threetimes the number it contained in 1861, many of whom held commissions.

The war record of this company is remarkable. Doing much service as an organization, and repeatedly, when at home, filling its ranks and as often depleting them in the manner alluded to, it seemed a never failing conduit for the augmentation of our armies in the field. The company still endures with good numbers as a part of the Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Militia, and is a credit to the city.

Older than the organization just described, by over twenty years, the Second Corps of Cadets, originally formed as a company in 1781, under Captain Stephen Abbott, constantly vied with the other in the high character of its membership and in the maintenance of a good state of drill and efficiency. During the War of 1812 it performed similar duty at intervals, and during the War of the Rebellion did three months' duty in the service of the United States. From its ranks went only less officers and men to the active army than from those of its rival. Organized at present as a small battalion of two companies, it presents a fine appearance when on duty, and is justly regarded as one of the crack military bodies of the State.

The Mechanics' Light Infantry first paraded under Capt. Perley Putnam, July 4, 1807. As its name implied, it was composed originally of young mechanics and was always a most excellent company, as it is to-day, although its numbers are somewhat reduced from what they should be. It went to the front with the Fifth Militia Regiment in April, 1861, for three months; and few companies have ever had fuller ranks than it showed on that occasion.

The Salem City Guard, organized about 1848, was said to be a good company in its prime, though it no longer exists. Certainly its old members may feel that though dead, it is on the field of honor, as it is the only militia company of Salem that enlisted as

such for the three years' service in the War of 1861. It died as a militia company, to become a part of the Fortieth Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers, where it saw plenty of service.

The Salem Artillery, a company organized in 1787, and two juvenile organizations formed of boys under eighteen, the Washington Rangers and the Washington Blues, both first parading about 1807, were short-lived, neither surviving after about 1815.

The three companies of militia above spoken of as now existing in Salem, do not stand merely as relics of the past, like the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston, but are essentially military in character, and to be relied upon for any necessary service. In the case of the Light Infantry and Cadets, the commemoration of their past glories,—their historical department, if it may be so described,—is well cared for by their respective veteran corps, that turn out in large numbers on all anniversaries and other festive occasions with side arms and impressive chapeaus, and in the customary closing exercises of the day, indulge in much jovial reminiscence and display convivial talents of the highest order.

Before considering the part taken by Salem in the war fought for the preservation of the Union, mention should be made of the defensive works that have from time to time been erected within her limits.

The harbor and town of Salem have never been specially well fortified, and a word will dispose of the history of her defences of this nature.

There is some mention of an early structure, probably a block-house, within a stockade that stood on the highest point in the present city limits, which would be that now occupied by the Sewall Street Methodist Church. This work, strengthened from time to time, was no doubt the one alluded to as Fort Anne, and was presumably the main reliance of the place against Indians. Another work of equal antiquity was the Darby Fort, erected in 1629, on the Marblehead Side, probably on Naugus Head, where the present earth work is located.

During the Indian wars, block-houses were erected at various points on the outskirts of the settlement to guard the plantations, and were in times of danger furnished with garrisons, though probably unprovided with cannon.

In 1643 a considerable fort was built on Winter Island, originally styled Fort William, which was maintained at intervals, until the Revolutionary War, when it was strengthened and mounted with a few guns. The land and fort were ceded to the United States in 1794, and in 1799 its name was changed to Fort Pickering; it has, since that time, been in an alternate condition of grassy dilapidation or neat effectiveness, according as peace or war has prevailed in the land. The work on the hill on the neck to the north of Winter Island, is the successor of a breast-work existing on that spot at a very early day, that has from time to time been restored. In the Revolu-

tionary War it was called Fort Lee—and perhaps still retains the name.

Away on the point the builders of cottages may have found traces of an old battery that commanded the islands and Beverly harbor during the Revolution, under the name of Fort Juniper. It has now disappeared, and the yachtsmen and cottagers flirt and make merry, where once the sad-faced patriot sentinel looked out over the bay in the moonlight and wondered at the inscrutable providence that kept him out there in the cold instead of suffering him to slumber in his comfortable bed in the town, but a mile away.

This is no place to discuss the causes that led to the Civil War. The long strain imposed upon our institutions by Negro Slavery, that anomaly in a nation founded upon the theoretical equality and freedom of all men, was not to be relieved longer by hollow compromises, in which both parties felt defrauded. And yet at the North there prevailed an optimistic feeling of security—a reluctance to believe that their brethren of the South were willing to sever a Union of States baptized with the blood of their fathers, and presenting, with all its defects, such a grand illustration of a successful government by the people for the people. To the last they hugged the hope that the Southern bluster would evaporate and, in some manner, the differences between the sections be healed.

The sound of the first gun fired upon Fort Sumter awakened the North from this dream, and with a determination that the Union should remain inviolate quite as strong as that of the South for its disseverment, it arose and bent its great strength and vast resources to the task of defeating the aims of the secessionists. Handicapped by want of preparation, its purpose was firm, and in spite of traitors at home and false friends abroad, it finally and most thoroughly accomplished this work.

Salem shared with other Massachusetts towns in her sudden anger at the attack of the batteries of Charleston. On the evening of April 17th, the Wednesday after the firing upon Fort Sumter, an earnest meeting of citizens was held in Mechanics' Hall, at which the mayor, Hon. S. P. Webb, presided and read a strong address, which was subsequently published, in which the people were called upon to forget party differences and uphold the government in its effort to preserve the country. Patriotic speeches were made and resolutions, prepared by a committee made up without regard to the previous party affiliations of its members, were unanimously adopted. They expressed the determination to stand by the government, pledged life and fortune to the preservation of the Union, and to the protection and care of the families of those about to go into the field. Several thousand dollars were subscribed on the spot for this purpose, and a permanent committee chosen to secure more funds, composed of the following well-known gentlemen: S. P. Webb, John Bertram, R. S. Rogers, W. D.

Pickman, B. A. West, G. F. Browne, W. P. Phillips, N. B. Mansfield, William McMullan, E. W. Kimball, G. H. Devereux, W. D. Northend, J. V. Browne, C. W. Upham, George Peabody, W. C. Endicott, Charles Mansfield, David Pingree, A. Perkins, J. S. Jones, R. S. Rantoul, A. C. Goodell, R. C. Manning, Samuel Brown, J. C. Stimpson, and B. M. Perkins.

Meanwhile the first call of the President for State troops to be sent for the defence of the capital, had been promulgated, and some of the military companies being under orders to march, the town was simmering with the excitement of their approaching departure.

On the following day the Salem Light Infantry, called the Zouaves, under Captain Arthur Devereux, numbering sixty-two muskets, left Salem for Boston, where, though on the militia rolls as Company A, Seventh Militia Regiment, they were attached to the Eighth Regiment, and were at once sent forward. Two days later, April 20th, two other companies, the Mechanics' Light Infantry, under Captain George Pierson, and the City Guard, under Captain Henry Danforth, left Salem and went direct to the City of Washington as part of the Fifth Militia Regiment. Upon the departure of each of these companies they were addressed at their armories by the mayor and other prominent citizens amid a gathering of their friends. They were bid God-speed, and urged to remember the high duty they were called upon to perform, while at every step of their march through the streets they were cheered by enthusiastic crowds, many of whom only regretted that circumstances prevented their being also in the ranks. The city was a unit in its enthusiasm, and while there was plenty of "gush," if the word may be pardoned, and an exaltation of sentiment greater than our national temperament has been usually given to, the occasion justified it, and it was hearty and genuine to the last degree. In these companies over two hundred men left Salem for Washington within five days from the call of the President.

But the Governor of Massachusetts, and other far-seeing men in the State, were fully persuaded that the immediate and pressing need for soldiers would not be confined simply to the protection of the National Capital; that the South was making no mere demonstration, and that to preserve the integrity of the nation there might be required another and different army from the militia regiments now hastening to Washington. The tread, therefore, of the marching troops was still sounding in Salem's streets, when recruiting offices were opened at the suggestion of prominent citizens, to provide for the unknown contingencies of the future.

Captains Cogswell and Fitzgerald began at once to enlist men for three years' service, and had but little difficulty in doing so. At an Irish patriotic meeting forty men were enlisted on the spot. The City Council of Salem had, meantime, voted \$15,000 at its first

meeting after the surrender of Sumter, to be used in aid of the families of absent soldiers.

April 24th, the past members of the absent Light Infantry organized under the style of the Veteran Light Infantry, for such duty as might be required of them about home.

Captain Charles Manning, who had been enlisting men for the Fourth Battery of Light Artillery, had his rolls filled, and added to the military enthusiasm of the hour by a drill on Salem Common, on May 3d, and the same day the Fitzgerald Guards were paraded. This company went into camp on May 10th as part of Colonel Cass's Irish Regiment, afterwards the Ninth Massachusetts Infantry. On Sunday, May 12th, Captain Cogswell's company, then styled the Andrew Light Guard, marched from their barracks on Winter Island to attend church in a body, and two days later they left the city for Camp Andrew, in Roxbury, where they were incorporated with the Second Massachusetts Volunteers. The company was presented with a color on its departure from the city.

Both of these companies were uniformed by the city and private subscriptions, supplemented by the personal work of the patriotic women of Salem.

And so the long patriotic excitement fed by these events continued. Perhaps never in the history of any country was there seen such an outburst of disinterested enthusiasm so well sustained as marked the first few months of the war in the entire North. And it was fully shared in Salem. Every one was desirous of doing something in aid of the cause. Men and women seemed for the time to lose sight of the petty aims and thoughts of every-day life, and were dignified by a common love of their country and a desire to serve it.

Every man who enlisted was in the eyes of his friends a hero. Nothing was too good for him. And this honest admiration and the enthusiastic ovations given to the departing soldiers, did indeed make heroes of the meanest among them, and they went to the front with a high courage that courted the opportunity to fully deserve the encomiums showered upon them.

At home the newspapers were crowded with war news, genuine and speculative. The published letters of absent soldiers to their friends were read with avidity, and their sage prognostications as to the plans of the enemy and the possibilities of the future were only less interesting than the views of a host of military strategists, who now arose and recommended movements, and criticized the officers in command of the troops, as freely as if military science had been imbibed with their mothers' milk.

The great puzzle was as to the movements of the enemy. Where their position was not known, it was nevertheless stated with as much precision by the military newspaper correspondent as though he examined their lines daily. The musket battery and

other military spectres were worked for all they were worth, and the people strained their understanding to the utmost to master the intricate details of positions, evolutions, strategy and logistiqué, not always realizing the ignorance of those who wrote so fluently on these subjects. On the street corners, in the old corner book-store and other centres of quasi-public consultation, the all-absorbing topics were of a military character, and that group was fortunate that included some tactical veteran of the light infantry or other militia organization, on whose words the others hung as they were those of an oracle.

Military notices and advertisements for recruits began to appear in the papers, while the announcement to the effect that "the ladies of such and such a church would meet on such an afternoon to make clothing for a certain company, or that such other ladies would meet to make Havelocks," and other similar notices indicated that the feminine portion of the community were not only talking (which of course they needs must always do) but also vigorously working, as indeed they were. Although prevented by nature from shouldering muskets, the women of Salem were then and throughout the war, filled with a patriotic fervor that found practical expression in such liberality of means and effort as gave great aid and comfort to the Salem men in the field, and to the unfortunates who languished from time to time in hospital.

When the militia companies went out and the volunteers were enlisting in advance of the resources of the government for their equipment, the fair ones of Salem laid aside their embroidery and sewed for dear life on rough uniforms, being fully repaid for their toil when watching the gallant forms marching through the streets in garments with each stitch of which they were familiar.

In a newspaper of the time the mayor recommends the Havelock as a useful article for the soldier in a warm climate, and states that he has a pattern at his office for the use of those desiring to make them. So this remarkable product of this stage of the war cost the Salem ladies many hours of work; and as the militia-man or recruit with this queer imitation of the serviceable article worn in the East Indian service on his head, passed proudly by on the sidewalk, the benevolent ladies who had cut and made it little realized how soon it would be thrown away or used as a dish-cloth in camp.

May 24th ten men went on to reinforce the Salem Light Infantry, and great excitement was caused in Salem by the advance of the national forces across the Potomac into Virginia, and the wild rumors of accompanying engagements that had no foundation.

General Andrews, of Salem, was put in command of the forts of Boston harbor early in June. Later in the month the city was enthusiastic over the engagement at Philippi, West Virginia, where our troops

gained a slight success, and General Lander, of Salem, led in his brigade. The families of the men in the field who required it, now regularly received the aid that was continued to all throughout the war. Drill clubs were formed in the city to familiarize men with the use of arms in view of future needs. In their ranks were many men who distinguished themselves later in the war. The Veteran Light Infantry also met often and drilled vigorously. As the full extent of the rebel strength transpired, and it appeared that all the Southern States were determined to join in the secession movement, authority was given to the States to raise more troops, and early in July recruiting offices were again opened in Salem by A. Parker Browne, J. C. Putnam and N. W. Osborne. Meanwhile the companies of Cogswell and Fitzgerald were fast learning their duties in camp.

July 16th considerable excitement was caused by the report of the rebel privateers "Sumter" and "Jeff Davis" being upon the coast. But the times had changed. The town no longer swarmed with seafaring men, and no recruiting party marched through the town, beating up a crew to go out and take them, as in the days of 1812. A few superannuated ship-masters, men of wealth and ease, were about all that remained to remind one that this had been a maritime town and a great centre of commerce.

During July it was daily expected that our army would advance, and as the enemy were now known to be in some force in its front, a decisive action was anticipated. The month wore on full of earnest work, and with an underlying feeling of suppressed excitement and strained expectation, until at length the day came—that day of sorrow and deep mortification. The first confused reports, contradictions and excuses soon crystalized, and the full extent of the disaster at Bull Run struck the people of Salem, as the entire North, like a blow. Stunned at first, they soon recovered and began to grasp the full meaning of this defeat. They saw that a great war was only just begun: That the efforts already put forth could be regarded as but an earnest of what must continue indefinitely, and that if the nation was to endure, faith and patriotism must be subjected to a steady strain, and men, money and effort given without stint.

The first stage of the war was over; the time of wild enthusiasm, of exaggerated sentiment and unthinking elation excited by the novelty of the situation, had passed. Men and women were sobered and realized the heavy burden of bloodshed, grief and loss that they must bear; and they took it up without hesitation, here as elsewhere. Men began to arrange their affairs that they might join the army, and the drill clubs were assiduously attended, while the recruiting officers found little difficulty in filling their ranks.

The returning short term companies were greeted with a kindness and warmth that served to fix the

resolution of most of their members to return to the army. Every engagement with the soldiers was rigidly kept, and there was an increased effort made in all directions to furnish all that the government should require of Salem. The patriotic work of the ladies was continued with unabated zeal, and as the war continued they never relaxed their energies. They organized or assisted in fairs in aid of the sanitary commission. Their Dorcas Societies incessantly threw over the poor whom they had always hitherto had with them, and picked lint for the wounded, or knit socks of the stoutest yarn and portentous dimensions for the soldier well or ailing. They gave freely of money, medicines and delicacies for army necessities, hopefully kept up the cheerfulness of the men at home; while during the long war there were few among them who did not have some one especially dear to them, who had gone with the army, and to whom, if living, they sent words of loving encouragement, or for whom, if dead, they shed many tears, while they still worked on for the living.

In this connection reference should be made to the Field Hospital Corps raised in Salem, in May of this year, by the Rev. D. G. Wildes, rector of Grace Church. This corps was composed of sixty volunteers from Salem and vicinity, and was said to be the first effort for a systematized ambulance department in the army.

On the day following the battle of Bull Run, the "Essex Cadets," a company recruited by Lieut. A. Parker Browne, marched under Capt. Seth A. Buxton from Salem to join the camp of instruction. It subsequently was incorporated with the Fortieth Regiment Massachusetts Infantry.

Early in September the first company of sharpshooters unattached, containing many Salem men, left the State for Washington, and on the 4th of the month, Capt. Ethan A. P. Brewster's Company "A," of the Twenty-Third Massachusetts Infantry, that had been recruiting in Salem, marched from town to the camp at Lynnfield, followed on the 7th by Capt. John F. Devereux's Company, subsequently attached to the Eleventh Infantry.

A drill club that had been steadily keeping to their work for some months, voted about this time to enlist in a body for the war, and on the 18th of October, marched under Capt. Geo. M. Whipple, to Lynnfield, to join as its Company "F," the Twenty-Third Infantry, which was now completed. Containing two full Salem companies, this regiment, on the 31st of the month, marched into Salem and were reviewed on the Common, just before leaving for the seat of war, to the great pride and satisfaction of the people.

Meanwhile there had been constant recruiting for other companies. On the 8th of October a second company of sharpshooters, under Capt. E. Wentworth, left for the front as part of the Twenty-Second Infantry; and Capt. Charles M. Devereux's Company "H," Nineteenth Regiment, were mustered into service in

November, and left the State December 13th, while early in December Capt. John Daland's and George F. Austin's Companies partly recruited in Salem and attached to the Twenty-Fourth Infantry, were ordered South with their regiment.

Capt. Manning's Fourth Battery of Light Artillery, entirely raised in Salem, had been mustered into service and embarked on transports for the department of the Gulf.

In the foregoing account of the various military organizations leaving for the front, it is by no means to be understood that they comprised all of the officers and men who had entered the service from Salem during the first nine months of the war. But those have been spoken of whose departure had some peculiar interest for the mass of the people by some circumstances of their organization or otherwise. For, during this time Salem men were joining other companies and regiments daily, and going to the front, as will be seen by the brief notices of the various regiments, a little further on. Salem was indeed doing her duty in this first year of war, and as the event proved, she had by no means exhausted her resources. To the end of the war she continued to furnish men and money liberally. Her quota was usually forthcoming.

Early in 1862, two military funerals in her streets, of officers of distinction, served to remind the people, had it been necessary, that war was not all pomp and glitter, but meant death and sorrow. Salem did honor to her illustrious dead, and the obsequies of General Lander, who died in West Virginia, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Merritt, killed in action at Newberne, gallantly leading the Twenty-Third Regiment, occurring on the 8th and 21st of March, were impressive, and attended by a large concourse of people.

Recruiting was resumed in 1862. The Federal armies in the field were very large; but when the heavy work of the war fairly opened, and the long rolls of the killed and wounded on the Peninsula began to be read, it was clear that those armies must be replenished, from time to time, for years to come perhaps; and so men were again flocking to the rendezvous and marching to the front.

Captain S. C. Oliver's Company of the Thirty-fifth Infantry, containing some Salem men, went forward with that regiment in August, 1862, and September 8th three companies under Captains D. H. Johnson, Richard Skinner and Henry Danforth, that had been partly recruited in Salem during the summer for the Fortieth Infantry, were forwarded with the regiment to Virginia. The last mentioned of these companies was the City Guard, with ranks filled up by fresh enlistments. The Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fortieth was Joseph A. Dalton of Salem.

November 19th Captain George Putnam's Company, "A," of the Fiftieth Militia Regiment, left the State for the Department of the Gulf for nine months' service. This company was the Salem Light Infantry

filled up by special enlistments, many of its original members being already in service in other parts of the army.

December 27th Company E, recruited in Salem for the Forty-eighth Militia Regiment, by Captain George Wheatland, for nine months' service, embarked on transports for the Department of the Gulf.

July 10th of the following year (1863) the draft was ordered in the Northern States, and Captain D. H. Johnson, as Provost Marshal, completed the rolls here and began to draw the names. But few men, however, were drafted in Salem, as the city made every effort to fill her quota by offering heavy bounties to volunteers, and in the main succeeded.

November 16th, 1863, the Twelfth Unattached Company of Heavy Artillery, raised in Salem under Captain J. W. Richardson, occupied the forts on Salem Neck. This company, then commanded by Captain Jos. M. Parsons, in June of the following year (1864) was ordered to Washington.

May 12, 1864, the Salem Light Infantry, Captain, R. W. Reeves, again left Salem for one hundred days' garrison duty, to relieve the regular volunteer troops from this service and enable them to be put in at the front.

In addition to the very large sums contributed by individuals, from time to time during the war, in aid of the soldiers, of their families and to promote enlistments, the amount of which cannot be ascertained, the city appropriated and expended on account of the war one hundred and six thousand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars, exclusive of over two hundred thousand dollars, State aid to the families of the men in the field, which latter was ultimately refunded to her by the State. She responded to all calls upon her for men, about three thousand entering the army and navy during the war out of an entire population of a little over twenty-one thousand. In the partial account given of the departure of these men from Salem, no mention has been made of the character of their service or that of the regiments to which they belonged. It could not be expected that any extended history of these organizations can be here given, and only a glance at the careers of those containing more or less Salem men is permitted by the limitation of this article.

The militia regiments that first went out in the spring of 1861, had a valuable experience of the duties of the soldier in active service, learning the use of arms and camp and outpost duty; but they were not engaged with the enemy except the Fifth regiment, in which were the Salem City Guard and Mechanics' Light Infantry Companies, that took some part in the battle of Bull Run though suffering but slight loss.

The first regiment to be raised for the service of the United States, in this State, was the 2d Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, that began to be formed before the Government had called for other than militia

regiments. The Company commanded by Captain Cogswell, containing many Salem men, was attached to it, and at the close of the war this officer returned in command of the regiment and with the brevet of a brigadier, while of the Salem enlisted men, five had earned commissions. The Second had a distinguished record. With Colonel Gordon and Lieutenant-Colonel George L. Andrews, (of a Salem family) both West Pointers, it was from the beginning a thoroughly instructed and efficient regiment. It served under General Patterson in 1861, and subsequently remained in the Shenandoah Valley under General Banks, distinguishing itself as a part of the rear guard in his retreat to the Potomac in May 1862. Closely engaged in the battle of Cedar Mountain under the same officer, it there lost nearly half of its officers and one-third of the men. It took part in the succeeding battles of Centreville and Antietam, and the following year lost heavily at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Forming part of the force sent to New York to suppress the draft riots, it was then sent to Alabama where the regiment was furloughed for re-enlistment and returned with recruited ranks in time to take part in General Sherman's severe Atlanta campaign, subsequently marching through Georgia and continuing northward through the Carolinas in the resistless march of that officer until its fighting days were ended at Raleigh by the news of Lee's surrender. At the muster out, July 14, 1865, there were but four officers and one hundred men remaining of the original full regiment that had marched from the State to the front.

In the Ninth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry there were a large number of Salem men, particularly in company F, originally called the Fitzgerald Guard, already mentioned. Serving in front of Washington from its muster in June, 1861, when it became a part of the great Army of the Potomac, in whose fortunes it shared until its muster-out in June, 1864. In Morell's division of the fifth corps, it took part in all the battles of the ill-fated peninsula campaign, and in the determined stand made by Porter in command of this corps at Gaines' Mill, the Ninth lost twenty officers and three hundred and sixty men. Still, and always in the fifth corps under Porter, and afterwards under Warren, the regiment was engaged at Centreville, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, and through the Wilderness to Spottsylvania, on all these historic fields acquitting itself with great gallantry and suffering heavy losses. The regiment was mustered out at the expiration of its term of service in June, 1864. Four of the enlisted men from Salem had received commissions in addition to the three officers originally marching from the city.

The Twenty-third Regiment Massachusetts Infantry had peculiar claims upon the city by reason of the large number of its citizens in the ranks, and the interest attaching to one of its companies that, in a sudden burst of patriotic feeling had resolved them-

selves, by a vote, from a drill-club of amateurs into a company of United States soldiers with plenty of hard service immediately before them. The regiment was sent to Annapolis, and a few months later joined General Burnside's expedition that took Roanoke Island and occupied Newberne. It suffered some losses in these operations, including Lieutenant-Colonel Merritt, already mentioned. Later, in the same department, under General Foster, it was engaged at Heckman's farm, Arrowfield Church and Drury's Bluff. In the later action it lost heavily, being exposed to a flank attack.

Under General Stannard, the Twenty-third joined the Army of the Potomac just before the battle of Cold Harbor in which it took part, subsequently doing duty in the trenches at Petersburg. Being returned to its old department, it was put in during the final operations in that quarter in 1865, being last engaged at Kingston. It was finally mustered out of service in June, 1865, a large number of the regiment having re-enlisted the previous year. Six of its enlisted men from Salem returned home with commissions, excepting one, Lieutenant Richard P. Wheeler, who had died of wounds received in action.

The Twenty-third was a thoroughly good regiment and always did its work in gallant style.

Captain Arthur F. Devereux, who had drilled the Salem Light Infantry Company just before the war to a wonderful point of excellence, upon the return of that company from its three months' service, aided in raising the Nineteenth Regiment, Massachusetts Infantry, going out as its lieutenant-colonel and returning in command as a brevet brigadier-general. He took with him as officers nine or ten of his old light infantrymen and near one hundred recruits from Salem, besides many from the vicinity. The Nineteenth was a regiment always noted for its drill and precision of movement and distinguished itself in many actions. It took five stand of colors, and was twice complimented in general orders.

Getting its initiation at Bulls' Bluff, it took part in the Peninsular battles, Centreville, Bristoe Station, Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg (there forming the advance that crossed the river in pontoons), fought at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness and succeeding engagements, and after the rough winter's work in front of Petersburg, was in at the death at Appomattox, where one of its captains was killed by the last shot said to have been fired by the enemy. Capt. George W. Batchelder, of Salem, was killed at Antietam.

The 24th Volunteer Infantry contained several officers and a considerable number of men from Salem. It was a well instructed regiment, and always displayed good qualities in the face of the enemy. Accompanying the Burnside expedition it took part in the engagement prior and subsequent to the occupation of Newberne, and being sent to the siege of Charleston was in the attempt on Fort Wagner and other actions

in that vicinity until ordered to St. Augustine, Fla., in the latter part of 1863. In the spring of 1864 it was transferred to the Tenth Corps, Army of the James, where, at the battle of Drury's Bluff, it suffered considerable loss. Later at Deep Bottom and in subsequent service in front of Petersburg, the regiment lost heavily. It continued to participate in the operations that resulted in Lee's surrender. Having largely re-enlisted at the expiration of its first three years of service, the regiment was not finally mustered out until January 20, 1866, remaining on duty as part of the garrison of Richmond, Va. Adjutant Charles G. Ward, of the Twenty-fourth, of Salem, was killed in action May 6, 1864.

In the Eleventh Infantry were a number of men recruited in and about Salem. Its list of engagements is that of those of the Army of the Potomac, in which it served from the first battle of Bull Run to the close of the war, and always with distinction. The Salem men who served in the Twelfth Infantry known as the Webster Regiment, after making the campaign with General Banks in the Shenandoah Valley and at Cedar Mountain, had a similar experience in the succeeding engagements of the Army of the Potomac through the battle of Cold Harbor, after which those that were left were mustered out at the expiration of their term of service.

In the Fortieth Infantry there were a considerable number of officers from Salem, and it was recruited partly here. The regiment entered the service in September, 1862, served in Virginia until in the division of General Gordon (the former colonel of the Second Infantry) it was sent to Suffolk to reinforce General Peck, who was facing Longstreet's army. From there sent to the South Atlantic coast, it was engaged at Seabrook farm, S. C., and subsequently forming a part of the Florida expedition, suffered severely at Olustee and the accompanying actions in that ill-advised campaign. The regiment was sent north in time to engage in the final operations of the Army of the Potomac, entering Richmond in April, 1865. Lieut. George C. Bancroft, from Salem, was killed at Old Church, Va., June 1, 1864.

The Seventeenth Infantry contained nearly seventy Salem men. Raised in 1861, after a few months' garrison duty at Baltimore, it reported at Newberne, N. C. It was engaged at Kinston and Goldsborough. On the 16th of December, 1863, an attack was made on Newberne by a strong force of the enemy, and the Seventeenth lost heavily in repelling it. Later it was engaged at Washington, N. C. Subsequently, March 8, 1865, the regiment was heavily engaged at Wise Forks, N. C., in the advance made from the coast to connect with General Sherman. Garrisoning Greensboro', N. C., until July 11, 1865, the regiment was then mustered out of service.

The single officer and sixteen or eighteen men of Salem who served with the Thirtieth Massachusetts Infantry, known as the Eastern Bay State Regiment,

were, with it, engaged in the principal actions in the department of the Gulf during 1862 and 1863. Re-enlisting in 1864 it, upon return from furlough, was put into the Nineteenth Corps and transferred to Washington, and ultimately the Shenandoah Valley, where it was engaged in Sheridan's battles, specially distinguishing itself at Cedar Creek. The regiment remained in service in Georgia until 1866.

In the Thirty-Second Infantry were rather more men from this city. This regiment, going to the front early in 1862, after a short period of garrison duty, became a part of the Army of the Potomac, and remained with it to the end, being engaged in nearly every battle fought by that army, from the Peninsular campaign to the moment that the Army of Northern Virginia laid down its arms. Its only commissioned officer from Salem, Captain Charles A. Dearborn, was killed at Fredericksburg.

The Thirty-Fifth Infantry had three officers from Salem, although but few enlisted men. Its record is very similar to that of the regiment last mentioned, although it did not go into action until Antietam. Lieutenant Charles F. Williams, of this regiment, from Salem, died of wounds September 22, 1863.

The Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth regiments of infantry numbered but few men in their ranks from Salem. Mustered into service in 1861, the Twenty-Ninth took part in the engagements of the Army of the Potomac from Gaines' Mill to Fredericksburg, when it was ordered West, and bore a hand at Vicksburg and in other engagements in the cotton States, being ordered North, and taking part in the Cold Harbor battle and in the succeeding operations in front of Petersburg. The Twenty-Eighth, entering the service early in 1862, was put into the Army of the Potomac in season for the battle of Centreville and every subsequent pitched battle of that army, ending at Ream's Station. Like all Massachusetts regiments these did their duty well. The Thirty-Ninth Infantry, commanded by Colonel Charles L. Pierson, of Salem, contained but few others from this town. It was a good regiment and saw its share of service.

Mention should be made of the two colored Massachusetts regiments, the Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth Infantry, both of whom had some officers (who were white) from Salem, and some recruits also. Both regiments were sent to Hilton Head, participated in the Olustee campaign in Florida, and took an active part in the operations against Charleston, S. C. They were in the assault on Fort Wagner, where the Fifty-Fourth lost heavily, and wherever engaged showed such courage and soldierly conduct as did much to remove the prejudice entertained at first for this class of troops. They remained in service in that department until their final muster-out. Lieutenant Edwin R. Hill, of the Fifty-Fifth, of Salem, was killed in action December 9, 1864.

There was a considerable aggregate contingent of

Salem men in the Fifty-Sixth, Fifty-Seventh and Fifty-Eighth regiments, particularly in the latter, whose Lieutenant-Colonel, John Hodges, of Salem, was killed while leading the regiment, July 30, 1864. These regiments were raised late in the war (1863), but got into very heavy work when their turn came, and as is often the case with full regiments coming to the front from garrison duty, they were kept well in the advance, where they were very willing to go. They all lost severely in the Virginia campaign of 1864-65, and well-earned a good place in the roll of honor of their State.

In the First, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-second Regiments of Massachusetts Infantry, there was but an aggregate of four officers and about seventy enlisted men from Salem, exclusive of the first and second companies of sharpshooters hereafter mentioned. These regiments were all connected with the Army of the Potomac from the time of its first mobilization and bore a distinguished part in its many sanguinary engagements. All were mustered out at the expiration of their three years' service at various dates in 1864, with the exception of the Twentieth that re-enlisted, but had the misfortune to be surrounded at Reams Station, August 23, 1864, where the entire regiment was killed or captured. Lieutenant Richard Derby, the only commissioned officer from Salem in the Fifteenth Regiment, was killed at Antietam.

The two companies of sharpshooters raised in this State took a number of keen rifle shots out of Salem, particularly the Second company that had nearly all its officers and about thirty men from this city. This company was attached to the Twenty-second Massachusetts Infantry, and shared in the honors and fatigues of that gallant regiment in the Army of the Potomac from the beginning, doing valuable service in its particular line of duty on many fields. It was subsequently attached to the First and Twentieth Regiments of Infantry.

The first company though commanded by a Salem man, had few in its ranks from here. Serving unattached in General Lander's command until the death of that officer in West Virginia, it was subsequently attached to the Fifteenth, and later to the Nineteenth Infantry, taking the creditable part in the battles of the Army of the Potomac that was borne by those distinguished regiments. Its first captain, John Saunders, of Salem, was killed at Antietam.

Salem was well represented in other branches, in the three years' service. The First Regiment of Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, commanded by Col. Tannatt, of Salem, a West Point graduate, had more Salem men in its ranks than any regiment that left the State. Raised in 1862, it did duty in its proper sphere in charge of the heavy guns in different fortresses in the belt around Washington, at Maryland Heights and elsewhere. In General Pope's campaign in 1862 the regiment was ordered as infantry

to the front and participated in the battle of Centreville. After another period of service in garrison, it again took the field in May 14, 1864, and in Tyler's powerful division of heavy artillery, lost heavily at Spotsylvania. It continued at the front in the third and second corps, taking a distinguished part in the succeeding work of the Army of the Potomac, until the surrender of Lee's army, and was finally mustered out at the expiration of its term of service.

The Second and Third Regiments of Heavy Artillery contained many officers and men from Salem. The former did garrison duty at various points in North Carolina and south-eastern Virginia during its term of service, as well as some active duty in the field. Two of its companies were captured in April, 1864, in an engagement at Plymouth, N. C. The Third, raised late in 1864, served in the fortifications in front of Washington.

The Fourth Massachusetts Light Battery that has already been alluded to, was raised, early in the war, entirely in Salem. It was embarked at Boston, accompanying General Butler's expedition for the reduction of New Orleans, and it remained in the extreme South during its entire service of nearly four years. It was first engaged at Baton Rouge, was at the siege of Port Hudson, and on the Bayou Teche campaign. In General Canby's force it entered Tennessee and was engaged at Morganza, and on Grierson's raid, in 1864. Joining the land force sent against Mobile, it took part in the siege and capture of that place, where it remained until sent to Texas, serving there until its muster out in October, 1865. It was an excellent battery, well handled, and efficient in action.

The Fifth and Thirteenth Batteries of Light Artillery contained more or less Salem men, and the first-named was ultimately commanded by Captain Charles A. Phillips, of Salem. This battery left the State in December, 1861, and was always attached to the Army of the Potomac, doing excellent service and suffering severely. The Thirteenth Battery served in the Department of the Gulf, being present at the siege of Port Hudson, on the Bayou Teche campaign, and on duty in various parts of Louisiana. It was formed later than the Fifth, leaving for the South, January 20, 1863.

In the Third Massachusetts Cavalry, several officers and a considerable number of men from Salem had a varied and arduous service. Originally recruited as the Forty-first Massachusetts Infantry, in 1862, it was sent to the Department of the Gulf, where, shortly after, to meet the need in that quarter of mounted troops, the regiment was for a time used as Mounted Infantry. This anomalous condition was presently changed, and they were organized as the Third Cavalry and equipped and instructed accordingly. Taking part in the siege operations at Port Hudson and in the Red River campaign, the regiment was in 1864, shipped North with General Emory's Nineteenth Corps, and joined the Army of the Shenandoah. Here

it was remounted and put in the First Brigade, Second Cavalry Division, participating in General Sheridan's brilliant campaign. After the Rebellion had been quelled this regiment was sent upon the plains with other cavalry, to hold down certain restless Indian tribes. It was ultimately mustered out of service in the fall of 1865. Lieutenant Pickering D. Allen, of this regiment, from Salem, was killed at Brashear City, La., June 2, 1863.

A number of men were recruited in Salem for the Second Massachusetts Cavalry that went out in 1862. This regiment had the peculiarity of having five full companies from the State of California. It served in Virginia, and at one time enjoyed the equivocal distinction of being specially detached to hunt down the guerrilla, Colonel Mosby and his command, which was very much like the historical search for the Irishman's flea. Allowed later to fly at higher game, the regiment did good fighting at Aldie, North Anna Bridge and elsewhere. Being ordered to the Valley, it participated in the campaign of 1864, and ultimately accompanying Sheridan's column to Richmond, fought in the closing engagements at Five Forks and Sailors' Creek, and was present at the surrender at Appomattox.

In the First Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry a few Salem men enlisted in 1861. This was one of the first mounted regiments in the field and had an excellent name for a long and valuable service of four years, almost constantly in Virginia. A battalion, originally recruited to reinforce this regiment, was ultimately attached to the Fourth Massachusetts Cavalry, raised in 1864, and in which were some men from Salem, and saw considerable hard service in the closing work of the war.

Of the short-term regiments the Forty-eighth and Fiftieth regiments of Massachusetts Militia, that served nine months in 1862 and '63, contained each a large number of Salem men. These regiments were both sent to the Department of the Gulf where they took part in the siege of Port Hudson and the other active operations then going forward in Louisiana and Texas. Their service was arduous and well performed. The principal number of the Salem men in the Fiftieth were in Company A, already alluded to as being the Salem Light Infantry.

The Seventh Militia Regiment also entered the service in 1862 for six months' service taking the larger part of one company from Salem.

In the Fourth Heavy Artillery, the First Battalion of Frontier Cavalry, and the Sixty-first Infantry, all enlisted, late in the war, for one year's service, there was a considerable aggregate of Salem men. The first did garrison duty at Washington, and the second served on the Canada frontier a few months, while the Sixty-first reached the Army of the Potomac in time to do some hard work in the closing engagements of the war. The First Battalion of Artillery was somewhat recruited in Salem. It served during

the war, but only in home garrisons. It is proper to observe that in all of the regiments raised late in the war, were many veterans who had already served with honor in older organizations.

Mention has already been made of the first three months' troops that went forward in 1861. Those that went later in the war for this term, were used to relieve the regular volunteer troops from garrison duty, that they might join the armies in the field in pressing emergencies.

This hasty review of a few facts in the career of the regiments in which the men from Salem served, is the only means possible to convey an idea of the services those men performed for the country. Any individual record of nearly three thousand men is of course out of the question, and it would be an invidious task to select especial cases for remark where all were good and faithful soldiers. The few names mentioned have necessarily appeared as essential parts of the narrative or to add here and there to its interest. If some regiments have appeared to receive more attention than others, it is in no sense to be taken as in derogation of the services of the latter, but must be attributed to the greater interest naturally attending those containing the largest number of Salem men, or, in some cases, to the greater facilities of obtaining information concerning them.

We cannot follow the history of the vessels of our navy, in which many men from Salem served. These men were scattered through the various fleets, on so many ships of war, that it would be an impossibility to write of the work performed by those vessels within the limits of this article; and their aggregate number, though large, was small in comparison with the number who served on land. The record of Salem on the sea, however, is good in this war, as in all others. Some fifty-seven officers and three hundred and twenty-five seamen, many of the latter being warrant and petty officers, entered the navy during the war, in addition to such others as might have been serving when it opened. This small proportional number of seamen indicates the fact that few vessels sailed from or obtained their crews in Salem at the outbreak of the war; while the large number of officers who were mainly drawn from the officers of merchant vessels, equally shows that the traditions of the old Salem families kept many men upon the sea as captains and mates of merchantmen sailing from other ports. It is doubtful whether any town in the country of equal size furnished as many volunteer officers for the navy during the war, as Salem; and their proverbial excellence in the duties of their profession, made them of great value upon the quarter-decks of the men-of-war in which they served.

A number of these officers commanded vessels, among others Lieut. Com. Wm. G. Salloustaill who commanded the "Commodore Hull," the "Governor Buckingham," and the "Kensington;" Lieut. Lewis A. Vischius the "Gemsbok;" Lieut. John Roberts a

sloop of war; Lieut. William C. Rogers the gunboat "Anderson" and also the "Huntsville;" Lieut. Henry Pitman an armed schooner; Master Thos. W. Hutchinson who also commanded the "Huntsville;" Master Abraham A. Very, for a time, the "Cambridge," and Ensign Charles Boyer the "Yantic;" Ensign Robert H. Carey who also commanded the "Anderson" and Ensign Charles Wilkins a gunboat; Ensign James S. Williams commanded a vessel in one of the blockading squadrons and Ensign William M. Swasey a dispatch boat. Others no doubt may have held similar commands, many were executive officers and nearly all were given responsibilities in excess of the requirements of their nominal rank in the service.

The names of officers and seamen are found in the appended list of those who entered the two services during the Civil War, and the work they did appears in the wonderful record of the navy; in the blockading squadrons; attacking the strong works of the enemy on the coast and on the banks of our great rivers, and sweeping distant seas in pursuit of his nimble privateers.

A few officers and enlisted men from Salem also served with regiments not of this State, but it has not been possible to note any facts regarding such regiments. Their names appear in the appended list.

It is with reluctance that the imperfect record of this great war is finished. If it may seem monotonous, it is the monotony of numerous gallant deeds performed simultaneously by many men. Greater variety might imply less heroism; and the history of men intent on one great purpose may well like that of succeeding events, repeat itself.

The military history of Salem must end with the events of 1865; for since that date there has been no war nor hardly rumor of war in the land, excepting where away in the western country the indomitable red man still occasionally stirreth up a little strife. In closing, it may only be added that volumes might be written of the valiant deeds performed for two centuries by her sons afloat and ashore. Perhaps enough has been here suggested, however, to indicate that this quiet city can, on occasion, hold her own with many an old fighting town, and that amid the arts of peace here cultivated so assiduously, the strong spirit of war slumbers but lightly in the breasts of her people, ready to be aroused at the first menace to the rights and liberties of the nation.¹

APPENDIX (No. 1).

1774, May 17. As a Committee of Correspondence, the following persons were chosen:

George Williams.	Jonathan Gardner, jr.
Stephen Higginson.	Joseph Sprague.
Richard Manning.	Richard Derby, jr.

¹ The writer of the foregoing article begs to acknowledge his indebtedness for many facts to Felt's "Annals of Salem," Coggeshall's "Privateers," many papers in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute and the files of the *Salem Gazette*, in addition to the usual fields of historical research.

Jonathan Ropes.
Timothy Pickering, jr.

Warwick Palfray.

1775, October 16. A list of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, now elected:

Timothy Pickering, jr.	John Felt.
Thomas Mason.	John Holgrove.
Samuel Williams.	Joseph Vincent.
Jacob Ashton.	Joseph Sprague.
Samuel Webb.	David Felt.
Richard Ward.	Bartholomew Putnam.
William Northey.	George Williams.
Benjamin Ward, jr.	Jonathan Peete, jr.
Joshua Ward.	Abraham Weston.
Stephen Osborn.	John Fisk.
Abraham Gray.	Samuel Ward.
Warwick Palfray.	Nathan Goodale.
John Pickering, jr.	Jonathan Andrews.
John Gardner (3d).	George Osborn.
Joseph Miller.	Dudley Woodbridge.

An enlistment, August 15, 1777, to reinforce the American army till last of November, as one-sixth of the able-bodied militia of Salem, according to a resolve of General Court, August 8th.

Capt. Zadock Buffinton.	Benjamin Tarbox.
Jonathan Southwick.	Nicholas Hopping.
Edmund Munyan.	Isaac Holt.
John Curtis.	Nathaniel Bufford.
Eleazer Tuttle.	Job Abbott.
Benjamin Hudson.	Nathan Skerry.
Elijah Johnson.	Samuel Cheever.
Joshua Moulton.	Benjamin Gardner.
Joseph English.	Joseph Twiss.
Stephen Barker.	Ephraim Skerry.
William Holman.	James Austin.
Israel Burrill.	Benjamin Shaw.
William Clough.	Joseph Flint.
Elisha Nowhall.	Jeremiah Nowhall.
Joshua Pitman.	William Monk.
Joshua Gould.	Daniel Foster.
Thomas Cheever.	Samuel Lovejoy.
Abel Mackintire.	Edward Brown.
Nathaniel Holden.	Samuel Merritt.
John Ward.	William Newhall.
Ezekiel Duncklee.	Thornlike Proctor.
Cape Briton (black).	Joshua Cross.

List of men drafted to help guard Burgoyne's troops at Winter Hill in 1777:

Manuel Burrill.	Joshua Conners.
Benjamin Brown, jr.	Samuel Blyth.
Asa Peirce.	Nathaniel Perkins.
Samuel Skerry.	Thomas Palfray.
Jonathan Very, jr.	Benjamin Daniels.
Timothy Welman.	Littlefield Sibly.
Nathaniel Osgood, jr.	Joseph Ross.
Stephen Cleaveland.	Benjamin Peters.
William Prosser.	James Andrews.
John Flint.	William Pyncheon, jr.
Edward Barnard.	Rouben Alley.
Isaac Osgood.	Benjamin Cheever.
John Gardner, (4th).	Joseph Kempton.
Stephen Webb.	Gabriel Munyon.
Benjamin Hathorn.	Edmund Henfield, jr.
John Carwick.	Joseph Bacon.
Edward Britton.	Andrew Ward.
Samuel Masury.	Joseph Young.
William Young.	James Boardman.
Thomas Ruce.	Nathaniel Lang.
John Dove.	Stephen Osborn.
Jonathan Ashby.	John Wood.
Samuel Bond.	James Symonds.
Jesse Farson.	Nathan Kimball.
William Cook.	Joseph Cook.

David Mansfield.
David Beadle.

James Gould.
Joseph Cook, jr.

Soldiers in the Continental army whose families received assistance in 1777.

Col. Samuel Carlton.
Solomon Welsher.
Thomas Needham.
William Skeldon.
Ephraim Ingalls.
William Joplin.
Am. Whittemore.
Samuel Oskman.
Richard Maybury.
Joseph Masury.
William Gray.
Benjamin Latherby.
Capt. Thomas Barnes.
Joseph Millet.
Samuel Crowel.
Stephen Hall.
James Gray.

Douglas Middleton.
Capt. Ebenezer Winship.
Abraham Morse.
Charles Vanderford.
Cornelius Bingen.
William Bright.
Thomas Keene.
Samuel Murray.
William Bright.
Gibson Clough.
Edmund Gale.
Joseph Cook.
John Masury.
Joseph Metcalf.
Nathaniel Needham.
Samuel Bishop.

These two, Peter Pitman and Nathl. Knights, were of the army, 1776.

Besides the preceding, there were other soldiers of Salem in the army from 1777 to 1780, as follows:

George Uinar.
John Polner.
Timothy Dwyer.
Thomas Richerson.
Joel Chandler.
Valentine Boron.
John Darrago.
William Liscou.
Spencer Thomas.
Joseph Synmes.
Samuel Askins.
David Levit.
Moses Chandler.

Abraham Bolton.
John Gillard.
Thomas Roche.
Jephtha Ward.
William Lockhead.
Clement Gunner.
Samson Freeman.
William Gravel.
Jonas Child.
William Wester.
Richard Downing.
George Venner.

In the records of Massachusetts quota in the army, the following were of Salem, 1780:

Nathaniel Hathorn.
Alexander Baxter.
Fortune Ellery.
Capt. Nathan Goodale.
William Fitzael.

Brown Vellott.
Edward Lee.
Daniel Williams.
David Collins.
George Tucker.

Men hired by Salem to serve six months in the Continental army, according to resolve of General Court, June 5, 1780:

Joseph English.
James Turner.
William Morgan.
Noah Parker.
Samuel Royal (black).
Benjamin Oliver (black).
Thomas Morse.
James P. Bishop.
Robert Thompson.
Charles Brien.
John Burk.
James Smith.

Edward Prize.
John Gangus, jr.
Humphrey Fears.
John Tracy.
Benjamin Knowles.
Robert Stutson.
John Ward.
James Smith.
Thomas Sheridan.
William Long.
Michael Condon.
John Green.

These belonged here and thirteen others, belonging elsewhere, were named with them.

Names of soldiers hired from December, 1780, to Feb., 1781, to serve three years in the Continental army:

John Hale.
Peter Harris.
Nicholas Wallis.
John Smith.
John Bryan.

Michael Garvin.
Benjamin Oliver.
Alexander Smith.
William Ryan.
Joseph Williams.

William Tector.
Joseph Liotier.
Cesar (negro).
William McLaughlan.
Randal McFadin.
James Ketwel.
John Smith.
Benjamin Daland.
Jonathan Gardner.
John Still.
Samuel Payne.
William Gray.
John Riley.
Lawrence Vernes.
Michael Alley.
Edward Smith.
John Jackson (negro).
William Thompson.
Nathan Williams.
John Yonans.
William Wetmore.

Peter Mam.
James Fitzgerald.
Samuel Appay (negro).
Loudon (negro).
Thomas Whiddick.
Joseph Larocche.
Edward Rudge.
Samuel (negro).
John Ducture.
Samuel Wardsworth.
Paul Holbrook.
Alexander Campbell.
James Welch.
Maurice Barrett.
Patrick Swaney.
John Dean.
Eneas McDonald.
Polydore (negro).
Charles Colley.
Benjamin Peters.

1781. John Coolin, William Cooper, Benjamin Webb and Thomas Lakeman were in the army.

Men detached to service in Rhode Island, according to resolve of General Court, June 16, 1781:

Major Joseph Miller.
Francis Haynes.
William Orne.
Lewis Hunt.
John Dove.
Edward Norris.
Samuel Symonds (3d).
Francis Cook.
John Wiburt.
Jonathan Gardner (3d).
Joseph Daland.
Ebenzer Nutting.
George Frazier.
Joseph English.
Thomas Symonds.
James Masury.
Nathan Prince.
David Bickford.
Benjamin Lang.
Robert Hill.
Cheever Mansfield.

Samuel Cheever.
Joshua Pitman.
Theophilus Batchelor.
Capt. Simeon Brown.
William West, jr.
Seth Ring.
Joseph Millet.
Francis Boardman.
Samuel Jones.
Caleb Foot.
John Emmerton, jr.
Charles Britton.
David Beadle.
Nathaniel Brown.
Richard Manning.
Abel Lawrence.
William Thomas.
Penn Townsend.
David Ingersoll.
James Carrol.

From May 25th to July 11th, 1782, enlistments to serve in the army three years:

Jacob Northrup.
Josiah Phelps.
Edward Bessley.
John Adams.
Peter Ingersoll.
James Smith.
David Jones.
William Leonard.
Andrew Bulger.
John Dorsey.
John Taylor.
Alanson Hamner.
Moses Hall.
William Tector.
Eliphas Spencer.
Benjamin Johnson.
John Fogarty.

Samuel Buckman.
Joel Northrup.
Daniel Weller.
John Melony.
Edward Rudge.
Samuel Locke.
John Coats.
John Hubbard.
Thomas Brown.
James Slater.
David Davis.
Abraham Newport.
William Lamson.
William Taylor.
Thomas Powars.
Nathaniel Williams.

The names of the following officers who served in the Revolutionary armies, and are all believed to have been from Salem, do not appear in the foregoing lists:

Col. Timothy Pickering.
Lieut. Benjamin West.
Col. William Mansfield.

Capt. Samuel Flagg.
Capt. ——— Greenwood.
Lieut. Miles Greenwood

HISTORY OF ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

apt. John Felt.
 apt. John Butler.
 apt. John Symonds.
 apt. Benjamin Ropes, Jr.
 apt. Benjamin Ward.

Lieut. Robert Foster.
 Capt. Addison Richardson.
 Major Samuel King.
 Capt. — Flint.

APPENDIX (No. 2.)

List of Salem Privateers of the Revolution.

(This is believed to include 'Letters of Marque'.)

SHIPS.

NAMES.	Number of Guns.	Weight of Metal.	No. of Men.
Pilgrim.....	18	9	120
Essex.....	20	6	110
Franklin.....	18	6	100
Scurge.....	20	6	110
Disdain.....	20	6	110
Congress.....	20	9	130
Royal Louis.....	18	6	100
Porus.....	20	9	130
Grand Turk.....	24	6	120
Rattle Snake.....	20	4	95
Hover.....	20	4	95
Cromwell.....	16	6	100
Jason.....	16	6	100
Marquis.....	16	4	75
Hendrick.....	18	6	100
Junius Brutus.....	20	6	110
Rhodes.....	20	6	110
Harlequin.....	20	4	95
Neptune.....	16	4	75
Mohawk.....	22	6	110
Buccaneer.....	18	9	120
Cicero.....	18	9	120
Rambler.....	16	6	95
Defence.....	14	6	85
Independence.....	16	4	70
Jack.....	12	9	60
Black Prince.....	18	6	.....
Bunker Hill.....	20	6	.....
Hector.....	22	6	.....
Jack.....	14	4	.....
Hunter.....	18	4	.....
Pickering.....	16	6	.....
Renown.....	14	4	.....
Roe Buck.....	12	4	.....
Trenton.....	12	6 & 4	.....
Thirty-five ships.	622	.....	2645

BRIGS.

Tyger.....	16	4	70
Montgomery.....	14	4	60
Sturdy Beggar.....	14	4	60
Captain.....	10	3	45
New Adventure.....	14	3	55
Active.....	14	4	60
Hero.....	8	4	40
Fortune.....	14	4	60
Swift.....	14	4	60
Blood-hound.....	14	3	55
Flying-fish.....	10	3	45
Fox.....	14	3	55
Cato.....	14	3	55
Chase.....	10	3	45
Brandywine.....	6	3	.....
Cutter.....	10	3	.....
Eagle.....	12	4	.....
Fame.....	16	4	.....
Hampden.....	14	4	.....
Hornet.....	10	3	.....
Lexington.....	8	3	.....
Lincoln.....	12	4	.....
Lion.....	16	6	.....
Maccaroul.....	14	4	.....

NAMES.	Number of Guns.	Weight of Metal.	No. of Men.
Monmouth.....	12	4	.....
Pinto.....	8	3	.....
Rambler.....	14	6	.....
True American.....	10	4	.....
Tyger.....	10	3	.....
Wild Cat.....	14	4	.....
Thirty-two brigs.	392	.....	870

SCHOONERS.

Greyhound.....	8	3	35
Lively.....	8	3	35
Shackle.....	6	3	30
Pine Apple.....	6	3	30
Languedoc.....	6	2	25
Dolphin.....	6	3	34
.....	6	3	30
Panther.....	4	3	20
Beaver.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Blackbird.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Civil Usage.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Civil Usage.....	each.	.....	.....
Centipede.....	6	2	.....
Congress.....	8	3	.....
Cutter.....	8	Swivels.	.....
Delight.....	4	2	.....
Dolphin.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Dolphin.....	each.	.....	.....
Fly.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Fox.....	10	Swivels.	.....
General Gates.....	8	2	.....
Greyhound.....	6	2	.....
Hammond.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Hampden.....	8	3	.....
Harlequin.....	10	3	.....
Hawk.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Hornet.....	14	Swivels.	.....
Lark.....	12	Swivels.	.....
Lively.....	14	Swivels.	.....
Modesty.....	8	3	.....
Pompey.....	6	2	.....
Scorpion.....	6	2	.....
Shark.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Skulpion.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Swett.....	12	3	.....
Tatno Bush.....	10	Swivels.	.....
Warren.....	10	3	.....
Thirty-seven schooners.	320	.....	235

SLOOPs.

Fish-hawk.....	8	4	40
Hazard.....	6	3	30
Black Snake.....	12	3	.....
Bowdoin.....	8	3	.....
Jack.....	14	4	.....
Morning Star.....	8	3	.....
Revengo.....	10	3	.....
Rever.....	8	3 & 4	.....
Bowdoin.....	8	2	.....
Nine sloops.	82	.....	70

Seven shallops, names not mentioned..... 120 men.

RECAPITULATION.

	Vessels.	Guns.	Men.
Ships.....	35	622	2645
Brigs.....	32	392	870
Schooners.....	37	320	235
Sloops.....	9	82	70
Shallops.....	7	.....	120
Total.....	120	1416	3940

(APPENDIX No. 3).

LIST OF THE PRIVATEERS.

BELONGING TO SALEM DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

NAME	Class	Tons	Guns	Weight of Metal	Men	Where Built	When Built	Builder.	Commander	Captured
Active	Sch.	20	2	4 lbs.	25	Salem	1810		Benj. Patterson	Sept., 1812
Alexander	Ship	330	12	6 "	140	Baltimore	1808		T. Wellman, Jr.	May 19, 1813
Alfred	Ship	200	16	9 "	110	Salem	1805	David Magonn	B. Crowninshield	Feb., 1814
America	Ship	350	20	9 "	180	Salem	1804	Retiah Becket	Step'n Williams	Sold at auction
Bl'k Vomit	Boat	5	0	Muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Philip Beeson	June, 1831
Bucksia	Sch.	60	4	12 lbs.	60	Baltimore	1808		Joseph Ropes	Sold
Cadet	Sch.	47	2	4 "	40	Boston	1814		John Keheu	Sept., 1812
Castigator	Launch	10	6	Car'nade	20	Salem	1813	Webb & Beadle	Jas. W. Chever	
Cossack	Sch.	48	1	18 lbs.	45	Salem	1813	Webb & Beadle	John Upton	
Dart	Sch.	40	2	4 "	40	Salem	1800		William Davis	
Diomedes	Sch.	170	3	12 "	100	New York	1814		T. Symonds	
Dolphin	Sch.	140	1	12 "	70	Baltimore			John Green	
Enterprise	Sch.	200	4	18 "	100	Salem	1812	Barker & Magoun	Abner Poland	May, 1814
Fair Trader	Sch.	40	1	12 "	35	New York	1809		J. Crowninshield	
Fame	Sch.	30	2	6 "	30	Essex	1804		Jacob Endicott	
Frolie	Sch.	110	1	24 "	60	Salem	1813		John R. Morgan	May, 1813
Gallinipper	Sch.	25	2	6 "	30	Eng. built	1807		John R. Morgan	Sept., 1812
Gen. Putnam	Sch.	150	2	32 "	60	Boston	1814		Webb, Upton, Poland	
Gen. Stark	Sch.	54	3	12 Car.	50	Salem	1813	Barker & Magoun	Green, Chapin & Evans	
Grand Turk	Brig	310	18	9 lbs.	150	Wiscasset, Me.	1812		Nathan Green	
Growler	Sch.	172	1	24 "	105	Baltimore	1812	Under Supt'nce	John Green	Aug. 1813
Helen	Sch.	75	4	6 "	70	Braintree	1792	Capt. J. J. Knapp	Sam'l B. Graves	
Holkar	Boat	6	0	Muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Nath'l Lindsey	
Jefferson	Sloop	14	1	4 Car.	20	Salem	1801	Christ'er Jurner	John Upton	1814
John	Ship	200	16	6 lbs.	105	Salem	1704	Enos Briggs	Samuel Lamson	
John & George	Sch.	57	1	12 "	50	New York	1810		John Keheu, J. H.	
Lizard	Sch.	30	2	6 "	30	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Downie, S. Giles	Feb., 1813
Montgomery	Brig	190	10	6 "	100	Medford	1812		J. Wellman, Jr.	Nov., 1812
Orion	Boat	5	0	Muskets	20	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	James Fairfield	
Owl	Boat	6	0	Muskets	14	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	B. Crowninshield	
Phoenix	Sch.	20	1	6 lbs.	25	Salem	1814	William Rowell	John Sinclair, Jr.	Nov., 1812
Polly	Sloop	96	1	12 "	60	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	1800		Samuel Loring	1814
Recovery	Sch.	29	2	3 "	20	Salem	1810		Holten J. Breed	May, 1813
Regulator	Sch.	75	1	24 "	50	New York	1808		Upton, Joseph Strout	
Revenge	Sch.	57	1	12 "	50	New York	1810		John Upton	
Scorpion	Sloop	14	1	4 "	20	Salem	1812	Wm. Hullis	Jonathan Blythe	April, 1813
Swift	Sch.	27	1	6 "	25	Eng. built	1808		William Duncan	
Swiftsure	Launch	10	1	4 "	20	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Stephenson Richards	April, 1814
Terrible	Boat	5	0	Muskets	16	Salem	1813	Leach & Teague	Sam'l C. Hardy	
Viper	Sch.	14	1	4 lbs.	20	Salem	1814	Leach & Teague	Robert Evans	1812
Wasp	Sloop	30	2	6 "	35	Salem	1813	William Hullis	Joseph Peck	Sept., 1812
									James Mansfield	Nov., 1812
									John Sinclair, Jr.	
									Stephenson Richards	
									Thomas Osborne	
									Harvey Choute	
									Stephen Clarke	
									Charles Berry	
									James Thomas	
									John Greene	
									Joseph Preston	
									Ernest A. Ervin.	

(APPENDIX No. 4).

List of officers and enlisted men from Salem who served in the Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers during the Mexican War.

Crowninshield, Charles B.....Capt.	Charles C. Varney, Levi Curtis.....Privates.
Crowninshield, John C.....1st, Lieut.	Augustus Chamberlain, Lucius Grover.....Musicians.

APPENDIX No. 5.

List of Commissioned Officers from Salem. War of the Rebellion.

Allen, Pickering D.....1st Lieut. 3d Cav. ; killed.	Edwards, Charles W.....2d Lieut. 2d Inf.	Lakeman, John R.....1st Lieut. 23d Inf.
Ames, George L., Capt. ; Bvt. Lieut. Col. U. S. Com. Dept.	Edwards, Shuball.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Lander, Frederick W.....Brig. Gen.
Andrews, Richard F., 2d Lieut. U. S. C. T. (38th U. S. Vols).	Emilio, Louis F.....Capt. 54th Inf. (colored).	Lee, Charles J.....2d Lieut. 48th Inf. militia.
Annable Ephraim A.....2d Lieut. 2d H. Art.	Emmerton, Charles S.....1st Lieut. 23d Inf.	Lee, John R.....1st Lieut. and Q. M. 1st Inf.
Atherton, Charles H.....2d Lieut. 1st H. Art.	Emmerton, George R.....1st Lieut. 23d Inf.	Lee, Robert G.....Act. Master, Navy.
Austin, George F.....Capt. 24th Inf.	Emmerton, James A.....Surg. 2d H. Art.	Leonard, James.....2d Lieut. 3d H. Art.
Avery, Henry.....Act. Ensign, Navy	Endicott, Charles.....Act. Master, Navy.	Loud, Charles A.
Babson, Edwin.....Act. Ensign, Navy	Evans, Alvan A.....1st Lieut. 2d Co. Sharps.	Luscomb, Joseph H.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Baker, Charles H.....Engineer, Navy	Evans, John W., 2d Lieut. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Luscomb, Henry R.....2d Lieut. 3d H. Art.
Bancroft, George C.....1st Lieut. 40th Inf. ; killed.	Fabens, George O.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	McGourty, Patrick.....2d Lieut. 11th Inf.
Barstow, Simon F.....Major, Gen. Meade's Staff.	Fallon, Thomas R.....2d Lieut. 9th Inf.	Manning, Charles H.....Capt. 4th Bat. L. Art.
Batchelder, Charles J. (I.).....1st Lieut. 3d Cav.	Farmer, George S., Lieut. 4th H. Art. ; Died at Andersonville Prison before receiving commission.	Manning, Joseph A., 2d Lieut., Gen. Butler's Staff.
Batchelder, George W.....Capt. 19th Inf. ; killed.	Finney, George.....Act. Master, Navy.	Manning, Thomas H.....1st Lieut. 4th Bat. L. Art.
Bates, Charles H.....1st Lieut. 23d Inf.	Fisher, Charles.....Engineer, Navy	Mansfield, William D.....Capt. 14th N. Y. Vols.
Bertram, Joseph H. M.....Major, U. S. Pay Dept.	Fisher, George A., 1st Lieut. 23d Inf. ; Trans. U. S. Sig. Corps.	Marks, John L.....Maj., Salem Cadets.
Black, Patrick W.....Capt. 9th Inf.	Fitzgerald, Edward.....Capt. 9th Inf.	Marks, Thomas H.....Act. Ensign, Navy
Bott, Thomas E.....Capt. 11th Inf.	Ford, John F.....1st Lieut. 48th Inf. militia.	Mehan, Dennis.....Capt. 2d Inf.
Boyer, Charles.....Act. Ensign, Navy	Foster, Joseph C.....2d Lieut. Salem Cadets.	Merritt, Henry.....Lieut. Col. 23d Inf. ; killed.
Brewster, Ethan A. P.....Maj. 23d Inf.	Fowler, Philip M.....Capt. (U. S. C. T.).	Merritt, Henry A.....1st Lieut. 2d H. Art.
Briggs, Joseph B.....1st Lieut. 4th Bat. L. Art.	Fox, John L.....Surg. Navy.	Millet, Charles (2d).....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Brooks, Charles W.....1st Lieut. 23d Inf.	Frye, Charles H.....Capt. 2d N. C. Vols.	Millet, Edward.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Brown, Robert B.....Capt. 2d Inf.	Frye, Nathan A., Jr., 2d Lieut. 59th Inf. ; not mustered.	Millet, Frank.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Brown, A. Parker.....Maj. 40th Inf.	Gardner, George W.....Capt. 24th Inf.	Millet, William H.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Browning, George F.....Capt. Bvt. Maj. 2d Inf.	Getchell, George H.....Capt. 24th Inf.	Miller, Frederick L.....Engineer, Navy.
Bruce, Daniel, Jr.....U. S. C. T.	Glidden, Joseph H.....1st Lieut. 6th Inf. militia.	Miller, James.....Capt. 4th Cav.
Buffum, G. R.....Capt.	Goldthwait, Joseph A., 1st Lieut. 2d Inf. ; Capt. and C. S. U. S. Vols.	Milward, Benjamin F.....1st Lieut. 50th Inf.
Buffum, Robert.....Lieut. 4th Tenn. Cav.	Goodale, Joshua C.....2d Lieut. 2d H. Art.	Moody, Converse.....Capt. Md. Vols.
Burnett, Servington S.....2d Lieut. 48th Inf. militia.	Goss, James W.....1st Lieut. 1st H. Art.	Moseley, Joseph.....Act. Master, Navy.
Buxton, Seth S.....Maj. 1st H. Art. ; died in service.	Gray, George C., 2d Lieut. 1st Co. Sharps. ; Capt. 178th N. Y. Vols.	Mullaly, John E.....Capt. 17th Inf.
Calef, Benjamin S., Capt., Maj. Gen. Birney's Staff.	Grant, Frederick.....1st Lieut. 2d H. Art.	Neal, William S.....Asst. Engineer, Navy.
Carey, Robert H.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Hale, Henry A., Capt. 19th Inf. ; Bvt. Lieut. Col. and A. A. G. Vols.	Nichols, James B.....Capt. 24th Inf.
Center, Addison.....Capt. 23d Inf.	Hamblett, Samuel H.....1st Lieut. 5th Bat. L. Art.	Nichols, James W.....2d Lieut. 40th Inf.
Chadwick, John C., Capt. 19th Inf, Lieut. Col. 92d U. S. C. Inf.	Hancock, John.....Midshipman, Navy.	Noyes, Isaac S.....1st Lieut. 7th Inf. militia.
Chapman, George T.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Hannan, Dennis B.....Surg.	Nutting, William G.....Act. Lieut. Navy.
Chase, Charles W.....Capt. 40th Inf.	Harrington, Daniel.....Midshipman, Navy.	O'Brien, Martin.....Capt. 9th Inf.
Chase, Thorndike.....Clerk Com. Dept.	Harrod, Benjamin C.....1st Lieut. 1st H. Art.	O'Donnell, James.....1st Lieut. 9th Inf.
Chipman, Andrew A., 1st Lieut. 12th Inf. ; 4th H. Art. ; Trans. 39th Inf.	Haskell, Augustus M.....Chap. 40th Inf.	O'Leary, Timothy.....Capt. 9th Inf.
Chipman, Charles G.....Capt. 54th Inf. (colored).	Hatch, Charles F.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Oliver, Samuel C., Lieut. Col. 1st H. Art. ; Lieut. Col. 2d H. Art. ; Bvt. Col.
Chisholm, T.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Hayward, Charles H.....1st Lieut. 23d Inf.	Osborne, Nathan W. N., Capt. 13th U. S. Inf. (Vols).
Clough, Benjamin P.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Henfield, Amos.....Capt. 3d Cav.	Palmer, William L.....Maj. 19th Inf. ; Bvt. Col.
Cogswell, William, Col. 2d Inf. ; Bvt. Brig. Gen.	Hill, Edwin R., 1st Lieut. 2d Inf. ; Trans. 55th Inf. (colored) ; killed.	Parsons, Joseph M.....Capt. 3d H. Art.
Coleman, Francis M.....2d Lieut. 3d H. Art.	Hill, William A.....Capt. 19th Inf.	Peterson, Charles L., Col. 59th Inf. ; Bvt. Brig. Gen.
Cox, Charles G.....Maj. 40th Inf.	Hilts, Jacob C.....1st Lieut. 2d U. S. Vols.	Peterson, George H.....Col. 5th Inf. militia.
Cummings, Walter C.....Lieut.	Hobbs, Edward.....1st Lieut. 1st H. Art.	Peirce, Charles H.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Cummings, William C.....2d Lieut. 23d Inf.	Hodges, John, Jr.....Lieut. Col. 5th Inf. ; killed.	Perkins, Charles T.....1st Lieut. 24th Inf.
Daland, John.....Capt. 24th Inf.	Hodges, Thorndike D.....Capt. 1st N. C. Vols.	Phalan, Edward A.....Capt. 2d Inf.
Dalton, Joseph A.....Lieut. Col. 40th Inf.	Holt, Frank.....2d Lieut. 1st Bat'n F. Cav.	Phalan, Michael (W).....1st Lieut. 9th Inf.
Dalton, Samuel.....1st Lieut. 1st H. Art.	Hoyt, S.....Capt.	Phillips, Charles A.....Capt. 5th Bat. L. Art. ; Bvt. Maj.
Danforth, Henry F.....Capt. 40th Inf.	Hurd, William H.....2d Lieut. 50th Inf. militia.	Phillips, Edward P. (B).....Lieut.
Davidson, Henry, Jr., 1st Lieut. 4th Bat. L. Art.	Hutchinson, Thomas W.....Act. Master, Navy.	Phillips, Edward W., 1st Lieut. 50th Inf. militia.
Dearborn, Charles A., Jr.....Capt. 32d Inf. ; killed.	Jackson, Andrew.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Phipps, John.....Act. Ensign, Navy
Derby, T. Putnam, Jr.....Capt. 4th U. S. C. T.	James, Henry.....Engineer, Navy.	Pickering, John., Capt. 13th Unat. Co. H. Art. ; 3d H. Art. ; Adj. S. C.
Derby, Richard.....Capt. 15th Inf. ; killed.	Johnson, Daniel H., Jr.....Capt. 40th Inf.	Pickman, Benjamin.....1st Lieut. 3d Cav.
Devereux, Arthur F., Col. 19th Inf. ; Bvt. Brig. Gen.	Johnson, Thomas H.....2d Lieut. Salem Cadets.	Pitman, Henry.....Act. Lieut., Navy.
Devereux, Charles U.....Capt. 19th Inf.	Kelley, Thomas.....2d Lieut. 30th Inf.	Pollock, John.....Lieut. Col. 40th Inf.
Devereux, John F.....Capt. 11th Inf.	Kemble, Arthur.....Act. Asst. Surg., Navy.	Pool, Marcus M.....2d Lieut. (1st H. Art).
Dimon, Charles A. R., Col. 1st U. S. Vols. ; Bvt. Brig. Gen.	Kenny, Jonathan A.....2d Lieut. Salem Cadets.	Pope, Frank.....Capt. 1st H. Art.
Dodge, Elliot C., Lieut. 1st Regt. N. Y. Excelsior Brigade.	Kimball, Frank.....Lieut.	Pope, James.....Capt. 1st H. Art.
Dodge, Richard F.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Kimball, Jacob.....Act. Lieut., Navy.	Price, Benjamin S.....Act. Asst. Pay Master, Navy.
Dodge, Thomas F.....2d Lieut. 2d H. Art.	Kinsley, Benjamin F.....	Putnam, George D.....Capt. 50th Inf. militia.
Doherty, John.....1st Lieut. 9th Inf.		Putnam, Henry C.....Act. Master, Navy.
Driver, Joseph M., Chap. Hospital, Washington.		Putnam, William S.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Dudley, L. E.....13th Inf.		
Durgin, Horace.....Q. M. 18th Inf. militia.		Quimby, Samuel F.....Act. Asst. Surg., Navy.

Redmond, Philip E., 1st Lieut. 9th Inf.; died in service.	Snapp, Philip J.....1st Lieut. 23d Inf.	Ward, Charles G., 1st Lieut. and Adj. 24th Inf.; killed.
Reeves, Robert W., Capt. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Staten, Edward H., Capt. 6th and 7th Inf. militia.	Ward, John L.....Capt. 60th Inf. militia.
Reynolds, John P., Jr.....Capt. 19th Inf.	Stevens, George O., 1st Lieut. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Waters, Edward S., Vol. Engineer, Gen. Burnside's Staff.
Richardson, James M., Capt. 12th Unat. Co. II. Art.	Stiles, Charles D.....1st Lieut. 2d Co. Sharp.	Waters, John.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Roberts, John.....Act. Lieut., Navy.	Stimpson, Edward S.....1st Lieut. 56th Inf. (colored).	Webb, Augustine F.....2d Lieut. 40th Inf.; killed.
Rogers, William O.....Act. Lieut. Navy.	Stoddard, Benjamin F.....Capt. 24th Inf.	Webb, Francis R.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Roe, Stephen C.....Lieut. Col.	Stone, Lincoln R., Surg. 2d Inf.; 54th Inf. (colored); U. S. Vols.	Webb, Joseph H.....1st Lieut. 40th Inf.
Ross, William H.....Capt.	Symonds, Benjamin R., 1st Lieut. 59th Inf. and 19th Inf.	Wentworth, Louis E.....Capt. 2d Co. Sharp.
Rowell, Sidney B.....2d Lieut. 3d H. Art.	Symonds, H. O.....Maj.	West, W. C.
	Swasey, William M.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Wheatland, George, Jr.....Maj. 48th Inf. militia.
Safford, John B.....Asst. Engineer, Navy.	Tannatt, Thomas R.....Col. 1st H. Art.; 16th Inf.	Wheeler, Richard P., 2d Lieut. 23d Inf.; died of wounds.
Saltontail, William G.....Act. Lieut. Com., Navy.	Thayer, J. Henry.....Chap. 40th Inf.	Whipple, George M.....Capt. 23d Inf.
Sanders, Charles.....1st Lieut. 48th Inf. militia.	Upton, Edward.....1st Lieut. 2d Co. Sharp.	White, Caleb B.
Saunders, John.....Capt. 1st Co. Sharp; killed.	Upton, William B.....Capt. 1st U. S. Vols.	Wildea, George G.....Chap. 24th Inf.
Servey, William T.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Very, Abraham A.....Act. Ensign Navy.	Wilkins, Charles.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Sherman, Charles F.....2d Lieut. 57th Inf.	Voorhies, Lewis D.....Act. Lieut. Navy.	Wiley, George.....2d Lieut. 48th Inf. Militia.
Shrove, William P., 1st Lieut. Gen. Birney's Staff.	Walcott, Alfred F.....Capt. 21st Inf.	Williams, Charles F., Jr., 2d Lieut. 35th Inf.; died of wounds.
Skinner, Richard, Jr.....Capt. 40th Inf.	Walcott, Charles F., Col. 61st Inf.; Bvt. Brig. Gen.	Williams, James S.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Smith, Albert P.....Act. Ensign, Navy.	Ward, Andrew A.....Act. Master, Navy.	Williams, William A.....Engineer, Navy.
Smith, Joseph O.....1st Lieut. 1st H. Art.		Wilson, Edmund B.....Chap. 24th Inf.
Smith, Lawrence P.....Act. Ensign, Navy.		Wilson, Jacob H.....2d Lieut. 40th Inf.
Smith, Robert.....Capt. 2d Co. Sharp.		Winn, John K.....Act. Ensign, Navy.
Smith, Samuel.....Act. Ensign, Navy.		Woods, George H.....Lieut. Col.

APPOINTMENTS (neither Commissioned nor Enlisted Men).

Berry, William H.....Surg.'s Stew., Navy.	Luscomb, Abial T.....Surg.'s Stew., Navy.
Dalton, J. Frank.....Capt.'s Clerk, Navy.	Webber, Joseph.....Surg.'s Stew., Navy.
Farrington, George P., Jr.....Surg.'s Stew., Navy.	Wells, Charles H.....Surg.'s Stew., Navy.
Hamblett, Augustus P.....Paymaster's Stew., Navy.	

LIST OF ENLISTED MEN FROM SALEM IN WAR OF REBELLION.

Abbott, Adolphus.....23d Inf.; V. R. C.	Anderson, Edward.....Navy	Avery, John W. C., 1st H. Art.; died Andersonville Prison.
Abbott, Benjamin F.....4th H. Art.	Anderson, James H., Jr.....Navy	Ayres, Loren (Lorron).....23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.
Abbott, Charles J.....Wagoner, 24th Inf.	Andrews, Gilman A.....Corp. 60th Inf. militia	
Adams, Charles H.....23d Inf.; 3d H. Art.	Anthony, Joseph H.....11th U. S. Inf.	Babbidge, William.....17th Unat. Co.
Adams, Charles P.....1st Co. Sharps., 5th Inf. militia	Anthony, Joseph.....5th Inf. militia	Babbidge, William A.....60th Inf. militia
Adams, Charles.....1st H. Art.	Annis, Joseph E.....40th Inf.	Babcock, John F.....Corp. 4th Cav.
Adams, George W.....Navy	Appleton, John L.....2d Inf.	Babcock, John H.....7th Inf.; 1st Bat'n H. Art.
Adams, George W.....2d H. Art.	Archer, George N.....8th Inf. militia	Bachelor, William H.....17th Inf.
Adams, Henry.....2d H. Art.	Archer, Benj. F. (H.).....2d Co. Sharps.	Bager, Henry.....Navy
Adams, Henry J. 32d Inf.; V. R. C.; 2d Co. Sharps.	Archer, Rufus P., Jr.....4th H. Art.	Bagley, Daniel L.....Navy
Adams, Henry P.....1st Bat'n H. Art.	Archer, William H.....Corp. 2d Co. Sharps.	Bailey, Edward A., (Edwin A.).....2d Inf.
Adams, John H.....19th Inf.	Arnold, Edward H.....4th H. Art.	Bailey, Theron.....1st H. Art.
Adams, Thomas M.....6th Inf. militia	Arnold, Isaac S.....1st H. Art.	Bailey, Warren K.....19th Inf.
Adams, Peter F.....6th Inf. militia	Arnold, James E.....1st H. Art., V. R. C.	Bailey, William.....2d H. Art.; 17th Inf.
Abern, John.....3d H. Art.	Arnold, James E.....3d Cav.	Balnes, Richard.....Navy
Aldrich, Edward M.....1st Bat'n H. Art.	Arnold, James H.....23d Inf.	Baker, Barney.....3d Cav.; V. R. C.
Aldrich, Moses H.....7th R. I.	Arnold, Joseph E.....1st H. Art.	Baker, Benjamin.....2d H. Art.
Allen, Benjamin, Jr.....11th Inf.; died of wounds.	Arnold, Peter.....2d Cav.	Baker, Edwin D.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
Allen, Charles F.....60th Inf. militia.	Arrington, Benjamin E.....U. S. Vet. Vols.	Baker, Henry C.....60th Inf., militia; 30th Inf.
Allen, Edward F.....2d H. Art.	Arrington, Benjamin F.....23d Inf.	Baker, Robert.....20th Inf.
Allen, Henry.....16th Inf.	Arrington, Benjamin R.....17th Inf.	Baker, William H.....1st H. Art.; V. R. C.
Allen, Horatio D.....Corp. 23d Inf.	Arrington, James, Jr.....23d Inf.; U. S. V. R. O.	Baker, Peter.....23d Inf.
Allen, George W.....4th Cav.	Arrington, John R.....Navy	Balch, William D.....Corp. 60th Inf., militia
Allen, William H.....2d Co. Sharps.	Artemus, John.....56th Inf.	Balfe, Thomas.....5th Bat. L. Art.
Allen, James.....Corp.	Arvedson, C. K.....Navy.	Balger, Patrick.....2d Cav.
Allen, John N.....38th Inf.	Arvedson, William L.....Sergt. 24th Inf.	Ball, George H. A.....19th Inf.; U. S. Cav.
Allen, William A.....Navy.	Arvedson, Charles F.....Navy	Ballard, Francis A.....40th Inf.
Alton, Samuel T.....2d Inf.; died of wounds.	Ashbell, Wyatt.....1st H. Art.; died in service	Ballard, George R.....1st H. Art.
Ambrose, Charles.....22d Inf.; trans. Navy.	Ashby, Elias W.....Sergt. S. C.	Baltazar, Cantano.....Navy; drowned at sea, 1873.
Ames, Eben.....Navy	Astrom, Carl.....30th Inf.	Barnson, Abram F., S. C.; 60th Inf., militia; 2d Cav.
Ames, M. Eugene.....Navy	Atkinson, Frank K.....1st Sergt., 62d Inf.	Barge, William.....1st U. S. V. R. C.
Anderson, Thomas B.....Navy	Attwood, Frank.....1st Sergt., 62d Inf.	Barker, Benjamin.....2d Inf.
Anderson, George F.....40th Inf.	Austin, Alden K.....S. C.; 23d Inf.; died in service	Barker, Charles F.....S. C.; 60th Inf.
Anderson, Aust.....18th Inf.	Austin, Amos P.....Corp., 1st Bat'n F. Cav.	Barker, John.
Anderson, Joseph.....54th Inf.; 55th Inf. (colored).	Austin, Everett E.....13th Unat. Co., Inf. militia.	Barnard, Samuel, 4th Bat'n L. Art., died in service
Anderson, William.....Navy	Austin, Orlow.....13th Inf.	
Anderson, William J.....Navy	Austin, William R.....23d Inf.	

Barnard, Samuel, Jr.....	23d Inf., V. R. C.	Blaisdell, George E.....	23d Inf.	Brown, George A., 5th Inf.; Corp. 19th Inf.; died of wounds.	
Barnard, William H.....	17th Unat. Co.	Blake, Darius G.....	2d Inf.	Brown, George O.....	19th Inf.
Barnard, William H.....	Navy	Blanchard, Andrew J., 23d Inf.; died in rebel prison		Brown, Henry F.....	Mus. 23d Inf.
Barnes, Israel D.....	2d Unat. Co.; died in service	Blanchard, Daniel.....	11th Inf.; killed	Brown, Henry, Jr.....	30th Inf.
Barnes, Michael D.....	3d H. Art.	Blanchard, William H.....	2d Cav.	Brown, Herbert A.....	Navy
Barnes, John.....	11th Inf.; died of wounds, 1862	Blinn, George H., Sergt. 13th Unat. Co.; Corp. 50th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.		Brown, Jeremiah W.....	4th Bat. L. Art.
Barnett, Patrick.....	62d Inf.	Bly, Benjamin (Joseph).....	Corp. 24th Inf.	Brown, James.....	1st H. Art.
Barnum, S. G.....	Navy	Boden, Thomas C.....	50th Inf. militia	Brown, James.....	9th Inf.
Barrington, Archibald.....	13d U. S. C. T.	Boden, Hiram C.....	Navy	Brown, James.....	Navy
Bartens, John.....		Bodwell, John A.....	6th N. H. Vols.; died in service	Brown, James H.....	1st H. Art.
Bartlett, Calvin.....	1st H. Art.	Boland, James.....	32d Inf.	Brown, James R.....	Navy
Bartlett, Jeremiah I.....	Navy	Bolton, Thomas.....	1st H. Art.; trans. Navy	Brown, John B.....	Mus. 7th Inf.
Barrett, Cornelius.....	Navy	Bonner, John.....	32d Inf.	Brown, John B.....	11th Inf.; died of wounds
Barrett, Peter.....	59th Inf.; died of wounds.	Borden, Thomas.....	Navy	Brown, John H.....	Navy
Barrows, Henry.....	Navy	Bousley, George E.....	7th Inf. militia	Brown, Oliver.....	24th Inf.
Barry, Edward.....	Navy	Bousley, Nathaniel C.....	50th Inf. militia	Brown, Patrick.....	1st Cav.
Barry, Edward A.....	3d H. Art.	Bousley, Theophilus F.....	48th Inf. militia; killed	Brown, Samuel.....	1st H. Art.
Barry, John H.....	13th Unat. Co.	Bovey, James G.....	1st Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Brown, Patrick.....	24th Inf.
Barry, William H.....	5th Inf. militia	Bovey, Nicholas.....	Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.	Brown, Samuel A.....	B. C.
Bassett, Eben.....	Navy	Bovey, Thomas L.....	50th Inf. militia	Brown, Thomas E.....	1st H. Art.
Bassett, John A.....	7th Inf.	Bowen, Francis.....	28th Inf.	Brown, Thomas W.....	48th Inf. militia
Bassett, Robert C., 1st H. Art.; died Andersonville Prison.		Bowen, James W.....	Navy	Brown, William.....	22d Inf.
Batchelder, Charles.....	1st H. A.	Bowen, Thomas E.....	1st H. Art.	Brown, William P.....	50th Inf. militia
Batchelder, George H.....	3d H. Art.	Bower, Anton.....	23d Inf.	Brown, George A.....	8th Bat'n L. Art.
Batchelder, George W.....	Sergt. 8th Inf. militia	Bowler, Henry A., 1st H. Art.; died Andersonville Prison.		Browne, John B.....	Mus. S. C.
Batchelder, John.....	11th Inf., V. R. C.	Bowser, John.....	22d Inf.; 23d Inf.	Browning, Clement A.....	Corp. 3d H. Art.
Batchelder, John H.....	Corp. 2d Co. Sharps.	Boyce, Henry.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Bruce, Robert P.....	Corp. 1st H. Art.
Batchelder, Richard.....	Sergt. 3d Cav.	Boyce, John F., 4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.		Bruce, Sullivan.....	Navy
Batchelder, Walter.....	1st H. Art.	Boyd, George.....	Navy	Bryant, Enoch, Jr.....	19th Inf.
Batchelder, George H.....	11th Inf.	Boyle, Michael W.....	1st Sergt. 9th Inf.	Bryant, Timothy W.....	50th Inf. militia
Batchelder, George H.....	23d Inf.	Brackett, Warren.....	2d H. Art.	Buckley, Bartholomew S.....	1st H. Art.
Batchelder, William H.....	17th Inf.	Bradford, Francis.....	Navy	Buckley, John.....	5th Bat. L. Art.
Bateman, Charles.....	1st Cav.; killed.	Bradley, James.....	Navy	Buckley, Patrick.....	1st H. Art.
Bateman, Joseph.....	48th Inf. militia	Bradley, John.....	1st H. Art.; died of wounds	Buckley, Timothy.....	Navy
Bateman, Thomas.....	48th Inf. militia	Brady, Edward.....	9th Inf.	Buffum, Charles C.....	S. C.
Bauer, Anton.....	23d Inf.	Brady, James.....	23d Inf.; 2d Inf.	Buffum, George W.....	23d Inf.
Baor, Ignace (Ignaz).....	5th Bat. L. Art.	Brady, Patrick R.....	9th Inf.; 32d Inf.	Baker, William H.....	16th Inf.
Baxter, John.....	Navy	Brady, Thomas.....	Navy	Bullock, Attwood C.....	1st H. Art.
Beach, William, Jr.....	40th Inf.	Braman, John.....	Navy	Bulger, James.....	5th Inf. militia; Sergt. 40th Inf.
Beadle, John (3d).....	Navy	Bray, G. Parker.....	1st H. Art.	Bulger, Patrick.....	2d Cav.
Beale, William A.....	4th H. Art.	Bray, Isaac.....	Navy	Bumpus, Elisha.....	Navy
Becker, Joseph.....	Corp. 3d H. Art.	Breed, Elbridge H.....	3d H. Art.	Burbank, Nathan P.....	2d Inf.
Becker, Peter.....	23d Inf.	Breed, Frank S.....	62d Inf.	Burchstead, David W.....	Corp. 23d Inf.
Bckett, Daniel C.....	Corp. 1st H. Art.	Breed, Otis J.....	3d H. Art.	Burdling, Edward W.....	5th Inf.
Bckett, Edward C.....	Navy	Bronnan, Michael.....	4th H. Art.	Burg, William R.....	(See Berry, William R.)
Bckett, William H.....	29th Inf.; 35th Inf.	Briekley, John.....	11th Inf.	Burgess, Charles H., 2d H. Art.; 3d Cav.; died in service.	
Beckford, John M.....	1st H. Art.	Briggs, Edward L. P.....	10th Bat. L. Art.	Burgess, William H.....	Artificer 3d H. Art.
Beckford, Jonathan A.....	1st H. Art.	Briggs, Henry F., 5th Inf. militia; detailed in Navy		Burke, Michael.....	4th Cav.
Beckford, Eben.....	23d Inf., V. R. C.	Brigham, Axel P.....	Pr. Mus. 11th Inf.	Burke, Richard.....	9th Inf.
Beckford, Jefferson (A.).....	1st H. Art.	Brigham, William H. B.....	Mus. 11th Inf.	Burnes, Charles E.....	12th Inf.
Begg, William H.....	1st H. Art.	Britton, John.....	3d Cav.	Burnes, George W.....	12th Inf.; died of wounds
Bell, James.....	Navy	Broderick, Dennis.....	9th Inf.; 61st Inf.	Burnham, Joseph P.....	3d Cav.
Bell, William H.....	7th Inf.; Sergt. 2d Cav.	Brooks, Horace A., 50th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.		Burnham, John.....	9th Inf.
Bellows, James.....	1st H. Art.	Brooks, Joseph H.....	8th Inf. militia	Burns, John.....	9th Inf.
Bellows, John.....	9th Inf.	Brooks, Richard.....	20th Inf.; killed	Burns, John.....	11th Inf.; killed
Bennett, Abram E.....	S. C.	Brooks, Samuel H.....	23d Inf.; died of wounds	Burns, John H.....	4th Bat. L. Art.
Bennett, George A., 13th Unat. Co.; 50th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.		Brown, August.....	Navy	Burrill, Francis A.....	1st H. Art.
Bennett, Larrington.....	Corp. 48th Inf. militia	Brown, Albert W., 8th Inf. militia; 7th Inf. militia		Busted, Andrew.....	Sergt. 40th Inf.
Benson, Samuel B.....	1st Sergt., 50th Inf.	Brown, Augustus.....	23d Inf.; died in service	Buswell, John H.....	2d Cav.; 61st Inf.
Berg, William R.....	5th Inf. militia; 2d Co. Sharps.	Brown, Augustus, 1st Sergt. 50th Inf. militia; 1st Sergt. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.		Butler, Benjamin F.....	39th Inf.; trans. Navy
Berrin, Lewis.....	Navy	Brown, Benjamin K., Sergt. 5th Inf. militia; Wagoner, 3d Cav.		Butler, Charles.....	4th Cav.
Berry, Edward A.....	3d H. Art.	Brown, Charles.....	Navy	Batman, George A., Mus. 59th Inf.; died in service	
Berry, James A.....	62d Inf.	Brown, Charles A.....	Corp. 48th Inf. militia	Batman, Luther C.....	22d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.
Berry, William H.....	Sergt. 1st Bat'n, F. Cav.	Brown, Charles W.....	62d Inf.	Baton, Maurice.....	Navy
Berry, William R.....	22d Inf.	Brown, Edmund A.....	Navy	Butterfield, Hiram.....	17th Inf.
Beston, James.....	Blacksmith, 3d Cav.; V. R. C.	Brown, Elbridge K.....	8th Inf. militia	Buxton, Alonzo D.....	1st H. Art.
Bestford, William F., 5th Inf. militia; 1st H. Art.		Brown, Ezra L.....	23d Inf.	Buxton, Augustus.....	1st H. Art.
Bigelow, Walter R.....	4th H. Art.	Brown, Ezra W.....	23d Inf.	Buxton, Charles W.....	Wagoner, 17th Inf.
Binney, Thomas J.....	62d Inf.	Brown, Frederick C.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Buxton, Edward H.....	4th Cav.
Birmingham, John.....	61st Inf.	Brown, George A., 8th Bat. L. Art.; died in service		Buxton, George, Jr.....	Wagoner, 17th Inf.
Birney, Thomas J.....	(See Binney, Thomas J.)	Brown, George L.....	23d Inf.	Buxton, George B.....	5th Inf. militia
Blissell, Wesley T.....	40th Inf.			Buxton, George F., 5th Inf. militia; Q. M. Sergt. 2d H. Art.	
Blizby, Joseph H. (A.).....	7th Bat. L. Art.; V. R. C.			Buxton, George E.....	S. C.
Black, William.....	Navy			Buxton, John.....	41st Inf.

Cunningham, Lawrence.....9th Inf.	Dickson, Augustus.....4th Cav.	English, James W.....6th Inf. militia.
Cunningham, Matthew, Corp. 1st Bat'n. H. Art., 11th Inf.	Dinsmore, William.....9th Inf.	Entwistle, Thomas.....23d Inf.
Cunningham, Thomas.....19th Inf.; trans. Navy.	Dix, Charles E.....Navy.	Enwright, James.....19th Inf.
Cunningham, William W.....11th Inf.	Dix, James.....Navy.	Eates, George H.....1st H. Art.; killed.
Cunniff, Martin.....Pr. Mus. 40th Inf.	Dockham, William S.....48th Inf. militia.	Estes, John F., Mus. 13th Unat. Co.; Corp. 1st Bat'n F. Cav.
Curran, John.....17th Inf.	Dodd, James.....Navy.	Estes, William P. R.....19th Inf.
Currier, Charles W.....1st H. Art.	Dodge, Charles W.....5th Inf. militia.	Evans, Daniel.....11th Inf.
Curtis, Alonzo.....57th Inf., 59th Inf.	Dodge, Charles P., Jr.....S. O.	Evans, George (E).....6th Inf. militia; Navy.
Curtis, Jacob.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Dodge, Eben F.....23d Inf.	Evans, James G.....20th Inf.
Cutler, Nathan P.....1st Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Dodge, Joseph H.....6th Inf.; died in service.	Evans, William.....50th Inf. militia; 3d H. Art.
Cutts, Benjamin.....S. C.	Dodge, Joseph R.....40th Inf. militia; died in service.	
Cutts, Richard A.....S. C.	Dodge, Judson F.....Navy.	Fabens, William P.....3d H. Art.; died in service.
Cusick, Patrick.....9th Inf.	Dolan, Patrick.....9th Inf.	Fairfield, John H.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
Cusick, Patrick.....9th Inf.	Dominick, Joseph.....5th Inf. militia; 29th Inf.	Fairfield, Samuel G.....1st H. Art.
	Donahoe, Patrick F.....7th Inf.; 2d Cav.	Fairfield, William.....1st H. Art.
	Donahue, Thomas, 4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.	Fairfield, William.....3d H. Art.; V. R. C.
		Fairfield, William.....22d Inf.
Dalley, John.....9th Inf.	Donegan, Thomas.....5th Bat. L. Art.	Fairley, Alexander.....19th Inf.
Dalley, Patrick.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Donelly, Patrick O.....9th Inf.	Farley, Charles (M).....1st H. Art.
Dalley, Thomas.....62d Inf.	Donovan, John.....9th Inf.	Farley, George E.....48th Inf. militia.
Daley, Bartholomew.....41st Inf.	Donovan, Patrick H.....Corp. 17th Inf.	Farley, James H.....23d Inf.
Daley, Charles P.....Sergt. 2d H. Art.	Donovan, Timothy.....4th H. Art.	Farmer, Joseph P.....1st H. Art.
Daley, James.....22d Inf.; killed.	Dougherty, Michael S.....1st H. Art.	Fallon, Patrick.....17th Inf.
Daley, James P.....19th Inf.; V. R. C.	Douglas, Albert, 48th Inf. militia; Trans. 2d R. I. Cav.	Farnham, George A.....4th Cav.
Daley, John.....4th Bat. L. Art.		Farnum, Henry A.....32d Inf.
Daley, Jeremiah.....1st Inf.	Douglass, Albert.....Navy.	Farrell, Edward.....4th H. Art.
Daley, Lewis T.....62d Inf.	Douglass, Albert C.....8th Inf. Militia; 19th Inf.	Farrell, John.....9th Inf.
Daley, Patrick.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Dow, George W.....5th Inf.	Farrell, John.....3d H. Art.; trans. Navy.
Daley, Timothy.....2d Inf.	Dowdell, Charles.....9th Inf.	Farrell, Robert.....9th Inf.; killed.
Dalrymple, George.....50th Inf. militia.	Downing, Henry W., Corp. S. C.; Sergt. 2d H. Art.	Farrell, Owen.....22d Inf.
Dalrymple, George W.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.		Farrell, William.....5th Inf. militia.
Dalrymple, Simon O.....8th Inf. militia.	Dowst, Joshua W., Sergt. 6th Inf. militia; 3d Cav.	Faunce, Moses D.....Artificer 4th Bat. L. Art.
Dalrymple, William H.....Corp. 50th Inf. militia.	Drahan, Nicholas.....V. R. C.	Feldgen, Hiram S.....Sergt. 17th Inf.
Dalton, Charles H.....Sergt. S. C.	Draper, William M.....Hoep. Stew. U. S. A.	Felt, David H.....17th Inf.
Dalton, Eleazer M., Jr.....1st H. Art.; killed.	Dromer, Charles F.....1st H. Art.; died in service.	Fennell, John.....62d Inf.
Dalton, James.....2d H. Art., 23d Inf.	Driscoll, John.....9th Inf.	Ferguson, George P.....1st H. Art.
Dalton, Sopherino M.....Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Driscoll, John O.....12th Inf.	Ferguson, Samuel A., 5th Inf. militia; 1st H. Art.
Dalton, Patrick.....40th Inf., V. R. C.	Driscoll, Timothy.....9th Inf.	Ferrick, James.....62d Inf.
Dalton, William T.....S. C.	Driver, Samuel.....19th Inf.	Ferris, Edward.....22d Inf.
Danforth, George.....Corp. 62d Inf.	Driver, Stephen P.....Q M. Sergt. 23d Inf.	Fessenden, George.....2d Cav.
Danforth, Robert K.....Corp. 1st Bat'n. H. Art.	Drown, William P.....5th Inf. militia.	Field, Charles.....V. R. C.
Daniels, Edward A.....48th Inf. militia.	Dudley, Warren.....23d Inf.	Field, Joseph (John) W.....8th Inf. militia.
Daniels, John B.....5th Inf. militia, 48th Inf. militia.	Duffee, John R.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Fields, Robert M.....17th Inf.
Daniels, William.....Corp. 48th Inf. militia.	Duggan, Morty.....48th Inf. militia.	Fillebrown, Charles F.....1st H. Art.
Daniels, William F.....Sergt. 23d Inf.	Duggan, William.....9th Inf.	Finley, Edward.....30th Inf. militia; died in service.
Daniels, William, Jr.....23d Inf.	Dunham, Nicholas.....13th U. S. V. R. C.	Finngan, Thomas.....Navy.
Danigan, Thomas.....40th Inf.	Dunn, James.....19th Inf.	Firth, John A.....2d H. Art.
Darcy, James.....Navy.	Dunnigan, John.....Navy.	Fischer, William L. (F).....23d Inf.
Darcy, Michael.....Navy.	Dunnigan, Thomas.....5th Bat. L. Art.	Fish, Charles W.....23d Inf.; died in service.
Darcy, Thomas.....9th Inf.	Durgin, Thomas.....59th Inf.; trans. 57th Inf.	Fisher, Francis A.....Corp. 3d H. Art.
Davenport, David.....5th Inf. militia.	Dupar, William G.....Navy.	Fiske, Peter.....19th Inf.
Davis, Andrew L.....1st H. Art.	Dutra, Theodore.....2d Unat. Co.	Fitch, John.....19th Inf.
Davis, Benjamin F., 26th Inf.; trans. 5th U. S. Art.	Dwight, Freeman.....27th Inf.	Fitzgerald, Conrad.....24 Inf.
Davis, Charles W.....Sergt. 23d Inf., 5th Inf. militia.	Dwinell, David L. M.....Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Fitzgerald, George.....Navy.
Davis, George.....5th Art., U. S. C. T.	Dwinell, William P., 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; 4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.	Fitzgerald, Michael.....3d H. Art.
Davis, George A.....Sergt. 1st H. Art.		Fitzgerald, Terrance.....3d Cav.
Davis, James D., 4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.	Eagan, Richard F.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Fitzgerald, Timothy.....Navy.
Davis, Jefferson R.....Mus. 2d H. Art.	Easterbe, Thomas W.....7th Inf. militia.	Fitzgerald, John.....9th Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.
Davis, Samuel.....Corp. 40th Inf.	Eastley, Alfred.....19th Inf.	Flaherty, Thomas.....9th Inf.
Davis, Warren P.....Corp. S. C.	Eaton, Alphous.....5th Inf. militia.	Flakefield, Charles.....2d H. Art.; died of wounds.
Day, John.....4th Vt. Vois.	Eaton, Horace D.....50th Inf. militia.	Flakefield, John, Jr.....38th Inf. militia.
Day, John.....Navy.	Eck, William.....23d Inf.	Flannigan, Nicholas.....Navy.
Day, John M.....Corp. 3d Cav.	Edgerly, Charles E.....23d Inf.	Flannigan, Thomas.....Navy.
Dean, Charles S.....4th Cav.	Edgerley, Samuel A.....Sergt. 24th Inf.	Fleet, George.....1st H. Art.; killed.
Dearborn, Henry F.....Navy.	Edwards, George.....23d Inf.	Flemming, Hugh.....Navy.
Debon, James.....9th Inf.; V. R. C.	Edwards, George K.....V. R. C.	Flemming, Michael.....Navy.
DeLand, Alfred N.....Corp. 1st H. Art.	Edwards, George W., Corp. 40th Inf.; died in service.	Fletcher, Francis H.....Sergt. 54th Inf. (colored)
DeLand, Charles.....Navy.	Edwards, John L., 5th Inf. militia; 4th Bat. L. Art.; detailed as sailor, 1861.	Flood, John.....8th Inf. militia; 48th Inf. militia.
Delmer, Henry.....28th Inf.; Navy.	Edwards, Joseph.....2d N. Y.	Flowers, William H., Jr.....1st H. Art.
Denipsey, James.....9th Inf.	Edwards, Richard L.....24th Inf.	Flynn, Thomas.....23d Inf.
Derby, Charles W.....1st H. Art.	Edwards, William.....19th Inf.	Fogg, James W.....Navy.
Derby, Perley.....23d Inf.; V. R. C.	Edwards, William P.....Corp. 19th Inf.	Foley, James.....3d Cav., 62d Inf.
Derwin (or Dervin), Michael.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Emmerson, Charles H.....2d Inf.; killed.	Folsom, Nathaniel F.....1st H. Art.
Demond, Dennis.....9th Inf.		Foot, George F.....48th Inf. militia
Demond, John.....1st Bat'n H. Art.		
Demond, John.....17th Inf.		
Devine, John.....17th Inf.		
Devine, Michael.....9th Inf.		

Foote, John C.....1st H. Art. (Band).
 Foote, Moses F.....4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.
 Forbes, Charles.....11th Inf.
 Ford, Charles T.....24th Inf.
 Ford, Jeremiah L.....48th Inf. militia.
 Ford, Samuel A.....Navy.
 Ford, Stephen.
 Forness, William F. (L).....23d Inf.
 Foss, John G.....50th Inf. militia; 3d H. Art.
 Foss, John L.....23d Inf.
 Foster, Isaac P., Jr.....Sergt. S. C.
 Foster, John M.....Hosp. Stew. 5th Inf. militia.
 Foster, Charles W.....1st H. Art.
 Foster, Patrick.....1st H. Art.; died in service.
 Foster, William J.....S. C.
 Fountain, James W.....55th Inf. (colored).
 Fountain, William.....54th Inf., trans. 55th Inf. (colored).
 Fowler, Newton G.....7th Inf. militia.
 Fowler, Edward.....Navy.
 Fowler, Samuel M., Corp. 1st H. Art.; died Andersonville Prison.
 Fowler, William T., 8th Inf. militia; Sergt. 23d Inf.; killed.
 Fowler, William W.....Navy.
 Fox, Lawrence.....17th Inf.
 Foye, Edward.....Navy.
 Francis, Joseph, 48th Inf. militia; 69th Inf.; killed.
 Francis, Moses F.....Navy.
 Franklin, George.....28th Inf.
 French, Harry B.....56th Inf.
 French, John.....62d Inf.
 Freeze, Noah L.....19th Inf.; 47th Inf. militia.
 Friend, Joel M.....50th Inf. militia.
 Friend, Alfred.....Corp. 24th Inf.; died of wounds.
 Friend, Frederick.....Navy.
 Friman, Karl.....22d Inf.
 Frothingham, Gustavus, 1st H. Art.; died in service.
 Frothingham, John F., 1st H. Art.; died of wounds.
 Frye, Alfred, 1st H. Art.; died Andersonville Prison.
 Frye, Daniel M.....12th Inf., V. R. C.
 Furbush, Edward W.....20th Inf.
 Furlong, Michael.....Navy.
 Full, William L.....1st H. Art.
 Fuller, Charles G.....U. S. Signal Corps.
 Fullum, John.....17th Inf. militia.
 Gaffney, Christopher.
 Gage, Andrew J.....2d Co. Sharps.
 Galarcar, Charles. See Calaracan, Charles.
 Gallivan, Michael.....13th Unat. Co. Inf.
 Gallagher, Joseph.....Navy.
 Gallagher, Thomas.....17th Inf.
 Gallagher, William G.....1st Bat'n F. Cav.
 Gallnear, Charles.....2d Co. Sharps.; killed.
 Gallucia, Ezekiah A.....3d H. Art.
 Galloway, F. N.....Navy.
 Galloway, John H.....20th Inf.
 Gammon, James.....1st H. Art.
 Ganley, John H.....9th Inf.; killed.
 Gannon, John.....4th H. Art.
 Gannon, John.....9th Inf.
 Gardner, Abel.....5th Inf. militia; 2d Co. Sharps.
 Gardner, Albert G.....Pr. Mus. 23d Inf.
 Gardner, Benjamin B.....2d Inf.
 Gardner, Charles H.....40th Inf.
 Gardner, Benjamin F.....29th Inf.
 Gardner, Charles W., 5th Inf. militia; S. C.; Navy.
 Gardner, Charles W.....50th Inf. militia.
 Gardner, Edward L.....47th Inf. militia.
 Gardner, George A.....Navy.
 Gardner, Horace B.....1st H. Art.
 Gardner, Howard P.....1st H. Art.
 Gardner, John.....Mus. 7th Inf. militia.

Gardner, James W.....2d Co. Sharps., 22d Inf.
 Gardner, Benjamin B.
 Gardner, Joseph D.....S. C.
 Gardner, Robert.....2d Inf.
 Gardner, William.....3d U. S. Art.
 Gardner, William D.....S. C.
 Gardner, William H.....5th Inf. militia.
 Gardner, William H.....48th Inf. militia.
 Garney, John W.....23d Inf.
 Garrity, John.....30th Inf.
 Garrity, Patrick, 4th Bat. L. Art., trans. 13th Bat.
 Gase, William H.....Navy.
 Gebow, James.....Navy.
 Geigle, Edward.....Sergt. 9th Inf.
 Getchell, Charles E.....Corp. S. C.
 Getchell, Charles L.....23d Inf.; died in service.
 Getchell, Edward E.....2d Inf.
 Getchell, George F.....1st H. Art.
 Getchell, James A.....1st H. Art.
 Getchell, Stephen O.....1st H. Art.
 Gibbons, Lyman O.....62d Inf.
 Gibbs, William, 54th Inf., trans. 55th Inf. (colored); killed.
 Gibson, John F.....3d H. Art.
 Gifford, Charles P., 1st Co. Sharps.; died in service.
 Gifford, Frank, 7th Inf. militia; 4th Cav.; died in service.
 Giles, Charles H.....6th Inf. militia.
 Giles, Israel.....19th Inf.
 Gillespie, James S.....1st H. Art.
 Gillespie, Joseph A.....23d Inf.
 Gilley, George S.....2d H. Art., trans. Navy.
 Giffon, Hugh.....11th Inf.; died in service.
 Gilman, Charles B.....14th Bat. L. Art.
 Gilman, John T.....5th Inf. militia.
 Gilman, Joseph.....4th Bat. L. Art., trans. V. R. C.
 Gilman, Simon F.....14th Bat. L. Art.
 Glazier, James E. (B).....23d Inf.
 Glazier, George W.....S. C.
 Glus, George.....Navy.
 Gleason, John.....29th Unat. Co., H. Art.
 Glidden, Joseph H.....5th Inf. militia.
 Glover, James, Jr.....See Grover.
 Glover, Joseph N.....48th Inf. militia.
 Glover, Henry B.....11th Inf.; killed.
 Glover, William H.....48th Inf. militia.
 Glover, George D.....Sergt. S. C.
 Goldsmith, William H.....4th N. H. Vols.
 Goldthwaite Benjamin F.....23d Inf.
 Goldthwaite, Charles A.....9th Bat. L. Art.
 Goldthwaite, George C.....S. C.
 Goldthwaite, Luther M.....1st H. Art.
 Goldthwaite, Warren P.....1st Bat'n F. Cav.
 Goodhue, Amos D.....32d Inf., trans. V. R. C.
 Goodhue, Hiram B.....S. C.
 Goodhue, John F.....4th Bat. L. Art.
 Goodrich, William.....6th Inf. militia.
 Goodsell, Henry.....19th Inf.
 Goodwin, George.....19th Inf.
 Goodwin, Thomas.....29th Unat. Co. H. Art.
 Gordon, George E.....1st Inf.
 Gorman, James.....1st H. Art.
 Gorman, John.....57th Inf., trans. from 59th Inf.
 Gorman, Michael.....Navy.
 Gorman, Thomas.....1st H. Art.
 Gorman, Thomas.....9th Inf., trans. V. R. C.
 Gorton, Samuel.....Sergt. 62d Inf.
 Goss, Charles H.....8th Wis.
 Goss, George L.....6th Inf. militia, 23d Wis.
 Goss, Samuel (I.) T.....1st H. Art.
 Gould, James.....1st N. Y. Excelsior Brigade.
 Gove, Charles F.....29th Inf.
 Gould, Gilman J.....2d N. H. Vols.
 Grady, Dennis.....Navy.
 Graham, William, 9th Inf.; reported killed as Grahman.
 Graham, William.....4th Cav.

Grant, Benjamin H.....S. C.
 Grant, Edward H.....23d Inf.
 Graser, Charles.....Navy.
 Gray, George A.....48th Inf. militia.
 Gray, George A.....4th H. Art.
 Gray, Kvorhardt.....3d H. Art.
 Gray, John.....3d H. Art.
 Gray, John (H).....23d Inf.
 Gray, Joseph.....1st Co. Sharps.
 Gray, Robert.....2d N. Y. H. Art.
 Gray, William.....19th Inf.
 Greeley, Thomas J.....Corp. 24th Inf.
 Green, George P.....Navy.
 Green, George W.....4th H. Art.
 Green, Joseph H.....1st H. Art.; died in service.
 Green, John.....Navy.
 Green, Thomas, 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; Corp. 9th Inf.
 Green, William E.....2d Inf.
 Greenough, Daniel S., 2d Inf.; died of wounds, 1864.
 Greenough, John W., Jr., Corp. 23d Inf.; died of wounds.
 Grieve, Thomas.....V. R. C.
 Griffin, Benjamin.....56th Inf. (colored).
 Griffin, Eben, Jr.....S. C.
 Griffin, Henry, 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; 61st Inf.
 Griffin, John.....29th Unat. Co. H. Art.
 Griffin, Thomas.....5th Bat. L. Art.
 Griffin, Thomas J.....48th Inf. militia.
 Griffin, William.....4th Bat. L. Art.
 Grimes, Charles H., 1st H. Art.; 29th Unat. Co. H. Art.
 Grimes, Israel W.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.
 Grimes, Oliver.....1st H. Art.
 Grimes, Robert.....29th Unat. Co. H. Art.
 Grimes, Warren S.....9th Inf.
 Grimes, William H.....23d Inf.
 Grimsen, Thomas L.....12th Inf.; missing, supposed killed.
 Groeuenor, Edward P.....23d Inf.
 Grover, James, Jr.....5th Inf.; militia.
 Grover, John, Jr.....4th Bat. L. Art.
 Grocer, John C.....4th Cav.; Navy.
 Grush, Benjamin S.....Sergt. 40th Inf.
 Guilford, Elbridge H., Corp. 5th Inf. militia; detailed as sailor.
 Guilford, Samuel W.....Sergt. 40th Inf.; killed.
 Gwinn, Charles H., Sergt. 6th Inf. militia; 7th Inf. militia.
 Gwinn, Edward A., Corp. 40th Inf.; died of wounds.
 Hackett, Harrison.....5th Inf. militia, 3d H. Art.
 Hackett, Michael.....28th Inf.
 Hadley, Horace L.....5th Inf. militia.
 Hale, Joseph S.....48th Inf. militia.
 Haley, James.....62d Inf.
 Hall, Edwin A.....8th Inf. militia, Sergt. 23d Inf.
 Hall, James A.....6th Inf. militia, 62d Inf.
 Hall, Thomas.....22d Inf.
 Hall, William H., 6th Inf. militia, 48th Inf. militia.
 Ham, Edwin.....2d Inf.
 Hammond, William G., Corp. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia. 50th Inf. militia.
 Hancock, John E.....1st H. Art.
 Hanshaw, John.....Navy.
 Hanson, George.....48th Inf. militia.
 Hanson, John.....9th Inf., trans. Navy.
 Hanson, George W.....35th Inf.
 Hanson, Parker W.....7th Inf. militia, 2d H. Art.
 Hardman, James.....20th Inf.
 Harmon, M. D.....Navy.
 Harrington, Daniel.....50th Inf.; died of wounds.
 Harrington, F. H. W.....Navy.
 Harrington, Leonard.....50th Inf. militia.
 Harrington, Michael.....19th Inf., V. R. C.

Harrington, Philip F.....	4th H. Art.	Hill, Thomas G.....	Navy	Jones, William H.....	V. R. C.
Harrington, William H.....	5th Inf. militia	Hilton, Charles H.....	62d Inf.	Jaques, John.....	Navy
Harris, Alphonzo.....	50th Inf. militia	Hilton, Edward W.....	1st Cav.	Jaques, Joseph.....	45th Inf. militia; Navy
Harris, John, Jr.....	Saddler, 1st Bat'n F. Cav.	Hinkley, George O., 23d Inf; died Andersonville Prison.		Jarvis, William H.....	19th Inf.
Harris, John P.....	1st H. Art.	Hinds, Richard.....	48th Inf. militia	Jell, James M.....	1st H. Art.
Harris, William S.....	50th Inf. militia	Hines, Thomas F.....	Corp. 48th Inf. militia	Jeffrey, William F.....	48th Inf. militia
Harrison, George.....	19th Inf.	Hines, Thomas T.....	6th Inf. militia	Jenns, James B.....	32d Inf.
Hart, John.....	17th Inf.	Hitchings, Abijah F., 8th Inf. militia; Sergt. 19th Inf.		Jenns, Thomas J.....	32d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.
Hart, John W.....	5th Inf. militia			Jewell, Charles C., 7th Inf. militia; Sergt. 2d Cav.	
Hart, Joseph L.....	4th Bat. L. Art; died in service.			Jewell, David N.....	Navy
Hart, Timothy.....	20th Inf.	Hoar, Thomas.....	V. R. C.	Jewell, Franklin.....	2d Inf.; killed
Hartman, Charles.....	16th Inf.	Hobbs, George.....	Artificer 1st H. Art.	Jewett, Charles S., wagoner 40th Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	
Hartwell, Joseph W.....	7th Inf. militia	Hobbs, Nathan F.....	Navy	Jewett, Lewis T.....	1st H. Art.
Hartwell, William H.....	23d Inf.	Hodgdon, George R.....	Corp. 23d Inf.	Jewett, John W.....	V. R. C.
Haskell, Benjamin F.....	19th Inf.	Hogan, James.....	56th Inf.; died of wounds	Jewett, Thomas R.....	Sergt. 48th Inf. militia
Haskell, Charles.....	Corp. 12th Inf.; died in service.	Holden, John.....	11th Inf.	Johnson, Alfred.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia
Haskell, Charles F.....	7th Inf. militia	Holmes, George H.....	1st H. Art.	Johnson, Charles.....	17th Inf.
Haskell, Elijah.....	Navy.	Holmes, Francis W.....	Navy	Johnson, Frederick A.....	Corp. 12th Inf.; V. R. C.
Haskell, Edward B.....	S. C.	Holland, Thomas.....	Navy	Johnson, Frank E.....	5th Inf. militia
Haskell, William H.....	1st H. Art.	Homer, George H.....	19th Inf.	Johnson, George.....	1st Inf.; trans. 11th Inf.
Hassett, Martin.....	30th Inf.; died in service.	Hood, Osborn.....	Navy	Johnson, Henry.....	Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.
Hatch, Henry J.....		Hopkins, John.....	1st H. Art.	Johnson, John H.....	1st H. Art.
Hatch, Thomas C., 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.		Horton, George.....	1st H. Art.	Johnson, John O.....	2d Cav.
Hathaway, Stephen F.....	1st H. Art.	Horrigan, Jeremiah.....	19th Inf.	Johnson, Louis.....	28th Inf.
Hauman, William.....	19th Inf.	Howard, Austin.....	Navy	Johnson, Lewis.....	Navy
Hawes, James.....	Navy	Howard, Daniel L.....	4th H. Art.	Johnson, Peter.....	Navy
Hawthorne, William H.....	Master's Mate, Navy.	Howard, David A., 6th Inf. militia; 27th Unat. Co. Inf.		Johnson, Samuel.....	Navy
Hay, John.....		Howard, Eben M.....	1st H. Art.	Johnson, Samuel F.....	Navy
Hayden, Thomas.....	Navy	Howard, Frank C.....	8th Inf. militia	Johnson, William B. F.....	1st H. Art.
Hayes, Benjamin.....	Corp. 9th Inf.	Howard, Fletcher.....	22d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.	Jones, Alexander.....	17th Inf.
Hayes, James.....	2d H. Art.; trans. Navy.	Howard, John H.....	5th Inf. militia	Jones, John.....	Navy
Hayes, John.....	57th Inf.	Howard, Nathaniel K.....	6th Inf. militia	Jones, John J.....	Navy
Hayes, John I.....	19th Inf.	Hovey, William.....	48th Inf. militia	Jones, Stephen F.....	1st Sergt. 17th Inf.
Hayes, Maurice.....	30th Inf.; died in service.	Howe, James.....	Navy	Jones, Thomas T.....	Navy
Hayes, Thomas.....	Navy	Howes, Christopher H.....	60th Inf. militia	Jones, William H.....	19th Inf.
Hayford, William B., 1st H. Art., 4th Bat. L. Art.		Hoyt, Charles C.....	Sergt. 48th Inf. militia	Jordan, John.....	19th Inf.
Hayward, Charles E.....	1st H. Art.	Hoyt, George N.....	61st Inf.	Jordan, William.....	9th Inf.
Hazard, John.....	Navy	Hoyt, John A., 6th Inf. militia; 4th Bat. L. Art.		Joyce, John.....	19th Inf.
Hazeton, Augustus.....	48th Inf. militia	Hoxfin, Frederick.....	22d Inf.	Joye, Robert H.....	2d Inf.
Hazleton, David Jr.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Huddle, Benjamin.....	17th Inf.	Junkce, Augustus L.....	2d Inf.
Hazleton, Andrew.....	48th Inf. militia	Hughes, Edward.....	9th Inf.; trans. V. R. C.		
Healy, Dennis.....	9th Inf.	Hughes, James.....	Navy	Kain, John.....	22d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.
Heaney, Richard.....	9th Inf.	Hunter, John.....	Navy	Kane, Dennis F.....	Navy
Heaney, Thomas.....	2d Cav.	Huntress, Charles W.....	4th H. Art.	Kavanaugh, James.....	Navy
Heaney, William A.....	1st H. Art.	Huntress, John E.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Kayler, Patrick.....	11th Inf.
Helph, James.....	56th Inf. (colored); died in service.	Hurd, George S.....	Navy	Kearney, Peter.....	16th Inf.
Helt, Benjamin G.....	1st H. Art.	Hurd, William H.....	5th Inf. militia	Keating, John L.....	3d Cav.; trans. Navy
Hemmenway, Frederick.....	Navy	Hurley, James.....	Navy	Keating, Michael.....	9th Inf.
Henderson, Charles H.....	Corp. 1st H. Art.	Hurley, John.....	Navy	Kevating, Patrick.....	9th Inf.; killed
Henderson, Ephraim I.....	1st Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Hurley, John F.....	Q. M. Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.	Keenan, Michael.....	9th Inf.; killed
Hensfield, James H., 29th Unat. Co. H. Art., 1st Sergt. 1st Bat'n H. Art.		Hurley, William.....	2d Cav.; killed	Keene, Charles.....	4th Cav.
Hensfield, Joseph H.....	S. C.	Hurly, William.....	9th Inf.; died in service	Kehew, Francis A., 5th Inf. militia; Sergt. 21st Inf.	
Hennessey, Arthur.....	Navy.	Hurrell, John.....	9th Inf.; killed	Kehew, George.....	5th Inf. militia; 24th Inf.
Hennessey, David.....	2d Inf.	Hurty, James.....	Navy	Kehew, John H.....	5th Inf. militia; 24th Inf.
Hennessey, James P.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Huse, Edward.....	9th Inf.	Kehew, Samuel B.....	1st H. Art.
Hennessey, John.....	Corp. 9th Inf.	Huse, Stephen S.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Kell, William.....	9th Bat. L. Art.
Henry, Michael.....	1st Cav.	Husmann, Johannes.....	22d Inf.; Navy	Kelliher, James.....	Com. Sergt. 1st Cav.
Henville, William W.....	1st Cav.	Hutchinson, George G., 2d Co. Sharps; trans. V. R. C.		Kelleher, John.....	9th Inf.
Herrick, Benjamin, Jr.....	1st H. Art.	Hutchinson, Goodwin.....	Navy	Kelliher, Jeremiah.....	Navy
Herrick, Benjamin F.....	2d Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Hutchinson, John L., Artificer, 29th Unat. Co. H. Art.; 1st H. Art.		Kelliher, Mortimer.....	Navy
Hersey, William H.....	1st H. Art.	Hutchinson, William.....	2d H. Art.	Kelly, Charles.....	Navy
Hewitt, Edwin W.....	23d Inf.	Hutcheson, William.....	23d Inf.	Kelly, Charles D.....	9th Inf.
Heywood, George.....	23d Inf.	Hyttes, George.....	22d Inf.; Navy	Kelly, Edward, Com. Sergt. 1st Cav.; 8th Inf. militia	
Hicks, Samuel.....	Navy			Kelly, James.....	28th Inf.
Hibbard, Curtis A.....	5th Inf. militia	Ingalls, John.....	11th Inf.; died in service.	Kelly, James.....	9th Inf.
Higbee, Stephen D.....	S. C.	Ingalls, John D.....	48th Inf. militia	Kelly, John.....	9th Inf.
Higgins, Thomas.....	62d Inf.	Ives, George A.....	44th Inf.	Kelly, John.....	9th Inf.
Higginbotham, John.....	Navy	Ivers, William.....	1st Cav.	Kelly, John.....	30th Inf.
Higginbotham, Joseph.....	23d Inf.	Ivory, John.....	62d Inf.	Kelly, Luke.....	Navy
Higley, Gilman S.....	23d Inf.	Jackson, Andrew.....	48th Inf. militia	Kelly, Michael.....	9th Inf.
Hilfield, Thomas.....	Navy	Jackson, James W. C.....	Navy	Kelly, Michael.....	2d Cav.
Hill, Charles H.....	3d H. Art.	James, John.....	54th Inf.; trans. 55th Inf. (colored).	Kelly, Patrick.....	Navy
Hill, Horace L.....	1st Inf.	James, John.....	Navy	Kelly, Simon P.....	9th Inf.
Hill, James.....	5th Inf. militia	James, Edwin.....	17th Inf.	Kellogg, Fred B.....	1st H. Art.
Hill, Thomas.....	Navy	James, John.....	50th Inf. militia	Kendall, William H.....	50th Inf. militia

Kennedy, Martin.....	9th Inf.	Landy, Michael, Jr.....	Navy.	Loratta, Anthony.....	Navy.
Kennedy, Martin.....	Navy.	Lane, Charles H.....	Navy.	Lord, Charles L.....	6th Inf. militia; S. C.
Kennedy, Michael.....	48th Inf. militia; trans. 2d R. I. Cav.	Lane, William H.....	1st Inf.	Lord, Francis.....	S. C.
Kennedy, Michael.....	Navy.	Lang, Joseph.....	2d Cav.	Lord, George O.....	6th Inf. militia.
Kennelly, David.....	9th Inf.	Langlois, George W.....	50th Inf. militia.	Lori, Henry O.....	13th Inf.
Kenney, Benjamin M.....	23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Langmahl, George W.....	2d Inf.	Lord, Thomas H.....	2d Cav.
Kenney, Thomas F.....	Navy.	Larrabee, Joseph N.....	Corp. 48th Inf. militia.	Lorigan, John.....	Sergt. 9th Inf.
Kennison, Orrin W.....	23d Inf.	Larrabee Samuel W.....	1st Sergt. 48th Inf. militia.	Lorrigan, Michael.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Kershaw, Samuel.....	20th Inf.	Larrabee, Warren.....	48th Inf. militia.	Loring, John.....	17th U. S. Inf.
Ketchum, Francis H.....		Larrabee, William W.....	2d Inf.; killed.	Loud, David, Jr.....	S. C.
Kesar, Albert.....	4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.	Lawrence, John.....	Navy.	Loud, Elbridge.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Kesar, Albert.....	3d Cav.	Lawton, George F.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.	Loud, George B.....	3d Cav.
Kesar, Alonso.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Leach, Daniel E.....	Corp. S. C.	Loud, Joseph O.....	S. C.
Kesar, Alonso C.....	11th Inf.; 17th Inf.	Leach, Harris.....	5th Inf. militia.	Low, Cornelius B.....	1st H. Art.; trans. V. R. C.
Kesar, Charles H.....	S. C.	Leach, Lebbous, Jr.....	Sergt. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Low, George H.....	5th Inf. Militia.
Kesar, George L.....	2d H. Art.	Leach, Robert.....	Navy.	Low, James W.....	5th Inf. Militia.
Kesar, George W.....	Sergt. 62d Inf.	Leahy, David.....	1st H. Art.	Lowd, Albert J.....	Sergt. 6th Inf. Militia.
Kesar, Walter A.....	Sergt. 29th Inf.	Leary, Henry.....	Navy.	Lowd, Jacob R.....	50th Inf. Militia; Corp. 4th Cav.
Kiernan, Eugene.....	4th H. Art.	Leary, Dennis.....	2d H. Art.; 17th Inf.; died Andersonville Prison.	Lowd, William H.....	Navy.
Kilbride, Daniel.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Leary, Timothy.....	9th Inf.	Lowry Michael.....	Navy.
Kilham, Alexander S.....	40th Inf.	Leary, Timothy.....	19th Inf.	Lucey, Daniel.....	Navy.
Kilham, William G.....	S. C.	Leavitt, Israel P.....	Corp. 17th Inf.; 5th Inf. militia.	Lucey, Michael P.....	17th Inf.
Kimball, Charles A.....	S. C.; 3d H. Art.	Lechoud, John.....	Navy.	Lundgren, James F.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Kimball, George S.....	S. C.	Lee, Francis H.....	2d Inf.	Lundy, Michael.....	61st Inf.
Kimball, Horace W.....	Navy.	Lee, John W.....	1st H. Art.; 3d H. Art.; trans. Navy.	Lunt, William J.....	5th Inf. militia.
Kimball, James, Jr.....	11th Inf.	Lee, Joseph, Jr.....	50th Inf. militia.	Luscomb, Charles P.....	5th Inf. militia; Navy.
Kimball, Joseph A.....	10th Inf.	Lee, Robert G.....	59th Inf.	Luscomb, George W.....	Sergt. 59th Inf.; trans. 57th Inf.; 50th Inf. militia; 8th Inf. militia.
Kimball, Palmer.....	2d Inf.	Lee, William H.....	Navy.	Luscomb, Henry R.....	Navy.
Kimball, William L.....	5th Inf. militia; 1st Cav.; Sergt. 3d H. Art.; trans. Navy.	Lee, William R.....	59th Inf.; trans. 57th Inf.	Luscomb, William H.....	Corp. 24th Inf.
King, George.....	Navy.	Lee, William S.....	57th Inf.	Luscomb, William F.....	1st H. Art.
King, John.....	2d Inf.	Lee, York M.....	Navy.	Luscomb, William L.....	1st H. Art.
King, John.....	11th Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Le Grand, Charles E.....	Bugler 1st Bat'n F. Cav.; 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Lusk, Joseph H.....	1st H. Art.
King, Obe.....	Navy.	Lehan, William.....	22d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.	Lynch, Charles.....	Navy.
King, Peter.....	2d H. Art.	Lighton, William.....	2d Cav.; died in service.	Lynch, Francis E.....	Navy.
Kingsley, George W.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Lenakin, William.....	Navy.	Lynch, James.....	Navy.
Kingsley, John.....	3d H. Art.	Leudholm, Charles F.....	59th N. Y. Inf.	Lynch, James.....	9th Inf.
Kingsley, William P.....	1st H. Art.	Leonard, John H.....	Sergt. 17th Inf.	Lynch, John.....	Navy.
Kinsley, James H.....	19th Inf.	Llewellyn, Patrick.....		Lynch, Patrick.....	48th Inf. militia.
Kinsman, Joseph N.....	23d Inf.; died in service.	Llewellyn, Thomas J.....	9th Inf.	Lynch, Patrick.....	4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.
Kirkland, James M.....	Corp. 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Lewis, Chancy H.....	Corp. 1st H. Art.	Lynch, Patrick.....	9th Inf.
Kirwin, Charles.....	Navy.	Lewis, Charles W.....	Mus. 3d H. Art.	Lynch, Jeremiah.....	22d Inf.; died in Rebel Prison.
Kittredge, Henry.....	30th Inf.; died in service.	Lewis, Daniel S.....	10th Inf.	Lynch, William.....	9th Inf.
Kittredge, Henry A.....	Corp. 30th Inf.; died in service.	Lewis, Eneas I.....	Navy.	Lyons, Charles H.....	3d H. Art.
Kloever, Ferdinand.....	Navy.	Lewis, George B.....	2d Co. Sharps.	Lyons, James.....	48th Inf. militia.
Knapp, Samuel W.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Lewis, Henry.....	1st H. Art.	Lyons, Patrick.....	4th H. Art.
Knight, Charles.....	Navy.	Lewis, Henry.....	Navy.	Lynn, Matthew.....	Sergt. 9th Inf.
Knight, Jeremiah.....	3d H. Art.; 2d Inf.	Lewis, John.....	Navy.	Lyon, James W.....	1st R. I. Inf.
Knight, Solomon.....	Navy.	Lewis, Roland F.....	Corp. 17th Inf.	McAdams, Patrick.....	62d Inf.
Knowles, David L.....	Navy.	Lewis, Thomas W.....	3d H. Art.	McCabe, Patrick.....	48th Inf. militia; 59th Inf.; died in service.
Knowlton, George.....	50th Inf. militia; died in service.	Libby, Henry.....	5th Inf. militia; Sergt. 7th Inf. militia.	McCabe, William H.....	1st Cav.; killed.
Knowlton, George W.....	2d Co. Sharps.	Libby, John F.....	7th Inf. militia.	McCafferty, Neal.....	20th Inf.
Knowlton, Marcus A.....	Navy.	Libby, Melvin J.....	Navy.	McCann, Hugh.....	17th Inf.
Knowlton, Samuel.....	23d Inf.	Lightfoot, Joseph.....	25th Inf.; died of wounds.	McCarthy, Daniel.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Knowland, John B.....	2d H. Art.	Liles, Jack.....	Navy.	McCarthy, Daniel.....	9th Inf.
Kohane, Michael.....	2d H. Art.	Linehan, Connellus J.....	Corp. 1st Cav. 5th Inf. militia.	McCarthy, Dennis W.....	9th Inf.
Kyle, Robert.....	Corp. 40th Inf.; killed.	Linehan, Dennis.....	Corp. 1st Cav. 5th Inf. militia.	McCarthy, John.....	Corp. 1st Bat'n H. Art.
Lablair, Louis.....	11th Inf.	Linehan, John.....	Sergt. 2d H. Art.	McCarthy, John.....	4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.
Lacey, James.....	Navy.	Linehan, John.....	53d Inf.	McCarthy, Michael.....	Sergt. 1st Bat'n H. Art.
Lacy, Thomas.....	Navy.	Linehan, Thomas E.....	23d Inf.	McCarthy, Patrick.....	9th Inf.
Lackey, Frank.....	11th Inf.	Little, Thomas.....	Navy.	McCarthy, Patrick.....	9th Inf.
Ladd, Daniel W.....	Q. M. Sergt. 1st Cav.	Littlefield, Daniel.....	11th Inf.	McCarthy, John.....	9th Inf.
Ladue, Joseph.....	Navy.	Littlefield, Elmer.....	S. C.	McCarthy, John.....	Navy.
Lahoy, Jeremiah.....	40th Inf.	Littlefield, Moses H.....	Corp. 4th Bat. L. Art.	McClellan, George H.....	2d H. Art.; trans. 17th Inf.
Lakeman, Horace.....	19th Inf.	Littlefield, Joseph A.....	Navy.	McCloud, Alfred.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Lakeman, Nathan.....	Q. M. Sergt. 1st H. Art.; Super.	Lobell, Richard T.....	Navy.	McCloy, John B.....	23d Inf.
Lamb, Hiram O.....	6th Inf. militia; S. C.	Locke, Cyrus.....	7th Inf. militia; Corp. 7th Bat. L. Art.	McCloy, Robert.....	Corp. S. C.
Lanman, George A.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; 70th Inf. militia.	Logan, Jeremiah.....	Corp. 1st H. Art.	McCommick, John.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.
Lancy, Patrick.....	Navy.	Long, Andrew.....	Navy.	McCommick, Charles.....	Navy.
Lamler, Benjamin W.....	Q. M. S.	Long, George.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.	McCommick, Thomas.....	23d Inf.
Lander, William T.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Long, Henry.....	Navy.	McCommick, Thomas.....	28th Inf.
Landers, David.....	2d H. Art.	Long, Robert J.....	12th Inf.; trans. Navy.	McDonald, Eneas.....	17th Inf.
Landgren, George (J).....	Navy.	Looby, Thomas.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	McDonald, Phillip.....	4th H. Art.
Landgren, John J.....	Navy.			McDonnell, David.....	59th Inf.; died in service.

McDonnell, John.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Manning, Peter.....11th Inf.	Mitchell, Edward.....S. C.
McDonnell, Philip.....1st Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Manning, Philip A., 6th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.	Mitchell, Patrick.....48th Inf. militia
McDonnell, Philip.....2d Inf.	Manning, Richard H.....3d H. Art.	Mitchell, William.....19th Inf.
McDonough, Enos.....17th Inf.	Manning, William H.....1st H. Art.	Mitchell, William F.....4th H. Art.
McDuffie, Augustus P.....2d Inf.	Manning, William S.....Corp. 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Monarch, Eben.....30th Inf.
McDuffie, Dana H.....Navy.	Manser, John B.....62d Inf.	Monarch, George H.....1st H. Art.
McDuffie, George.....Navy.	Mansfield, Charles H.....8th Inf. militia; 11th Inf., U. S. Eng. Corps.	Monaghan, Joseph H.....Com. Sergt. 9th Inf.; Com. Sergt. 32d Inf.
McDuffie, Hugh.....Sergt. 5th Inf. militia; 1st Cav.	Mansfield, Daniel B.....S. C.	Monics, William H.....Sergt. 3d H. Art.
McDugal, John.....48th Inf. militia.	Mansfield, George S.....Corp. 23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Monroe, Robert C.....23d Inf.
McFadden, Albert.....32d Inf.	Mansfield, James, Jr.....5th Inf. militia	Moody, Converse.....8th Inf. militia
McFarland, Charles.....5th Inf. militia.	Mansfield, John R.....5th Inf. militia; 7th Inf. militia; Wagoner 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Mooney, John.....19th Inf.
McFarland, Charles.....Sergt. 12th Inf.; trans. 20th Inf.	Marley, Richard.....17th Inf.	Moore, John G.....1st Inf.
McFarland, James.....9th Inf.	Marr, Michael.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Moore, Thomas.....19th Inf.
McFarland, Peter.....40th Inf.; died in service.	Marshall, Ezekiel H.....S. C.	Moore, Thomas H.....Saddler 5th Cav.
McGardis, Charles.....1st H. Art.; died of wounds.	Marshall, Robert C.....3d H. Art.; trans. Navy	Moran, Frank.....3d H. Art.
McGrath, John.....9th Inf.	Marshall, John H.....4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.	Moran, James.....11th Inf.; killed
McGuire, Charles.....2d Cav.	Marshall, William F.....48th Inf. militia	Moran, Nathaniel.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia
McGuire, Patrick.....9th Inf.; killed.	Martin, Edward.....40th Inf.	Moran, Matthew.....Navy
McGuire, Thomas.....9th Inf.	Martin, George A.....Mus. 59th Inf.; killed	Morgan, Francis.....11th Inf.
McGuire, Thomas.....22d Inf.; trans. 5th U. S. Art.	Martin, Henry.....23d Inf.	Morgan, John A.....Navy
McGurty, Patrick.....9th Inf.	Martin, William H.....17th Inf.	Morgan, Joseph.....Navy
McHugh, Patrick H.....9th Inf.	Mathews, Lawrence.....9th Inf.; died of wounds	Morgan, Joshua.....Navy
McIntire, Charles.....17th Inf.; 19th Inf.	Mathews, Vincent.....48th Inf. militia	Morgan, Michael.....4th Bat. L. Art.
McIntire, George.....24th Inf.; died of wounds.	Mathews, Henry.....Navy	Morgan, Patrick.....23d Inf.; died Andersonville Prison
McKenna, Francis.....19th Inf.	Mathews, Henry.....28th Inf.	Moroney, Thomas.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
McKenny, Robert.....20th Inf.	Maury, Thomas A.....29th Inf.; died of wounds	Morrill, Gilman L.....11th Inf.
McKenzie, John W.....2d Co. Sharps; killed.	Maxfield, Charles O.....Corp. 1st H. Art.; super	Morrill, Henry O.....4th Inf. militia
McKinley, Barney.....Navy.	Maxfield, James, Jr.....5th Inf. militia	Morris, James.....1st H. Art.
McKliget, James.....9th Inf.	Maxfield, John G.....2d Cav.	Morris, George.....U. S. C. T.
McKormick, John.....9th Inf.	Maxfield, John V.....1st Maine H. Art.	Morrison, George M.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
McKown, John B.....1st H. Art.; died a prisoner at Milan, Ga.	Maxwell, Adam.....4th H. Art.	Morrison, John.....22d Inf.
McLaughlin, Andrew.....Navy.	Maxwell, Silas.....17th Inf.; died in service	Morrison, John.....2d Co. Sharps; killed
McLaughlin, James.....	May, Henry E.....2d Co. Sharps; trans. V. R. C.	Morrissey, John.....Corp. 3d H. Art.; trans. Navy
McLaughlin, Michael.....24th Inf.	Mead, William E.....Navy	Morrissey, John.....9th Inf.; killed
McLard, Alfred.....1st Bat'n H. Art.	Meady, Albert C.....1st H. Art.	Morse, Charles C.....23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.
McMahon, James.....9th Inf.; killed.	Meady, Daniel F.....2d Co. Sharps	Morse, George.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
McMahon, John.....16th Inf.; killed.	Meek, Henry M.....5th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.	Morse, George F.....50th Inf. militia
McMahon, Philip.....7th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Mehan, John C.....Navy	Morse, George W.....Sergt. 2d H. Art.; 5th Inf. militia.
McMurphy, Benjamin F.....7th Inf. militia.	Mehan, Mathew.....17th Inf.	Morse, Henry.....1st H. Art.
McMurphy, James F.....4th H. Art.	Meicher, George P.....1st H. Art.; 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Morse, James.....62d Inf.
McNamara, Michael.....20th Inf.; died in service.	Meicher, John E.....1st H. Art.	Morse, John.....1st H. Art.
McNamara, Peter.....9th Inf.; killed.	Meicher, Levi L.....5th Inf. militia; 7th Inf. militia; 2d Co. Sharps	Morton, Charles.....48th Inf. militia
McNeal, Daniel F.....19th Inf.	Melden, William R.....19th Inf.	Morton, George.....13th Inf.
McNeil, Michael.....7th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Meldrum, Orin.....24th Inf.	Morse, John R.....5th Inf. militia
McNulty, James (1st).....3d Cav.	Melley, William, Jr.....4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service	Moses, John E.....50th Inf.
McShane, James.....23d Inf.	Mellow, Henry.....	Moser, John H.....5th Inf. militia
McShen, John.....17th Inf.	Melville, Frank.....2d Cav.	Moulton, Charles E.....5th Inf. militia
McShen, Thomas.....3d H. Art.	Merrill, Amos.....Clerk Prov. Marshall's off.	Moulton, Nathan E.....Corp. 4th H. Art.
McSweeney, James.....62d Inf.	Merrill, John C.....S. C.	Moynahan, Humphrey.....9th Inf.
McSweeney, Morgan.....9th Inf.	Merrill, Parker, Com. Sergt. 3d Cav.; trans. V. R. C.	Mullaly, Michael.....17th Inf.
McVey, Charles.....Navy.	Merrill, William R.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Mullaly, William.....Sergt. 17th Inf.
Mack, William.....2d H. Art.	Messenger, Hugh G.....62d Inf.	Mullane, Martin.....32d Inf.
Mackie, John A.....50th Inf. militia.	Metcalf, George W.....1st Cav.	Mullen, Patrick A.....24th Inf.; killed.
Madden, Stephen.....62d Inf.	Meyer, William.....39th Inf.	Mulligan, Martin.....3d Cav.
Maddicut, John.....Navy.	Miles, Orrin A.....11th Inf.	Mulready, Stephen (H).....19th Inf.
Madden, John, 4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.	Miller, Allen, Jr.....2d Co. Sharps.	Mulready, Thomas.....Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.
Magon, Samuel B.....11th Inf.	Miller, Arthur J. (G.).....22d Inf.	Munroe, Alexander A.....23d Inf.
Magrath, David, Corp.; 28th Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Miller, Jacob.....19th Inf.	Munroe, George, 4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.
Magner, John.....4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.	Miller, James.....50th Inf. militia	Munroe, Isaac M.....4th H. Art.
Mahoney, Dennis, 9th Inf.; trans. Navy as Daniel D. Mahoney.	Miller, Thomas.....Navy	Munroe, Robert.....Navy
Mahoney, James, Jr.....Navy.	Millett, Andrew J.....Q. M. Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Munroe, Stephen N.....5th Inf. militia
Mahoney, John C.....24th Inf.	Millett, Charles, 2d.....S. C.	Murphy, Christopher.....9th Inf.
Mahoney, Timothy.....4th H. Art.	Millett, Daniel.....11th Inf.; died in service	Murphy, Cornelius.....2d Cav.
Mallen, Henry.....3d Cav.	Millett, George.....Navy	Murphy, Hugh E.....17th Inf.
Mahoney, Edward.....19th Inf.	Millett, William H.....S. C.	Murphy, James.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
Mallon, William H.....S. C.	Millett, William S.....11th Inf.; trans. 11th Bat.	Murphy, John.....3d H. Art.
Mallowe, John.....Navy	Millett, William.....11th Inf.	Murphy, John.....48th Inf. militia
Manning, Albert E.....23d Inf.	Milton, B. Sylvester S.....1st Cav.	Murphy, John.....5th Bat. L. Art.
Manning, Daniel A., artificer; 4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service.	Miner, Albert H.....7th Inf. militia	Murphy, John.....5th Bat. L. Art.
Manning, Horace.....1st H. Art.; died in service.	Miner, John T.....40th Inf.	Murphy, Luke.....19th Inf.; killed.
	Minahan, John.....1st Bat'n H. Art.	Murphy, Michael.....48th Inf. militia
		Murphy, Michael.....3d Cav.
		Murphy, Michael.....1st Sergt. 9th Inf.
		Murphy, Michael.....9th Inf.

Murphy, Patrick.....Navy	O'Connor, James.....11th Inf.	Peach, William, Jr.....5th Inf. militia; 40th Inf.
Murphy, Peter.....48th Inf. militia	O'Connor, John.....20th Inf.	Peckham, Charles, 1st Bat'n H. Art.; died in service
Murphy, Thomas (1st).....1st Bat'n H. Art.	O'Connor, John.....6th Inf. militia	Peirce, Charles H.....1st H. Art.
Murphy, Thomas.....5th Bat. L. Art.	O'Donnell, Donald.....2d H. Art.	Pendar, John.....9th Inf.
Murphy, William.....59th Inf. trans. 57th Inf.	O'Donnell, John.....Navy	Pendergast, Thomas.....1st H. Art.; died in service
Murphy, William.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	O'Donnell, Patrick.....9th Inf.	Pepper, Walter A.....Navy
Murphy, William H.....2d Inf.	O'Donnell, William.....	Perchard, Clement H.....60th Inf. militia
Murphy, William H.....7th Inf. militia	Ogden, James.....10th Inf.	Perkins, Ann B.....Navy
Murray, George.....1st H. Art.	O'Hara, Patrick.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Perkins, Charles.....Corp. 13th unat. Co. Inf. militia;
Murray, Jeremiah, Corp. 2d Inf.; trans. 4th U. S. Art.	O'Hara, Patrick.....9th Inf.	50th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.
Murray, John.....27th Unat. Co. Inf.	O'Hara, Patrick J.....12th Bat. L. Art.	Perkins, Charles C.....1st Inf.
Murray, Martin.....4th Cav.	O'Hare, Andrew J.....2d Inf.	Perkins, Eben S.....23d Inf.
Muggrave, Peter.....Corp. 1st H. Art.; killed	O'Hare, Charles H.....17th Inf.	Perkins, Francis M.....50th Inf. militia
Mynehan, John.....Navy	O'Hare, Charles H.....2d Inf. and Mus. 23d Inf.	Perkins, George H.....50th Inf. militia
	O'Hare, Polonus.....2d Inf.	Perkins, Henry.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia
	O'Keefe, John.....21st Inf.	Perkins, James W.....60th Inf. militia
Nagle, Jacob.....Corp. 23d Inf.	O'Keefe, John.....9th Inf.	Perkins, Joseph A.....8th Inf. militia; S. C.; 1st
Naos, Henry E.....Navy	O'Keefe, Patrick.....9th Inf.	Bat'n F. Cav.
Nay, Joseph B.....Sergt. 5th Inf. militia; 11th U. S. Inf.	Oldson, Charles (F).....Navy	Perkins, Joseph H., (N.).....5th Inf. militia
	Oldson, Edwin U.....Mus. 59th Inf.	Perley, John E.....Navy
Neal, James M.....1st H. Art.	Oldson, Francis T.....21st Inf.; died of wounds	Perley, Thomas A.....50th Inf. militia
Neal, William W.....Navy	Oldson, George D.....Navy	Perry, Henry W.....5th Inf. militia
Needham, James.....23d Inf.	Oldson, John H.....Navy	Perry, Henry E.....Navy
Needham, James F.....1st H. Art.	Oldson, Joseph H.....6th Inf. militia	Perry, Horace S.....1st H. Art.
Nell, Edward.....9th Inf.; killed	O'Leary, Dennis.....2d H. Art.	Perry, William A.....5th Inf. militia
Nelson, James F.....Corp. 48th Inf. militia	O'Neal, Thomas.....24th Inf.	Pervier, Benjamin L.....Mus. 3d H. Art.
Nelson, Jeremiah.....Corp. 50th Inf. militia	O'Neil, Michael.....2d Cav.	Peterson, Andrew G., Corp. 13th Unat. Co. Inf.
Noville, Patrick.....3d Cav.; trans. V. R. C.	O'Rourke, John.....9th Inf., U. S. M. C.	militia; 50th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.
Newcomb, Charles B., Jr.....Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.	O'Shea, Patrick.....17th Inf.	Peterson, Thomas S.....Navy
Newell, Charles O.....Sergt. 20th Inf.	O'Sullivan, Timothy.....1st Bat'n H. Art.	Pettengill, George.....6th Inf. militia
Newton, Albert E.....Corp. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; 50th Inf. militia.	O'Sullivan, Timothy.....29th Inf.	Phelan, Thomas.....17th Inf.
Nicholas, Benjamin.....Navy	Osborn, Frederick M.....23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Phelan, Thomas J.....Corp. 1st H. Art.
Nichols, Arra.....Navy	Osborn, John B.....4th H. Art.	Phillips, Angelo.....3d H. Art.
Nichols, Benjamin C.....1st H. Art.	Osborn, Josiah B.....1st H. Art.	Phillips, Benjamin A.....2d H. Art.
Nichols, George A.....Sergt. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; 50th Inf. militia.	Osborn, Stephen H.....23d Inf.	Phillips, Edward B.....
Nichols, William C.....Mus. 21th Inf.	Osborn, William E.....3d Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Phillips, James L.....3d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.
Nichols, William H 3d.....6th Inf. militia; 7th R. I. Cav.	Osborne, John B.....Navy	Phillips, John.....1st H. Art.
	Osborne, John H.....5th Inf. militia; Navy	Phillips, Phineas W.....7th Inf. militia
	Osborne, Laban S.....5th Inf. militia; 1st H. Art.	Phippen, Abraham.....17th Inf.; died in service
Nickerson, Ansel.....3d H. Art.	Osborne, Stephen H.....23d Inf.	Phippen, Charles H.....5th Inf. militia; Sergt. 7th
Niles, Amos.....Navy	Osgood, Cyrus M.....2d Co. Sharp; killed	Inf. militia; 1st H. Art.
Nimblett, Benjamin F.....Corp. 23d Inf.; 5th Inf. militia.	Osgood, Edward T.....8th Inf. militia; 23d Inf.	Phippen, David.....4th Bat. L. Art.
	Osgood, George E.....23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Phippen, Edward A., Jr.....5th Bat. L. Art.
Nimblett, John W.....3d H. Art.; trans. 29th Unat. Co. H. Art.	Osgood, William H.....1st Bat'n H. Art.; 2d H. Art.; Navy	Phippen, George P.....Corp. 23d Inf.
	Owens, James.....10th Inf.	Phippen, Joshua 2d.
Noble, Alexander J.....1st H. Art.		Phippen, Joshua B.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
Noble, James A.....50th Inf. militia	Packard, William.....62d Inf.	Phippen, Robert A.....1st H. Art.
Nolan, Francis.....Corp. 24th Inf.	Paine, Charles D.....6th Inf. militia	Phippen, Robert C.....1st H. Art.
Nolan, Thomas.....4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat.; died in service.	Paine, Joseph A., Jr.....23d Inf.	Phippen, William H.....1st H. Art.
	Paine, William.....5th Inf.; trans. 55th Inf. (colored).	Phippa, Henry B., Corp. 1st H. Art.; died Andersonville Prison.
Nolan, Thomas.....3d H. Art.	Palashley, Sylvester.....11th Inf.	Phinney, Edwin.....Corp. 9th Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.
Noland, Thomas.....1st H. Art.	Palmer, Charles W.....1st H. Art.	Pickering, Benjamin F.....Sergt. 6th Inf. militia;
Noonan, John.....24th Inf.	Palmer, George.....1st H. Art.	Corp. 7th Inf. militia.
Norcross, Orlando W.....1st H. Art.	Palmer, William H.....5th Inf. militia	Pickering, Benjamin P.....S. C.
Norris, William E.....17th Inf.	Palmer, William H.....50th Inf. militia	Pickett, Charles.....1st Sergt. 40th Inf.
Norton, John.....9th Inf.	Parker, Alfred.....Navy	Pickman, Hersey D.....Corp. 13th Unat. Co. Inf.
Nourae, George A.....23d Inf.	Parker, George F.....21th Inf.	militia; 50th Inf. militia.
Noyes, Charles W.....62d Inf.	Parrott, Francis.....1st H. Art.	
Noyes, Edward D.....19th Inf.; killed	Parshley, Nathaniel D.....1st H. Art.	Pierce, Alden J.....27th Inf.
Noyes, George S.....Corp. 62d Inf.	Parshley, Sylvester.....7th Inf. militia; 9th Inf.	Pierce, David H.....5th Inf. militia
Norwood, Alexander.....40th Inf.	Parsons, Cyrus.....5th Inf. militia; 7th Inf. militia	Pierce, John.....1st Bat'n H. Art.; 2d H. Art.;
Nugent, John.....28th Inf.	Parsons, Eben O.....4th Bat. L. Art.	V. R. C.
Nugent, Sylvester.....11th Inf.	Parsons, George W.....1st H. Art.; killed	Pierce, Thomas.....Navy
Nutter, Horace.....1st Bat'n H. Art.; 2d H. Art.	Parsons, William D., 23d Inf.; died Andersonville Prison.	Pierce, William.....Corp. 2d Cav.
Nutting, Joseph H.....40th Inf.		Pierce, William H.....27th Inf.
O'Brien, Edward.....9th Inf.	Patch, John S.....23d Inf.; missing. Supposed killed	Pike, George N.....4th H. Art.
O'Brien, James.....13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	Patten, Frank.....62d Inf.	Pinckton, William.....23d Inf.
O'Brien, John.....5th Bat. L. Art.	Patten, James M.....5th Inf. militia	Pinkham, Charles F., Artificer, 1st Bat'n H. Art.;
O'Brien, John 1st.....9th Inf.	Peabody, William.....1st Bat'n H. Art.	died in service.
O'Brien, John 2d.....9th Inf.	Peabody, William M.....5th Inf. militia; 4th Bat. L. Art.	Pinkham, Charles H.....Sergt. S. C.
O'Brien, Stephen.....4th H. Art.		Pinkham, William A.....23d Inf.; died in service
O'Brien, Thomas.....9th Inf.	Peach, George S., 1st Sergt., 5th Inf. militia; Sergt. 24th Inf.	Piper, John F.....Sergt. 59th Inf.
Ober, Oliver.....50th Inf. militia; died in service	Peach, George W.....4th H. Art.	Pitman, John H.....Mast. Mate; Navy
O'Callahan, Eugene.....9th Inf.	Peach, Thomas S.....4th H. Art.	Pitman, Nathaniel, (Jr. or F.), 1st H. Art.; died of
O'Connell, Timothy.....10th Inf.; killed		wounds 1864.
O'Connor, James.....9th Inf.		Pitman, William.....1st H. Art.
		Pitman, William H.....1st H. Art.

Pitts, Albert W.....	1st H. Art.	Quinn, John.....	Navy	Rogers, Benjamin H.....	11th Inf.
Pitta, Otis.....	23d Inf.	Radford, George A.....	S. C.	Rogers, Henry N.....	11th Inf.
Pirt, Isaac.....	Navy	Ragan, Michael.....	1st H. Art.; died in service	Rogers, John E.....	6th Inf. militia
Place, Charles A.....	12th N. H. Vols.	Ramsdell, Alonzo O., 4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.		Rogers, John E.....	Navy
Plummer, David.....	10th Maine Inf.; killed	Ramsdell, Joseph R.....	3d H. Art.	Rogers, Joseph C.....	23d Inf.
Plummer, Frank.....	Sergt. 24th Inf.	Ramsdell, Peter A.....	Corp. 5th Inf. militia; 3d H. Art.	Rogers, Joseph S. S.....	11th Inf.
Plummer, George.....	Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Ramsdell, William F.....	3d H. Art.	Rogers, Simon A., 1st Bat'n H. Art.; died in service	
Plummer, Lewis K.....	Sergt. 23d Inf.	Randall, Charles W.....	Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Rollins, Abijah.....	23d Inf.
Pollock, David M.....	23d Inf.	Raymond, Alfred A., Jr.....	19th Inf.	Rollins, James.....	Navy
Pond, Frederick A.....	50th Inf. militia	Read, William.....	19th Inf.	Rollins, William.....	19th Inf.
Pond, Joseph P., Jr.....	50th Inf.	Rea, Joseph F.....	2d H. Art.	Ronan, Wm. H.....	Corp. 3d H. Art.; 48th Inf. militia
Pond, Horace A.....	11th Inf.	Reardon, Daniel.....	2d Inf.	Rooney, Peter.....	19th Inf.; trans. 20th Inf.
Poor, James, Jr.....	1st H. Art.; 5th Inf. militia	Redman, John.....	13th Unat. Co., Inf. militia	Ross, Daniel M.....	1st Cav.
Pope, Benjamin C.....	23d Inf.; V. R. C.	Reed, Benjamin A.....	23d Inf.	Ross, J. Perrin.....	8th Inf. militia
Pope, Joseph.....	2d Inf.	Reed, Thomas.....	24th Inf.	Ross, Joseph H.....	1st H. Art.
Pope, Thomas S., 5th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.		Reeves, Edward.....	1st H. Art.	Ross, William H., 6th Inf. militia; 19th Inf.; killed	
Porter, Charles.....	11th Inf.	Reeves, William H.....	1st H. Art.; died in service	Ross, William P.....	1st H. Art.
Pope, Thomas.....	Navy	Regan, B. F.....	12th Inf.	Rourke, John.....	9th Inf.
Porter, William T.....	1st H. Art.	Regan, Dennis.....	9th Inf.	Rounde, Edward H.....	Corp. 23d Inf.
Potter, Francis B.....	12th Inf.; died in service	Regan, Edmund.....	9th Inf.; died of wounds	Rowe, George E.....	40th Inf.
Poulson, Lewis.....	2d Cav.	Regan, James.....	9th Inf.; killed	Rowe, James H.....	61st Inf.; died in service
Powland, David N.....	S. C.	Regan, Stephen.....	4th H. Art.	Rowell, Thomas A., Q. M. Sergt. 3d H. Art.; Corp. 7th Inf. militia	
Powland, Edward A.....	Navy	Regan, Stephen.....	28th Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Rowley, Robert.....	6th Inf. militia
Powland, John H., Corp. 1st Bat'n H. Art.; 2d H. Art.; 5th Inf. militia.		Regan, Timothy.....	4th H. Art.	Ruee, Benjamin B.....	2d H. Art.
Powell, Nathaniel.....	Navy	Remick, James.....	(See Remick, Patrick)	Rull, Benjamin B.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Powers, Charles H.....		Remick, Patrick.....	Sergt. 9th Inf.	Rune, Peter.....	See Rooney, Peter
Powers, Edward.....	9th Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.	Remon, John C.....	S. C.	Russell, Albert W.....	11th Inf.
Powers, Edward E.....	19th Inf.; trans. Navy	Restell, John.....	19th Inf.	Russell, George F.....	1st H. Art.
Powers, James.....	9th Inf.; killed	Rice, Benjamin B.....	7th Inf. militia	Russell, John H.....	Sergt. 40th Inf.
Powers, John.....	1st H. Art.	Rice, George.....	Hosp. Stew. U. S. A.	Russell, Martin V. B.....	Mus. 1st H. Art.
Powers, Richard, Jr.....	3d Cav.	Rice, William H. C.....	2d Inf.	Rust, Edwin F., 4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.	
Powers, Stephen A.....	48th Inf. militia	Richards, John H.....	23d Inf.	Ruth, Edward.....	59th Inf.; trans. 57th Inf.
Powers, William F.....	Corp. 3d H. Art.	Richardson, Alfred.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Ruth, Edward.....	Navy
Pratt, A. W.....	Navy	Richardson, Alfred J.....	2d H. Art.	Ruth, John.....	59th Inf.
Pratt, Calvin L., 5th Inf. militia; 4th Bat. L. Art.		Richardson, Henry H.....	5th Inf. militia	Ryan, John.....	3d Cav.
Pratt, Edward L.....	Navy	Richardson, John H.....	55th Inf. (colored)	Ryan, John.....	19th Inf.
Pratt, Edwin F., 8th Inf. militia; Corp. 4th Bat. L. Art.		Richardson, John L.....	30th Inf.	Ryan, John P.....	Navy
Pratt, James F.....	1st H. Art.	Ricker, Francis M.....	S. C.; 23d Inf.	Ryan, Patrick.....	48th Inf. militia
Pratt, John W.....	Sergt. 40th Inf.	Ricker, James, Sergt. 2d N. H. Vols.; died of wounds		Safford, George W.....	50th Inf. militia
Pratt, Lewis R.....	Sergt. 2d H. Art.; 5th Inf. militia	Ricker, Richard.....	2d Cav.	Sanborn, Edward D.....	3d H. Art.
Pratt, William A.....	3d H. Art.; trans. Navy	Ricker, Richard.....	17th Inf.	Sanborn, Horace E.....	1st H. Art.
Pray, Joseph.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.	Ricker, William H.....	2d Cav.	Sanborn, Joseph W., Corp. 13th Unat. Co. militia; 50th Inf. militia.	
Pray, Joseph S.....	3d H. Art.	Rider, Joshua O.....	6th Inf. militia	Sanborn, John F.....	5th Inf. militia
Preble, John.....	V. R. C.	Rinks, John H.....	Navy	Sargent, Charles O.....	23d Inf.
Preston, Charles H.....	19th Inf.	Rix, Asa W. S.....	5th Inf. militia	Sargent, Thomas J.....	1st H. Art.
Preston, John C.....	2d Inf.	Roach, Michael.....	Navy	Sasfield, Edward.....	3d U. S. Inf.
Preston, John F.....	59th Inf.; killed	Roark, Frank.....	22d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.	Saunders, Charles.....	2d Cav.; trans. V. R. C.
Preston, John H.....	Mus. 2d Inf.	Roarke, Thomas.....	Mus. 32d Inf.	Saunders, David E., Jr.....	Sergt. 50th Inf. militia
Preston, Otis P., 50th Inf. militia; died in service		Roberts, George.....	59th Inf.; died of wounds	Saunders, Henry T.....	Corp. 23d Inf.; died in service
Preston, William A.....	50th Inf. militia	Roberts, Henry L.....	23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Savory, John.....	2d H. Art.; died Florence Prison
Price, Rufus.....	19th Inf.	Roberts, James.....	19th Inf.	Sawyer, Caleb.....	1st H. Art.
Price, William H. See Prime, William H.		Roberts, John.....	2d Co. Sharps.	Sawyer, Nathaniel.....	1st H. Art.; trans. V. R. C.
Prime, William H.....	23d Inf.	Roberts, John S.....	23d Inf., 3d H. Art.	Scanlan, Michael.....	17th Inf.
Prime, Joshua S.....	17th Inf.	Roberts, Samuel, Jr.....	19th Inf.	Scates, David M.....	24th Inf.
Prime, William H. II.....	Hosp. Stew.	Roberts, Stephen H.....	2d Co. Sharps.	Schoedel, Otto.....	22d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.
Prince, George.....	23d Inf.; died of wounds	Roberts, William.....	5th Bat. L. Art.	Scople, Leo.....	28th Inf.
Prince, William W.....	S. C.	Roberts, William H.....	1st H. Art.	Schultz, Carl F.....	23d Inf.; died in service
Pulsifer, Charles A.....	1st H. Art.	Robbins, Louis L.....	Corp. 23d Inf.	Schweitzer, George.....	22d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.
Pulsifer, David F.....	23d Inf.; killed	Robbins, Nathaniel A.....	Corp. S. C.	Scribner, Luther.....	Corp. 4th Cav.
Pulsifer, Nathaniel F., 1st H. Art.; died in service		Robinson, Edward L., 1st Sergt. 2d Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.		Scriggins, Joshua C.....	23d Inf.
Pulsifer, William H.....	Navy	Robinson, Harry S.....	17th Inf.	Scriggins, William J.....	50th Inf. militia; Navy
Purbeck, John H.....	1st H. Art.	Robinson, Jeremiah.....	4th Cav.	Scully, John H.....	9th Inf.
Purbeck, John H.....	9th Inf.; 1st H. Art.	Robinson, John.....	50th Inf. militia	Scully, Patrick.....	48th Inf. militia
Purbeck, William L.....	5th Bat. L. Art.; killed	Robinson, John G.....	Q. M. Sergt. 48th Inf. militia	Soares, George.....	5th Inf. militia
Putnam, Percley.....	Navy	Robinson, Nathaniel F.....	Corp. 50th Inf. militia	Seger, John.....	11th Inf.
Quinlan, Thomas.....	9th Inf.	Robinson, William.....	2d Cav.; trans. V. R. C.	Selton, Thomas E.....	Navy
Quinn, John.....	5th Inf. militia	Rock, John.....	18th Inf.	Semons, Francis A., Corp. 7th Inf. militia; 5th Inf. militia.	
Quinn, Joseph.....	2d Inf.	Rodriguez, John S.....	19th Inf.	Senter, William C.....	23d Inf.
Quinn, Joseph.....	17th Inf.	Rodwell, John A.....	6th N. H. Vols.; died in service	Shanley, William J.....	5th Inf. militia; 3d H. Art.
Quinn, Patrick.....	23d Inf.	Rogan, Cornelius.....	9th Inf.	Shapine, John.....	23d Inf.
Quinn, James.....	Mus. 19th Inf.	Rogan, William.....	9th Inf.; died in service	Sharp, Thomas.....	3d H. Art.
Quinn, James.....	23d Inf.	Rogan, William N.....	9th Inf.; died in service	Sharkey, Charles.....	17th Inf.
Quinn, John.....	V. R. C.				
Quinn, John.....	1st Cav.				

Statewell, Joseph A.....	7th Inf. militia	Soley, Frank.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Synonds, Stephen G.....	7th Inf. militia
Shaw, Brown E.....	23d Inf.	Soley, Franklin.....	7th Inf. militia	Synonds, William H.....	40th Inf.
Shaw, Collin.....	See Shaw, Orlin	Soley, Nathaniel.....	1st H. Art.	Sykes, Edwin.....	67th Inf.
Shaw, Cyrus P.....	8th Inf. militia	Somner, Sebas.....	16th Inf.; trans. 11th Inf.		
Shaw, John.....	Corp. 1st H. Art.	Soper, Jeremiah.....	V. R. C.	Tarbox, Am.....	11th Inf.
Shaw, John.....	Corp. 1st H. Art.	Southard, Geo. F.....	50th Inf. militia	Tarbox, David.....	V. R. C.
Shaw, Orlin.....	Corp. 11th Inf.; died of wounds	Southard, (Southward) Samuel S.....	23d Inf.	Tarbox, Henry M. (H.).....	17th Inf.
Shaw, Walter G. G. O., Corp. 21th Inf.; 40th Inf.; 48th Inf. militia.		Southwick, Edward.....	48th Inf. militia	Tarbox, Jonathan S.....	1st H. Art.
		Southwick, Kilkridge M., 7th Inf. militia; 3d H. Art.		Tarbox, Randall.....	1st Inf.; died in service
Shea, Daniel.....	9th Inf.	Southwick, Joseph.....	11th Inf.	Tarbox, Samuel A.....	Wagoner 23d Inf.
Shea, Patrick.....	2d H. Art.	Spaulding, J. C.....	Navy	Tarbox, William H.....	1st H. Art.
Shea, Patrick.....	9th Inf.; died of wounds	Spencer, Hiram B.....	1st Cav.	Tareno, Sareno.....	19th Inf.
Shearman, Charles H.....	19th Inf.	Spofford, John B.....	Navy	Tato, Charles.....	Navy
Shearman, James L.....	Navy	Spring, Patrick.....	9th Inf.	Taylor, Charles.....	19th Inf.
Shearman, William.....	Navy; 55th Inf.	Stacey, Peter.....	48th Inf. militia	Taylor, James.....	3d Cav.
Sheehan, Edward.....	17th Inf.	Stafford, James M.....	1st Sergt. 2d Inf.	Taylor, Peter.....	61st Inf.
Sheehan, John J.....	6th Inf. militia; 4th Bat. L. Art.	Stamper, William F.....	11th U. S. Inf.	Taylor, Thomas.....	1st Cav.
Sheehan, Patrick.....	Navy	Stanford, Daniel.....	Corp. 6th Inf. militia; S. C.	Taylor, William.....	3d Cav.
Sheehan, Timothy.....	1st H. Art.	Stanley, Abraham J.....	Mus. 24th Inf.	Taylor, William H.....	3d H. Art.
Sherlock, Thomas T.....	9th Inf.; died in service	Staples, E. C.....	Navy	Teague, Amos G.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Sherman, William.....	Navy	Staples, Elias O.....	1st H. Art., killed	Teague, Robert.....	1st H. Art.
Sherman, Wm., 54th Inf.; trans. 55th Inf. (colored)		Staples, George.....	2d Inf., killed	Teague, Thomas A.....	1st H. Art.
Sherwin, William, Jr.....	30th Inf.	Staten, Alexander.....	4th Cav.	Teague, Wm. H., 5th Inf. militia; 1st Bat'n H. Art.	
Shine, Cornelius A.....	21 Cav.	Staten, William H. U.....	1st Maine Vols.	Tedder, John T.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.
Shirley, John.....	2d H. Art.	Stearns, William.....	Navy	Terrance, Edward.....	61st Inf.
Shortell, James.....	9th Inf.; V. R. C.	Stenford, Joseph.....	19th Inf.	Therin, Charles H.....	17th Inf.
Shortell, Michael.....	Corp. 2d Cav.	Sterling, William S.....	Sergt. 62d Inf.	Thiers, Patrick.....	17th Inf.
Short, Charles H.....	60th Inf. militia	Stevenson, John H.....	Navy	Thomas, Charles S.....	Corp. 2d Co. Sharps
Short, Joseph A.....	20th Inf.; killed	Stevenson, Robert.....	30th Inf.	Thomas, Eli C. 23d Inf.; died Andersonville Prison	
Shutes, John D.....	1st H. Art.	Stevens, Daniel W.....	17th Inf.	Thomas, George W.....	17th Inf.
Sikey, William H.....	2d Co. Sharps	Stevens, Edward P.....	8th Inf. militia	Thomas, James.....	19th Inf.; died in service
Silver, Augustus.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Stevens, John.....	Navy	Thomas, Joseph F.....	6th Inf. militia
Silver, W. A., 4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.		Stevens, John.....	2d Cav.	Thomas, Richard H.....	23d Inf. V. R. C.
Simmons, Francis A.....	5th Inf. militia	Stevens, John.....	28th Inf.	Thomas, Samuel W.....	Navy
Simmons, William.....	21 H. Art.; died of wounds	Stevens, Samuel.....	62d Inf.	Thomas, Stephen W., Jr.....	1st H. Art.
Simon, John F., Corp. 50th Inf. militia; died in serv.		Stevens, Samuel A., 6th Inf. militia; 2d Maine Vols.		Thomas, Warren.....	23d Inf.
Simonds, Edward A.....	1st Sergt. S. C.	Stickney, David.....	Navy	Thomas, William H. H.....	3d H. Art.
Simonds, William.....	19th Inf.; 40th Inf.	Stickney, George A.....	1st H. Art.	Thompson, Darius N.....	Corp. 3d H. Art.
Simons, William H.....	40th Inf.	Stickney, Joseph A.....	Navy	Thompson, Edward C.....	19th Inf.
Simons, Francis A.....	3d H. Art.	Stickney, Joseph A.....	Navy	Thompson, F. B., 4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service	
Simpson, John A.....	Navy	Stickney, Joseph A., S. C.; 50th Inf. militia; 23d Inf.		Thompson, George A.....	5th Inf. militia; killed
Sinclair, David.....	21th Inf.	Stillman, Edward, Mus. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia;		Thompson, George H.....	19th Inf.
Sinclair, James.....	62d Inf.	Mus. 50th Inf.; Mus. S. C.; 1st Bat. F. Cav.		Thompson, John N.....	5th Inf. militia
Sislie, Robert.....	28th Inf.	Stillman, James H.....	23d Inf.	Thompson, William.....	2d H. Art.
Skerry, Edward S.....	1st H. Art.	Stillman Samuel.....	2d Co. Sharps, killed	Thorndike, Theodore A.....	54th Inf. militia
Skerry, George L.....	4th Bat. L. Art.	Stimpson, Edward A.....	48th Inf. militia; 16th Inf.	Thorner, Samuel R.....	40th Inf.
Skinner, Emory B.....	1st H. Art.	Stocker, Charles H.....	S. C.	Thornton, John.....	23d Inf.
Skinner, James N.....	60th Inf. militia	Stoddard, George A.....	60th Inf. militia	Thrasher, Nath., 4th Bat. L. Art.; died in service	
Skinner, Philip G.....	Sergt. S. C.	Stone, Charles.....	Corp. 1st Co. Sharps	Tibbetts, Andrew R.....	23d Inf.; V. R. C.
Sleuman, Charles A.....	60th Inf. militia	Stone, Benjamin F.....	17th Inf.	Tibbetts, George F.....	8th Inf. militia; 1st H. Art.
Sloper, William A.....	5th Inf. militia	Stone, George B.....	23d Inf.	Tibbetts, William E.....	1st H. Art.
Sluman, William H.....	Navy	Stone, George L.....	6th Inf. militia	Tierney, Patrick.....	Corp. 9th Inf.
Small, William M.....	61st Inf.	Stone, Joseph H. S.....	4th Cav.	Timmins, Garritt.....	Sergt. 9th Inf.
Smeathers, Joseph.....	1st H. Art.	Stover, Nathaniel F., 48th Inf. militia; 3d H. Art.; died in service.		Timmins, Patrick.....	Corp. 9th Inf.
Smith, A. P., Corp. 23d Inf.; 9th Inf.; 8th Inf. mil.		Stratford, James M. (see Stafford, James M.)		Tirrell, William.....	19th Inf.
Smith, Benjamin F.....	Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.	Stratton, Benj. F., 50th Inf. militia; died in service		Tivins, John W.....	Navy
Smith, Charles.....	Navy	Stuffles, John.....	3d U. S. Art.	Tobey, William, Jr., Corp. 5th Inf. militia; 1st Cav.	
Smith, Charles F.....	23d Inf.	Sullivan, Cornelius.....	3d Cav.	Tobin, James.....	4th H. Art.
Smith, Daniel F.....	V. R. C.	Sullivan, John.....	Navy	Toby, Stephen W.....	1st H. Art.
Smith, Frederick W.....	8th Inf. militia; 23d Inf.	Sullivan, Matthew.....	11th Inf.	Tolman, Stephen W.....	40th Inf.
Smith, Harley P.....	7th Inf. militia	Sullivan, Patk., 9th Inf.; died Andersonville Prison		Toomey, John.....	18th Inf.; trans. 32d Inf.
Smith, Henry.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.	Sullivan, Patrick.....	3d U. S. Art.; killed	Toomey, John.....	40th Inf.
Smith, Henry J.....	Sergt. 20th Inf.	Sullivan, Timothy.....	2d H. Art.	Torr, Joseph.....	Corp. S. C.
Smith, Henry J.....	5th Inf. militia; 2d Cav.	Sumner, John A.....	5th Inf. militia	Towle, Albert L.....	1st H. Art.
Smith, James E.....	23d Inf.; trans. V. R. C.	Swaney, William H.....	23d Inf., killed	Towne, Samuel.....	1st H. Art.
Smith, James S.....	8th Inf. militia	Swasey, Lewis G., Sergt. 3d H. Art.; corp. 1st H. Art.		Towne, Calvin L.....	1st H. Art.; died of wounds
Smith, John.....	1st H. Art.	Swasey, Thomas S. B.....	3d Cav.; Navy	Townsend, William H.....	23d Inf.; died in service
Smith, John.....	11th Inf.; 23d Inf.	Swasey, William R.....	8th Inf. militia	Tracy, John.....	9th Inf.; died in service
Smith, John A.....	19th Inf.	Swasey, William R.....	6th N. H. Vols.; killed	Tracy, Joseph, Jr.....	3d Cav.
Smith, John B.....	1st Inf.	Sweeney, Daniel, (David).....	9th Inf.	Tracy, William.....	9th Inf.
Smith, John F.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Sweeney, John.....	2d Cav.	Tracy, William.....	17th Inf.
Smith, Jonathan C.....	1st H. Art.	Sweeney, Morgan, 2d Inf.; 59th Inf.; trans. 57th Inf		Trafton, Charles.....	3d H. Art.; 17th Inf.
Smith, J. Jewett.....	1st Bat'n H. Art.	Swaney, William.....	48th Inf. militia	Trainer, Thomas.....	1st H. Art.
Smith, Lorenzo.....	23d Inf.	Sweeney, William H.....	23d Inf.	Trainer, Thomas.....	3d H. Art.; trans. 29th Unat.
Smith, Patrick.....	48th Inf. militia; died in service	Sweet, Hartford S.....	23d Inf.	Co. H. Art.	
Smith, Samuel H.....	8th Inf. militia; Sergt. 19th Inf.	Sweetland, Alonzo.....	8th Inf. militia	Trask, Amos W.....	23d Inf.
Smith, Thomas R.....	1st H. Art.	Sweetzer, Benj. F., Sergt. 66th Inf.; trans. V. R. C.		Trask, David B.....	
Smith, Timothy.....	19th Inf.	Swett, Francis F.....	V. R. C.	Trask, Edward.....	19th Inf.
Smith, William.....	1st H. Art.	Symonds, Chas. A., 6th Inf. militia; 1st Bat. F. Cav.		Trask, Henry.....	6th Inf. militia
Smith, William A.....	1st H. Art.; V. R. C.	Symonds, Edward A., 50th Inf. militia; 3d H. Art.		Trask, Henry A., 4th Bat. L. Art.; trans. V. R. C.	
Smith, Wm. A., 54th Inf. (colored); trans. 55th Inf.		Symonds, Geo. H.....	S. C.	Trask, James E.....	13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia; 60th Inf. militia.
Smith, William J.....	20th Inf.; killed	Symonds, Henry A.....	40th Inf.; trans. 24th Inf.	Trask, Joseph E.....	23d Inf.
Smith, William R.....	7th Inf. militia	Symonds, Joseph P.....	48th Inf. militia	Trask, Moses A.....	2d Co. Sharps
Smith, William.....	16th Bat. L. Art.	Symonds, J. Shore.....		Tray, James.....	Navy
Snell, Nicholas P., Corp. 1st H. Art.; died of wounds		Symonds, Nathaniel A., Corp. 6th Inf. militia; 5th Inf. militia.		Trofatter, Elias A.....	Wagoner 50th Inf. militia; died in service
Solen, Nathaniel.....	See Soley, Nathaniel	Symonds, Nathaniel C.....	23d Inf.	Trout, Bradford H.....	11th Inf.

Trull, Charles W.....4th Bat. L. Art. ; died in service	Warner, Geo. L., Sergt. 19th Inf. ; died in service.	Wiggins, George A. ....62d Inf.
Tucker, Henry G.....1st H. Art.	Warner, John V., 4th Bat. L. Art. , trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.	Wilber, Wesley.....Navy
Tucker, Horace.....S. C.	Warner, William W., 26th Inf. ; died in service.	Wildes, Hayward L.....4th Bat. L. Art. ; trans. 13th Bat. L. Art.
Tucker, John H.....48th Inf. militia ; 17th Inf.	Warren, Edward J.....5th Inf. militia	Wiley, Edwin W.....7th Inf. militia ; 3d H. Art.
Tucker, Joseph W.....1st H. Art.	Warren, Moses.....5th Art. U. S. C. T.	Wiley, George E.....1st Sergt. 50th Inf. ; killed
Tucker, Timothy.....2d Cav.	Warren, William H.....Corp. 20th Inf.	Wiley, John G.....2d H. Art.
Tucker, William W.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Washburn, Horace W.....1st Bat'n H. Art.	Wiley, Moses, Jr.....48th Inf. militia ; 19th Inf.
Tufta, John A.....4th Bat. L. Art. ; died in service	Washington, John S.....54th Inf. (colored)	Wiley, William.....1st Inf. ; 40th Inf. ; 24th Inf.
Tufta, Rufus W.....5th Inf. militia	Waters, Henry F.....23d Inf. trans. V. R. C.	Wiley, William F.....Sergt. 24th Inf.
Tukey, Greenleaf S.....Corp. 50th Inf. militia	Waters, Horace.....10th Inf.	Wilford, John B.....3d Cav. ; trans. V. R. C.
Turner, James H., Jr.....1st H. Art.	Waters, James V., 5th Inf. militia ; died in service	Wilkins, Albert (2d).....Sergt. 1st H. Art. ; super.
Turell, Benjamin F.....Navy	Watson, John F.....Sergt. 13th Unat. Co. Inf. militia	Wilkins, Ed. M.....3d H. Art.
Tschopik, Leo.....28th Inf. Probably same as Leo Schopik.	Watts, Charles.....Navy.	Wilkins, George G.....23d Inf. ; killed
Tuttle, William H.....50th Inf. militia	Watts, Charles E.....1st H. Art.	Wilkins, James G.....Navy
Twist, Joseph C.....3d H. Art. ; trans. 29th Unat. Co. H. Art.	Watts, Richard.....1st H. Art.	Wilkins, Michael C.....1st H. Art.
Twiss, Joseph C., 1st.....17th Inf.	Watts, Thomas.....Navy.	Willburn, James.....11th Inf.
Twiss, Joseph C., 2d.....17th Inf.	Webb, Henry, Jr.....40th Inf.	Willott, Allen.....Navy
Twohig, John.....9th Inf.	Webb, James H.....Navy.	Willey, Albert W.....24th Inf.
Twokey, Thomas.....Corp. 2d H. Art.	Webb, John F., Com. Sergt. 1st H. Art. ; S. C.	Willey, Edward A.....Navy
Tyler, Alfred.....S. C.	Webber, Mendel S.....5th Inf. militia	Willey, George M.....17th Inf. ; Navy
Tyler, Jesse.....1st H. Art.	Weeks, William H.....5th Inf. militia	Willey, Mark L.....Navy
Tyler, J. H.....17th Inf.	Weir, George C.....Navy.	Willey, Mark L., Jr.....Navy
Upham, Benjamin N.....7th Inf. militia	Welch, Charles O.....2d Cav.	Willey, William.....(See Willey, Albert W.)
Upham, Franklin.....1st H. Art.	Welch, James H.....Navy.	Williams, Arthur S.....U. S. Eng. Corps.
Upham, Joshua W.....1st H. Art.	Welch, John (1st).....3d Cav.	Williams, Charles A.....Sergt. 6th Inf. militia
Upham, Oliver W. H.....S. C. ; 23d Inf.	Welch, John.....1st H. Art.	Williams, Edward.....Navy
Upham, Warren J.....1st H. Art.	Welch, John (2d).....3d Cav. ; killed	Williams, George.....19th Inf.
Upton, Daniel.....S. C.	Welch, John A.....Navy.	Williams, G., 54th Inf. ; trans. 55th Inf. (colored).
Upton, Edward.....Sergt. 59th Inf.	Welch, Michael.....Navy.	Williams, John.....Navy
Upton, Robert.....1st H. Art.	Welch, Michael.....7th Inf. militia	Williams, John F.....Navy
Upton, Warren A.....50th Inf. militia	Welch, Michael, 4th Bat. L. Art. ; died in service.	Williams, John H.....Sergt. 1st H. Art.
Usher, William R.....	Welch, Thomas.....Navy.	Williams, John H.....2d Cav.
Usher, Horace D.....1st H. Art.	Welch, Walter.....9th Inf.	Williams, Henry.....5th Inf. militia ; 39th Inf.
Valentine, Herbert E.....23d Inf.	Welch, William.....2d H. Art.	Williams, Martin V.....48th Inf. militia
Vanderford, Benjamin F.....Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.	Welch, William L.....23d Inf.	Williams, Richard.....Navy
Varina, William.....Corp. 62d Inf.	Welch, W. P.....5th Inf. militia	Williams, Thomas.....Navy
Varney, Henry.....1st H. Art.	Wellman, Charles C., 1st H. Art. ; died Andersonville Prison.	Williams, Thomas J.....23d Inf.
Vaughn, Charles E.....32d Inf. ; killed.	Wellman, George O.....1st H. Art.	Williams, Thomas J.....3d Cav.
Veno, Felix.....48th Inf. militia ; 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Wellman, Timothy A.....40th Inf. , trans. V. R. C.	Williams, William D., 5th Inf. militia ; 4th Bat. L. Art. ; died in service.
Very, Abraham A.....4th Cav.	Wells, George A.....S. C.	Willis, John.....Navy
Very, Edwin.....Mus. 23d Inf.	Wells, S. C.....11th Inf.	Willis, Lewis.....U. S. C. T.
Very, Ephraim P.....48th Inf. militia	Wentworth, Charles A.....40th Inf.	Williston, Samuel P.....Sergt. 4th Bat. L. Art.
Very, Nathaniel O.....S. C.	Wentworth, Charles F.....62d Inf.	Williston, William D.....2d Inf. ; killed
Vinnah, Francis J.....Navy.	Wentworth, Ezra N.....Navy.	Wilson, James.....Navy
Vinnah, Frank.....Corp. 23d Inf.	Wentworth, John.....3d Cav. ; V. R. C.	Wilson, John H.....Navy
Vincent, Amos J.....2d R. I.	Wentworth, John H.....Sergt. 1st H. Art.	Wilson, Joseph H.....2d Inf.
Voller, Benjamin H.....2d Inf.	Wentworth, John H., 4th Bat. L. Art. ; died in service.	Wilson, Joseph H.....Navy
Wadleigh, Curtis E.....23d Inf.	West, George, 5th Inf. militia ; 7th Inf. militia.	Wilson, Richard M.....1st H. Art.
Walt, Ashbel.....1st H. Art. ; died in service	West, W. C.....Corp.	Wilson, Thomas.....19th Inf.
Walcott, Royal E.....23d Inf.	Weston, Charles.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Wilson, William H.....Navy
Walden, William W. P.....Corp. 1st H. Art.	Weston, Richmond.....Navy.	Winchester, Isaac.....23d Inf.
Waldron, James.....Navy.	Westwood, George.....62d Inf.	Winchester, S., Corp. 23d Inf. ; died Andersonville
Waldron, John.....23d Inf. ; trans. V. R. C.	Wetley, Martin.....Navy.	Winn, Edward A.....Master's Mate, Navy
Waldron, Joseph E., Corp. 6th Inf. militia ; S. C. ; 3d H. Art.	Whalley, Thomas.....Navy.	Winter, Lawrence.....9th Inf. ; died in service
Walker, David A.....Sergt. 33d Inf.	Wheatland, Simeon J., 54th Inf. , trans. 55th Inf. (colored).	Winters, John.....3d H. Art.
Walker, W. A.....Sergt. 59th Inf.	Wheelan, S. B., 5th Inf. militia ; 1st Bat'n H. Art.	Wippich, John.....48th Inf. militia
Walker, William.....Corp. 3d H. Art.	Wheeler, Michael.....1st H. Art. ; died in service	Withington, Francis.....2d Cav.
Wallace, John A.....2d Inf. ; died in service.	Wheeler, Samuel B.....2d H. Art.	Wood, John.....19th Inf.
Walsh, James.....Corp. 48th Inf. militia	Whelan, John.....9th Inf.	Wood, John.....19th Inf.
Walsh, John.....9th Inf.	Whelan, John.....9th Inf.	Wood, Samuel A.....Navy
Walsh, Martin.....9th Inf.	Whelan, Michael.....9th Inf.	Wood, William F.....1st H. Art. ; 18th V. R. C.
Walsh, Patrick.....9th Inf.	Whelarty, Thomas.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Woodbine, Abel.....Navy
Walsh, William H., Mus. 48th Inf. militia ; 1st Bat'n F. Cav.	Whitcher, Ira S.....11th Inf.	Woodbury, George H.....50th Inf. militia
Walton, Edward A.....1st H. Art.	White, Francis P.....4th H. Art.	Woodbury, Josiah H.....Corp. 23d Inf.
Walton, John H., 7th Inf. militia ; 17th Unat. Co. Inf. militia.	White, Henry F.....5th Inf. militia	Woodbury, Levi.....1st Bat'n H. Art.
Walton, Joseph A.....48th Inf. militia	White, John.....62d Inf.	Woodell, Eli.....Navy
Walton, Joseph H.....Corp. 22d Inf.	White, Thomas.....5th Inf. militia	Wooden, William.....19th Inf.
Ward, James L.....7th R. I. Cav.	White, William.....Navy	Wright, James.....Navy
Warner, Abraham F., Corp. 19th Inf. ; died Andersonville Prison.	Whitman, William W.....7th Inf.	Wright, Nathaniel F.....59th Inf.
Warner, Clarence A.....Corp. 1st H. Art.	Whitmarsh, Leander.....Navy	Wright, Richard.....Navy
Warner, Edward L.....4th Bat. L. Art.	Whitmore, William W.....S. C. ; 7th Inf. militia	Wyatt, Andrew J. (W.).....Mus. 23d Inf.
Warner, Frank B.....50th Inf. militia.	Whitney, Samuel.....4th H. Art.	Wynder, Thomas.....32d Inf.
	Whitridge, Charles E.....8th Inf. militia	
	Whittemore, Henry.....Navy	Yasinski, Edmund A.....S. C.
	Whittemore, William W.....1st Bat'n Art.	York, Edward W.....3d H. Art. ; trans. Navy
	Wiggin, Benjamin T.....1st H. Art.	Young, Aaron C.....Artificer, 1st H. Art.
	Wiggin, George F.....S. C.	Young, Charles H.....11th Inf.
		Young, James.....59th N. Y. Inf.
		Young, William A.....Sergt. 3d Cav.

NOTE.—The foregoing list of Soldiers of the Revolution is taken from Felt's Annals of Salem, with a little addition ; as also that of the Privateers of that War. The List of Privateers of the War of 1812 is the one made by Mr. Leavitt, found in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute ; while the lists of those serving in the War of the Rebellion were carefully compiled for me from all sources by Mr. F. V. Wright, and are believed to be very nearly correct. It was desired to append a list of those from Salem who had attained rank and distinction in the regular army and navy throughout our history, but in the accessible registers their residences when appointed are not given.

C. A. B.

CHAPTER XII.

SALEM—(Continued).

CIVIL HISTORY.

BY HENRY M. BROOKS.

SALEM was incorporated as a city March 22, 1836, and the charter was accepted April 4, 1836, by a vote of six hundred and seventeen for, to one hundred and eighty-five against it. It was the second city incorporated in the commonwealth, Boston having been the first, and Lowell the third.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL was the first mayor, elected April 25, 1836, and resigned in December, 1838. He was a descendant of Sir Richard Saltonstall, and was born in Haverhill, June 13, 1783; was educated at Phillips Academy and at Harvard, where he graduated in 1802. In 1805 he commenced the practice of law in Salem, where he was eminently successful, and where he was always held in great esteem. A State Senator in 1831; elected member of Congress in 1838, and served with distinction until 1842. In politics he was a Whig, but had the respect of men of all parties. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Massachusetts Historical Society; author of a historical sketch of Haverhill. Mr. Saltonstall was quite interested in music and was, with General Oliver, prominent in promoting musical taste in Salem. He died in Salem May 8, 1845.

STEPHEN CLARENDON PHILLIPS was the second mayor, elected December 5, 1838, holding the office until March, 1842. He was born in Salem, November 4, 1801; graduated at Harvard in 1819. He was a distinguished merchant, at one time largely engaged in the Manilla and Fiji Island trade; Representative in Congress from 1834 to 1838, and had previously represented the town of Salem at the General Court at various periods. Originally a Whig, he joined the Free-Soil party in 1848, and was a candidate for Governor. Mr. Phillips was especially interested in the cause of education, was a member of the State Board of Education, and gave the whole of his salary as mayor to the city for the benefit of the public schools. He gave also a great deal of personal attention and time to the subject. In the latter part of his life he engaged largely in the lumber trade, and while visiting Canada in 1857 he was one of the ill-fated passengers on board the steamer "Montreal," burnt on St. Lawrence River on the 26th of June of that year. He was a very benevolent man and greatly beloved and respected wherever known.

STEPHEN PALFRAY WEBB was the third mayor, served in 1842, '43, '44, '60, '61 and '62, and was city clerk from 1863 to 1871. He was born in Salem, March 20, 1804; graduated at Harvard in 1824. He

was a lawyer by profession. Besides holding the offices mentioned, Mr. Webb was elected mayor of San Francisco in 1854, during a temporary residence in that city. He was not elected a second term, as it was said he "refused to get rich" out of the office. Noted for honesty and integrity, as well as for social qualities, he made many friends. He died at Brookline, Mass., September 29, 1879.

JOSEPH SEBASTIAN CABOT was the fourth mayor, and served four years,—1845, '46, '47 and '48. He graduated at Harvard in 1815. He had been cashier and president of the Asiatic National Bank, and was at one time bank commissioner; president of the Salem Savings Bank, president of Harmony Grove Cemetery Company, president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; always interested in finance and horticulture. He was a gentleman of integrity, much esteemed, but rather retiring in his habits; had been in former years a Democratic candidate for Congress. He was born in Salem, October 8, 1796, and died June 29, 1874.

NATHANIEL SILSBEE, JR., was the fifth mayor, and served in 1849, '50 and again in 1858 and '59. He was born in Salem, December 28, 1804, and was the son of Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, a distinguished Senator in Congress; graduated at Harvard in 1824. He was a merchant, and for several years the treasurer of Harvard College. He resided in Boston and Milton some years before his death, which occurred July 9, 1881.

DAVID PINGREE was the sixth mayor, serving from March, 1851, to March, 1852; a well-known merchant. He was born in Georgetown, December 31st, 1795, and inherited wealth from his uncle, Thomas Perkins, an old Salem merchant, once of the firm of Peabody (Joseph) & Perkins. Mr. Pingree did a large business in Salem, owning many vessels engaged in the East and West India and African trade; was largely interested in Eastern lands, and owned Mount Washington, in New Hampshire, which is still in possession of his heirs. He was one of the builders of the famous carriage-road to the summit. He was president of the Naumkeag Bank from its organization, in 1831, and president of the Naumkeag Cotton Company from its establishment, in 1845, until his death, March 31, 1863.

CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM was the seventh mayor, serving in 1852. He was born at St. John, N. B., May 4, 1802, and graduated at Harvard in 1821 in the class with Ralph Waldo Emerson. He was minister of the First Church in Salem from 1824 to 1844, for the first twelve years as colleague with Rev. John Prince, LL.D. Retiring from the ministry, he was subsequently elected member of Congress from the Essex South District, serving with great satisfaction to his constituents from 1853 to 1855; he represented the city at the General Court for several years, and was president of the State Senate in 1857 and 1858; Whig and Republican in politics. An

eloquent speaker and excellent writer, Mr. Upham was distinguished as an author. Among his most valuable works are the "History of Salem Witchcraft" and "Life of Timothy Pickering." He also wrote a "Life of Fremont." At one time he edited the *Christian Register*, of Boston, and contributed from time to time to various periodicals. Mr. Upham was noted not only for his intellectual but social qualities. He died June 15, 1875.

ASAHEL HUNTINGTON was the eighth mayor, serving from March, 1853, to March, 1854. He was born at Topsfield, July 23, 1798, and graduated at Yale in 1819. He was a prominent lawyer; elected district attorney in 1830, resigned in 1845, but was again elected in 1847, and held the office until 1851, when he was appointed clerk of the courts for Essex County, in which office he continued until his death, September 5, 1870. He was deeply interested in the cause of temperance, and frequently lectured on the subject, and was an effective speaker. He was twice a representative at the General Court; was president of the Essex Institute, also president of the Naumkeag Cotton Company. Mr. Huntington was highly esteemed by the people of Salem and of Essex County.

JOSEPH ANDREWS was the ninth mayor, having been elected on the Know-Nothing or Native American ticket in 1854 and 1855. He was born in Salem, December 10, 1808; began business as a clerk in one of the Salem banks, and in 1832 was elected cashier of the Commercial Bank, in Boston, where he remained until the bank closed, in 1838. He was always interested in military matters, and commanded at one time the Salem Light Infantry. He was brigadier-general of Massachusetts Militia at the breaking out of the Civil War, and was placed in command at Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, where he had charge of the State troops before their departure to the seat of war. He removed to Boston and died there February 8, 1869.

WILLIAM SLUMAN MESSERVY was the tenth mayor, serving in 1856-57. He was born in Salem, August 26, 1812, and began business in a counting-room in Boston about 1830. In 1834 he went into business in St. Louis, Mo. In 1839 he was a Mexican trader, and spent several years in Chihuahua and Santa Fe. When the Territory of New Mexico was organized he was elected delegate to Congress, and was afterwards acting Governor. Having had financial success in his various operations, he returned to Salem in 1854, and was soon afterwards made a director in various corporations. He was interested in literary and scientific institutions, and a great reader. He was also interested in politics; an Old Line Democrat, but during the war a strong Republican. He died February 19, 1886.

STEPHEN GOODHUE WHEATLAND was the eleventh mayor, and served in 1863 and 1864. He was born at Newton, August 11, 1824, and graduated at Har-

vard in 1844. He was a lawyer by profession; represented the city at the General Court for a number of years; was a director in several corporations, and has been president of the National Exchange Bank.

JOSEPH BARLOW FELT OSGOOD was the twelfth mayor (1865), and was born in Salem July 1, 1823; graduated at Harvard in 1846. He is an able lawyer; has been a member of the State Senate and House of Representatives. At present he is judge of the First District Court of Essex County, which position he has held since its establishment, in 1874.

DAVID ROBERTS was the thirteenth mayor, and served from January, 1866, to September 26, 1867, when he resigned on account of a disagreement with the aldermen. He was an attorney and counselor-at-law, having graduated at Harvard in 1824. At one time he was a representative at the General Court; was author of a work on admiralty law and practice. He was born in Hamilton, April 5, 1804, and died in Salem, March 19, 1879.

WILLIAM COGSWELL was the fourteenth mayor, and was elected on the resignation of Mayor Roberts, September 26, 1867, and held the office in 1868 and 1869, and again in 1873 and 1874. He was born in Bradford, August 23, 1838; a graduate of Harvard Law School; practiced law in Salem. He served with distinction in the War of the Rebellion; went first as captain in the Second Massachusetts Regiment and rose to the rank of brevet brigadier-general; and was with Sherman in his famous march through Georgia. Since the war he has held the office of State Inspector of Fish for several years; has several times represented the city in the Legislature, and the district in the State Senate. He is at present Representative in Congress from Essex District.

NATHANIEL BROWN was the fifteenth mayor (1870-71), and was born in Salem, March 18, 1827. He began business as clerk in the counting-room of Messrs. Stone, Silsbees & Pickman, noted East India merchants; went to sea, and was for many years an intelligent ship-master. In 1871, as president of the Salem Marine Society, he delivered an address on the centennial anniversary of that society's incorporation. He died in Salem December 10, 1879.

SAMUEL CALLEY was the sixteenth mayor, and held the office in 1872 and again in 1881 and 1882. He was born in Salem, April 13, 1821; was a house-painter by trade, but always greatly interested in political and municipal affairs; Republican in politics, and was representative at the General Court in 1870 and 1871. He died January 1, 1883.

HENRY LAURENS WILLIAMS was the seventeenth mayor (1875-76), and was born in Salem, July 23, 1815. He began business in the counting-room of N. L. Rogers & Brothers, well-known merchants. In 1836 he went into the employ of Joseph Peabody, the noted merchant. After the death of Mr. Peabody, in 1844, he founded the house of Williams & Daland, in Boston. Later he was for some years a director of

the Eastern Railroad Company, president of the Five-Cents Savings Bank and of the National Exchange Bank. He died September 27, 1879.

HENRY KEMBLE OLIVER was the eighteenth mayor, serving in 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880. He was born in Beverly, November 24, 1800; graduated at Harvard in 1818. He was a school-teacher in Salem from 1819 to 1844; was the first master of the English High School; afterwards opened a private school for boys and, later, a school for young ladies. He was interested in military matters, and was adjutant-general from 1844 to 1848. Elected agent of the Atlantic Cotton Mills, at Lawrence, he removed to that city in 1848; mayor of Lawrence in 1859; agent of the Board of Education in 1858 and 1859; State treasurer from 1861 to 1866; chief of the State Bureau for Labor for some years. He possessed great knowledge of the art of music, and composed numerous excellent Psalm tunes, such as "Federal Street," "Merton," etc.; published a few years ago a collection entirely of his own compositions; was made one of the judges of musical instruments at the Centennial Exhibition, in Philadelphia, in 1876. He was also well versed in mathematics and astronomy. In short, he was a man of very varied talents and accomplishments. He died at Salem, after a long illness, August 12, 1885, and had a public funeral from the North Church, of which he had long been a member, and was formerly the organist.

WILLIAM MILLETT HILL was the nineteenth mayor (1883 and 1884), and was born in Salem, August 16, 1831. He was a currier by trade; a Democrat in politics; was president of the Common Council from 1873 to January 14, 1875, when he was appointed city marshal, which office he held until 1877, after which he was appointed upon the State detective force.

ARTHUR LORD HUNTINGTON was the twentieth mayor, and served in 1885. He was the son of the Hon. Asahel Huntington, a former mayor, and was born in Salem August 12, 1848; graduated at Harvard in 1870; a lawyer by profession. He was president of the Common Council in 1877 and 1878.

JOHN MARSHALL RAYMOND was the twenty-first mayor, elected December 8, 1885, and again in December, 1886, and is the present incumbent. He was born June 16, 1852, and is a graduate of the Boston University.

The following is a tabulated list of mayors:

Leverett Saltonstall.....	From 1836 to 1838
Stephen G. Phillips.....	" 1838 " 1842
Stephen P. Webb.....	" 1842 " 1846
Joseph S. Cabot.....	" 1846 " 1849
Nathaniel Silsbee, Jr.....	" 1849 " 1851
David Pingree.....	" 1851 " 1852

Charles W. Upham.....	From 1852 to 1853
Asahel Huntington.....	" 1853 " 1854
Joseph Andrews.....	" 1854 " 1856
William S. Messervy.....	" 1856 " 1858
Nathaniel Silsbee, Jr. (re-elected).....	" 1858 " 1860
Stephen P. Webb (re-elected).....	" 1860 " 1863
Stephen G. Wheatland.....	" 1863 " 1865
Joseph B. F. Osgood.....	" 1865 " 1866
David Roberts.....	" 1866 " 1867
William Cogswell.....	" 1867 " 1870
Nathaniel Brown.....	" 1870 " 1872
Samuel Calley.....	" 1872 " 1873
William Cogswell (re-elected).....	" 1873 " 1875
Henry L. Williams.....	" 1875 " 1877
Henry K. Oliver.....	" 1877 " 1880
Samuel Calley (re-elected).....	" 1880 " 1882
William M. Hill.....	" 1882 " 1884
Arthur L. Huntington.....	" 1884 " 1885
John M. Raymond.....	" 1885

PRESIDENTS OF THE COMMON COUNCIL.

John Glen King (H. U., 1807), lawyer.....	1836-37
Richard S. Rogers, merchant.....	1838
John Russell, president Bank of General Interest.....	1839-41
Joshua H. Ward (H. U., 1829), lawyer and judge.....	1842-44
David Putnam, dry-goods merchant.....	1844
Joseph G. Sprague, cashier Naumkeag Bank.....	1846-47
Jona. C. Perkins (Amherst, 1832), lawyer and judge.....	1848
Benjamin Wheatland (H. U., 1810), treasurer Newmarket Company.....	1849-51
John Whipple, cabinet-maker.....	1852-53
Daniel Potter, blacksmith and deputy sheriff.....	1854-55
John Webster, treasurer Newmarket Company.....	1856
William C. Endicott (H. U., 1847), lawyer and justice Supreme Judicial Court, present Secretary of War, (1887).....	1857
Stephen B. Ives, bookseller.....	1858
Henry L. Williams, merchant.....	1859
James H. Battis, cigar manufacturer.....	1860
Stephen G. Wheatland (H. U., 1844), lawyer.....	1861-62
William G. Chonto (H. U., 1852), lawyer.....	1863-64
Gilbert L. Streeter, editor and bank officer.....	1865, '70-73
Charles S. Osgood, lawyer, deputy collector and register of deeds.....	1866-69
William M. Hill, currier.....	1873-75
George W. Williams, clerk.....	1876
George H. Hill, druggist.....	1876
Arthur L. Huntington (H. U., 1870), lawyer.....	1877-78
William A. Hill, leather dealer.....	1879-80
John M. Raymond, lawyer.....	1881-82
William Leonard, shoe dealer.....	1883
Charles H. Ingalls, manufacturer.....	1884
John Robinson, treasurer Peabody Academy.....	1885-86
William E. Meade, locomotive engineer.....	1887

PRESENT CITY GOVERNMENT (1887).

Mayor.

JOHN M. RAYMOND.

Aldermen.

John H. Batchelder, president.

George A. Collins.	George W. Varney.
William L. Hyde.	Oliver D. Way.
William S. McIntire.	Urban R. Williams.

President of Common Council.

William E. Meade.

City Clerk. City Treasurer. Water Board.

Henry M. Mook. F. A. Nowell. Alonzo H. Smith, president.

City Solicitor.

Forrest L. Evans.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

JOHN ENDICOTT.

John Endicott was born in Dorchester, England, in 1588. In 1623 a company known as the Dorchester Company established a colony at Cape Ann, near what is now Gloucester. This colony consisted of about fifty men, under the leadership of Roger Conant, and not long afterward removed to Naumkeag (now Salem). The Dorchester Company was organized by Rev. John White, of Dorchester, who, in response to letters from Conant favoring a permanent settlement, wrote to him that if he and John Woodbury, John Balch and Peter Palfray would remain at Naumkeag, he would, as soon as possible, obtain a patent and forward more men and supplies. In accordance with this promise, Mr. White obtained a patent from the Council for New England, dated March 19, 1628, conveying to six persons—Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, John Humphrey, Thomas Southcote, John Endicott and Simon Whitcomb—a tract of country described as "that part of New England lying between three miles north of the Merrimac, and three miles to the south of the Charles River, and of every part thereof in the Massachusetts Bay; and in length between the described breadth from the Atlantic to the South Sea." Some changes were afterwards made in the list of grantees by the retirement of Roswell, Young and Southcote, and the substitution of Sir Richard Saltonstall and others in their places.

Under this patent, John Endicott, described as "a man of dauntless courage, benevolent, though austere, firm, though choleric, of a rugged nature, which his stern principles of non-conformity had not served to mellow," was sent out from England, and arrived, with his wife and a band of emigrants, in the ship "Abigail" at Salem September 6, 1628. He had been appointed in England Governor of the plantation, while Matthew Cradock had been chosen Governor of the Massachusetts Company in London. After his arrival in New England the English Company applied for a charter, which might give them authority to establish a government within the territory granted to them by the Council for New England. The charter was granted and passed the seal March 4, 1629. This charter created a corporation under the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." In 1630 John Winthrop, as Governor under the charter, assumed control of the colony, having arrived in June of that year. At the first meeting of the Court of Assistants, held at Charlestown August 23, 1630, it was ordered "that the Governor and Deputy-Governor for the time being shall always be justices of the peace, and that Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Endicott and Mr. Ludlowe shall be justices of the peace for the present time, in all things to have like power that justices of the peace hath in England for reformation

of abuses and punishing of offenders." On the 7th of September, 1630, he took his seat as one of the assistants, and occupied that position many years. In 1636 he was appointed one of the magistrates to hold the Salem Court, and in the same year colonel of the regiment composed of the militia of the towns of Salem, Saugus, Ipswich and Newbury. In 1637 he was chosen "to be one of the standing consell for the term of his life," and in 1641 was chosen Deputy-Governor.

In 1644 he was chosen Governor and removed to Boston, and served almost continuously in that office until his death in Boston March 15, 1665. In 1645 he was made sergeant major-general, the highest military officer in the colony, and in 1652 established a mint, which was engaged in coinage more than thirty years. He was a man of good education, of fearless disposition and determined will. Whatever credit may be due to others in the successful establishment of the Massachusetts colony, it may be reasonably doubted whether his presence and influence were not essential parts of the great whole, which gave it a permanent life.

SIR RICHARD SALTONSTALL.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was born in Halifax, England, in 1586, and died in England about 1658. He was one of the grantees under the patent from the Council for New England, obtained by Rev. John White in behalf of the colony at Naumkeag, established under the leadership of Roger Conant. In the charter to the Massachusetts Company, which passed the seal March 4, 1629, he was the first named of the eighteen assistants provided for in that instrument, and came to New England with Winthrop in 1630. In March, 1635-36, he had a grant of one hundred acres of land in Watertown, and in June, 1641, a grant of five hundred acres "below Springfield." He finally returned to England, having previously revisited it in 1631. In 1644 he was in Holland, and there the portrait of him now in the possession of his descendants was painted. Breadth of mind and a liberal spirit were his marked characteristics, and have been inherited by the successive generations of his descendants. In 1651, in a letter to Rev. John Wilson and Rev. John Cotton, he lamented the narrow spirit of persecution prevailing in the colony, and urged upon them the exhibition of kindlier and more charitable judgment and treatment of those who had been subjected to persecution.

Sir Richard is spoken of more in detail in the sketch of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem, in the chapter on the Bench and Bar, and in that sketch may be found a full statement of his family and ancestry.

JOSEPH PEABODY.

Joseph Peabody was born in Middleton, in Essex County, which was made up of parts of Salem, Topsfield, Boxford and Andover, and incorporated June



FIRST GOVERNOR



OF MASSACHUSETTS

By Order and to the Honorable
Jo. Endecott



Ferdinand II

AD 1644 Aged 58

BW 500b 00

Rev. Salmons

20, 1728. His birthday was the 9th of December, 1757. He was descended from Francis Peabody, who came from St. Albans, Hertfordshire, England, in 1635, and was one of the earliest settlers of Topsfield. The American ancestor was doubtless a farmer, as were all his descendants in the line of Joseph Peabody, the subject of this sketch, down to himself. Indeed, it may be said that he, too, began the life of a farmer, for after his common-school education, not until he was eighteen years of age did he leave his father's farm to seek a fortune in the busy world.

It is probable that the popular excitement which attended the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and the adventurous spirit which they would naturally develop, inspired that departure from the ways of his father which led him to a life of activity and finally to wealth.

It is said that when the British march on Lexington became known, though too young to be enrolled in the militia, Mr. Peabody joined the Buxford company as a volunteer, but arrived at the scene of action too late to take part in the battle. The subsequent draft of his brother-in-law into the army obliged him to take his place on the farm, and with a reluctant hand he toiled in uncongenial work until the end of his brother's campaign.

As soon as circumstances would permit, however, he went to Salem at the age of eighteen, and joined, probably as sailor, the privateer "Bunker Hill," belonging to E. H. Derby, of that town. After his recovering from a fever which afflicted him after his first cruise, he joined, probably as an officer, the privateer "Pilgrim," belonging to G. and A. Cabot. The second cruise, unlike the first, was successful and resulted in the capture of a British merchantman deeply laden and strongly armed, which Mr. Peabody, as prize-master, took into Thomaston, Me. A second cruise in the "Pilgrim" proving a failure in consequence of a storm, in which the vessel was dismantled, Mr. Peabody spent a year on shore acquiring that instruction and knowledge to which, more than any previous instruction, his future success was due. He pursued his studies during the year with Rev. Elias Smith, of Middleton, a man both of scholarship and of varied general knowledge.

In the month of August, 1778, he enlisted in the Middleton militia when they were called for to join General Sullivan in Rhode Island and aid in his attempt to rescue Newport from the British, and on his return from that unsuccessful expedition he made a voyage to Gottenburg in the letter of marque "Rambler." He next sailed as prize-master in the privateer "Fishhawk," commanded by Captain Foster, and was captured by a British man-of-war which Captain Foster had mistaken for a merchantman. After a short imprisonment at St. John, Newfoundland, he returned to Boston and, with the determination to abandon privateering, sailed as second officer in the letter of marque "Ranger," owned by Henry Sargent, of Bos-

ton, Henry Gardner and Ward & Chipman, of Salem. On this voyage a cargo of salt was carried from Salem to Richmond and a cargo of flour from Alexandria to Havana. He was now twenty-five years of age. On the next voyage a cargo of flour was shipped at Alexandria, and while lying at anchor at the mouth of the Potomac, the "Ranger" was surprised in the night by a party of American Loyalists, and only by the bravery of the master and crew and the gallantry of Mr. Peabody did she escape capture. In the engagement Mr. Peabody was severely wounded, and on the return of his vessel to Alexandria to refit, a boarding pike, richly mounted with silver and bearing a suitable inscription, was presented to him by the merchants of that place in recognition of his gallant conduct in the battle.

On account of the wounds received by Captain Simmons, of the "Ranger," the voyage was further prosecuted under the command of the first officer, and Mr. Peabody was promoted to his place. On her return from Curacoa the vessel was chased thirty-six hours by a man-of-war, but escaped into Havana, and soon returned to Salem.

After the declaration of peace Mr. Peabody was given command of a vessel owned by the Messrs. Gardner, of Salem, and was dispatched to St. Martin's from which port he sailed for Alexandria. There he was attacked by small-pox and obliged to abandon his command. On his return to Salem his earnings enabled him to purchase the schooner "Three Friends" and taking command, he made repeated voyages to the West Indies and Europe. For several years he thus acted in the double capacity of captain and merchant, assiduously pursuing the advantages which the revival of trade after the Revolution afforded, and laying firm and deep, not only by the accumulation of capital, but by a valuable commercial education, the foundations of his future wealth.

He retired from the sea in 1791, when thirty-four years of age, and married in that year Catherine Smith, the daughter of the minister of Middleton, under whose care a portion of his education was conducted. In two years his wife died, and in 1795 he married her sister, Elizabeth, with whom he led a happy life of nearly fifty years. From this time forward, with the knowledge he had acquired, in the various ports he had visited, of the methods and opportunities of profitable trade, his business rapidly increased. With his business he increased the number of his vessels, and during his whole career built eighty-three ships, which he largely freighted himself, and for which, at different times, he shipped more than seven thousand seamen. After the year 1811 he promoted to captaincies thirty-five who had entered his employ as boys. It is stated that in these vessels, before the War of 1812, thirty-eight voyages were made to Calcutta, seventeen to Canton, thirty-two to Sumatra, forty-seven to St. Petersburg, ten to other northern European ports and twenty to the Mediterranean.

The West Indies, the Spanish Main and the northwest coast came also within the range of his enterprises.

The business of Mr. Peabody always had Salem for its headquarters, and from and to that port all his vessels sailed, and from there was distributed in coasting vessels the merchandise which they had brought from all parts of the world. His ships were built and equipped there, and it may be easily imagined how much employment he gave to his townsmen and how largely he promoted the prosperity and growth of the town.

At various times he had as partners in business Mr. Thomas Perkins, who sailed with him in his early privateering voyages, and Mr. Gideon Tucker, both of whom, though men of great business capacity, reaped abundantly the benefit of the master-mind of their partner.

The career of Mr. Peabody sufficiently indicates, without a definite analysis, his character. To have accomplished it he must necessarily have possessed certain qualities, without which it would have been a failure instead of a remarkable success. His temperament was cool, his judgment was unerring, his estimate of men was almost infallible. He was cautious and careful in making his calculations and reaching conclusions, but his calculations when made were always correct and from his conclusions no argument or obstacles could swerve him. But underlying and supplementing all his qualities as a business man was the experience of his early life at the lowest round in the commercial ladder, which made his steady progress comparatively easy and sure.

Mr. Peabody died on the 5th of January, 1844, at the age of eighty-six years. His widow died on the 28th of February, 1854, at the age of eighty-seven years.

COL. FRANCIS PEABODY.

Colonel Francis Peabody was the son of Joseph Peabody, of Salem, and a lineal descendant from Lieutenant Francis Peabody, of St. Albans, Hertfordshire, England, born in 1614, who came to New England in the ship "Planter" in 1635 and first settled in Ipswich. In 1638 Lieutenant Francis Peabody removed to Hampton, in the old county of Norfolk, but in or about the year 1650 took up his permanent residence in Top-field. He married Mary, daughter of Reginald Foster, and had children.

Joseph, one of his descendants, was born Dec. 12, 1757, whose sketch is included in this volume; married, first, August 28, 1791, Catherine, and second, October 24, 1795, Elizabeth, daughters of Rev. Elias Smith, of Middleton.

Colonel Francis Peabody, one of the sons of Joseph, born December 7, 1801, was placed, at ten years of age, in Dummer Academy, at Byfield, under the care of Rev. Abiel Abbott. At the age of twelve he was placed in a select private school kept by Jacob Newman Knapp, in Brighton, where he remained

four years. Here ended his academic education. His predilection for scientific pursuits was so strong that a collegiate career was abandoned, and his time and energies were devoted to the study of mechanics and chemistry. In 1820, at the age of eighteen, he took passage in the ship "Augustus," belonging to his father, to Russia to re-establish his health, which had been seriously impaired by a fever which, during its ravages, threatened his life and had left him somewhat enfeebled. From Cronstadt, the port of destination, Mr. Peabody made a tour into the interior of Russia and returned home in the "Augustus" with renewed health and a zeal for his chosen work strengthened and matured. During the next two winters he attended courses of scientific lectures in Boston and Philadelphia, in the latter city forming an acquaintance with the distinguished scientist, Dr. Hare, which proved of special benefit to him in his course of study.

Nor was his enthusiasm confined to scientific pursuits. His attention was turned to military matters, and as whatever subject he applied his mind to he studied with earnestness and easily mastered, he was soon in command of a battalion of artillery and was rapidly promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy of a regiment. In 1825 he was transferred to the infantry as colonel of the First Regiment, First Brigade, Second Division of the Massachusetts Militia, and ever afterwards bore the title which he then acquired. Hon. Charles W. Upham, an intimate and devoted friend of Colonel Peabody, in a memoir, to which the writer of this sketch is indebted for much of its material, says that, "having exhausted the activities of a military life, it had no charms for Francis Peabody, and he forthwith gave himself back to his predominating tastes and to the inexhaustible satisfactions they afforded him. Yielding again and now once for all to the spirit of the place, he renewed his philosophical and inventive operations and engaged in branches of business, manufacturing and commercial, to which they led him, remaining always on hand, however, to bear his part in movements for the general welfare."

Colonel Peabody was among the first to introduce the system of public lectures on scientific and literary subjects, which did so much to instruct the last generation and spread intelligence among the people. In 1828 he gave a free course of lectures in Franklin Hall, in Salem, on the history and uses of the steam-engine, and the next season gave a similar course in Concert Hall, in the same city, on electricity. These lectures awakened in the community a sense of the value of knowledge, which took form in the establishment of lyceums not only in Essex County, but throughout the commonwealth.

Colonel Peabody had, in 1826, connected himself with the establishment of the business of the "Forest River Lead Company," but in 1833 he built the paper-mills in Middleton. At a later date he began on an extended scale the business of refining sperm and



Francis Penbody

Francis Penbody

Dwight F. Pickman.

right whale oil and the manufacture of candles, and also erected at Middleton linseed oil mills. As Mr. Upham says, "The application of science to practical and useful arts was not only the unwearied labor, but the happy entertainment of his life." The establishments projected by him were carried on by machinery which owed their perfection to his inventive skill.

He was a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and during many visits to Europe made it his business as well as pleasure "to explore whatever illustrated the application of philosophical principles to the useful arts." His services in the introduction of aluminium in dentistry and in the preparation and use of flax are well known to persons of the last generation interested in these branches of science and industry.

In 1865 Colonel Peabody succeeded Asahel Huntington as president of the Essex Institute and continued in office until his death, which occurred October 31, 1867. On the 7th of July, 1823, he married Martha, daughter of Samuel Endicott, the seventh in descent from John Endicott, the governor of the plantation in Essex, and had children.

This inadequate sketch of the career of Colonel Peabody suggests the prevailing traits in his character. He inherited wealth, but neither permitted it to lessen his activities and paralyze his usefulness nor used it for display or personal aggrandizement. The diffusion of knowledge, the elevation of public taste, the establishment of pure morality, the happiness of his home and the prosperity of his children were the ends he sought, and to these ends he lavishly devoted his time and means. He was universally respected and beloved by the community in which he lived, and the memory of his warm heart, his open hand, his cheerful spirit, his unsullied purity, his untarnished integrity and his irreproachable life is still fresh in the homes of his native city.

DUDLEY LEAVITT PICKMAN

Was born in Salem on the 4th day of May, 1779. He was the fifth in descent from Benjamin Pickman, who came to Salem from Bristol, England, about the year 1666. His grandfather, also named Benjamin, was a successful and public-spirited merchant, and it was he who built and occupied the fine old house on Essex Street, next to the present East India Marine Hall. William, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a man much respected and esteemed, although, being a younger son, he inherited but little wealth. Washington appointed him naval officer of the port of Salem, which position he held twelve years, until, on the election of Jefferson, he was removed to give place to a Democrat. He married a daughter of the Rev. Dudley Leavitt, minister of the Tabernacle Church, in Salem. Mrs. Leavitt was a sister of that sturdy old Federalist, Colonel Timothy Pickering. William's eldest son, a young man of

great promise, bearing his father's name, was lost at sea, and his only daughter, Elizabeth, married Daniel Abbott, a distinguished lawyer of Dunstable, (afterwards Nashua), New Hampshire. The second son, Dudley Leavitt Pickman, after receiving a common-school education, was for a time clerk in his father's department at the Custom-House; then, like so many of his fellow-townsmen, he followed the sea for about ten years, acting as supercargo and agent for several well-known commercial houses in Boston and Salem. Soon after the War of 1812 he commenced business in Salem, associated with the brothers Nathaniel, William and Zachariah F. Silsbee and Robert Stone. This partnership continued for more than thirty years. Their business was extensive, and their vessels made voyages to all quarters of the world. They were among the first to engage in the trade with Zanzibar and Madagascar, since so successfully carried on from Salem, but their principal business was with Sumatra, Java and the Philippine Islands. The ship "Endeavour," owned by them, was built by Christopher Turner, near Frye's Mills, in Salem. The brig "Persia," which was afterwards lost on Eastern Point, Cape Ann, with all on board, was launched from near Phillips' Wharf, and the ship "Borneo" from South Salem. The "Friendship," another of their vessels, was attacked by Malay pirates off the coast of Sumatra, and after the first officer and several of the crew had been killed, was captured and plundered. In addition to foreign commerce, Mr. Pickman took a strong interest in manufacturing enterprises. Unlike most of the merchants of that time, who were free traders, Mr. Pickman was an early advocate of a protective tariff, believing that the introduction of manufacturing industries was of vital importance to the prosperity of the country. He was a member of each of the companies which purchased the land and water-power where the cities of Lowell, Manchester and Lawrence now stand, and also a large stockholder in many of the early cotton and woolen-mills in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Later, he took the same strong interest in railroads, then a novelty and an experiment. Probably, in the records of a majority of the railroads first built in New England his name would be found as an original subscriber.

He performed valuable services in the Massachusetts Legislature, to both branches of which he was several times elected, though not a seeker after political office. Always ready to give his time and service to public or charitable institutions, the unfortunate and needy were sure to find in him a willing friend. In politics an ardent Federalist and great admirer of Alexander Hamilton, he acted, after the extinction of that party, with the National Republicans and Whigs.

He was an active member of the North Church of Salem, and took a deep interest in the rise and spread of Unitarianism, many of the clergymen of

that denomination being among his most valued friends. Strong good sense, sound judgment, great clearness of perception and statement were his most striking characteristics. Eminently just and honorable in all his dealings and despising everything false or tricky, he was nevertheless a man of strong prejudices, but he did not allow them to betray him into injustice. Mr. Pickman was not only an accomplished merchant, familiar with everything relating to accounts, the laws and usages of insurance, banking and exchanges, but extensive reading, aided by an excellent memory, had given him a vast fund of general information, particularly on historical and geographical subjects and the politics of Europe and this country, as well as a good knowledge of the best English and French literature. He was a large man physically, fully six feet two inches in height, of striking presence, with a fine head and expansive forehead, indicating decided brain-power. His manners had all the dignity and courtesy of the old school. The brick house on the corner of Chestnut and Pickering Streets, built in 1819, was occupied by him until his death, which occurred in 1846. He was married, in 1810, to Catherine, daughter of Thomas Sanders, of Salem. Three children survived him: Catherine Sanders, married to Richard S. Fay, of Boston; Elizabeth Leavitt, to Richard S. Rogers, of Salem; and William Dudley, to Caroline, daughter of Zachariah F. Silsbee, of Salem.

A son of the last, born in Salem in 1850, and a grandson, born at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1885, both bear the name of Dudley Leavitt Pickman.

RICHARD S. ROGERS.

Richard Saltonstall Rogers was born in Salem January 13, 1790, and was a lineal descendant, not from John Rogers, the martyr, as has been supposed by some, but from another John Rogers, a contemporary of the martyr, living in another part of England. This John Rogers had two sons,—the Rev. Richard Rogers, of Weathersfield, and John, who lived in Chelmsford. The latter son, John, was the father of Rev. John Rogers, of Dedham, England, who was the father of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, who was born in Haverhill, England, in 1598, came to New England in 1636, and was settled at Ipswich in 1637. The Rev. Nathaniel Rogers married Margaret Crane, and was the father of Rev. John Rogers, of Ipswich, born in Coggeshall, England, in 1630, who graduated at Harvard College in 1649, and was its president from April 10, 1682, until his death, July 2, 1684. The Rev. John Rogers, the president, married Elizabeth Dennison, and was the father of another Rev. John Rogers, of Ipswich, who was born in Ipswich in 1666, and graduated at Harvard in 1684. The last John married Martha Whittingham, and was the father of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, of Ipswich, born September 22, 1701, and a graduate at Harvard in 1721.

The Rev. Nathaniel Rogers married, first, December 25, 1728, Mary, daughter of John Leverett, president of Harvard College, and widow of Colonel John Denison, of Ipswich, and second, Mary, daughter of Thomas Burnam, and the widow of Daniel Staniford. By his second wife he had Nathaniel, born March 11, 1762, and a graduate at Harvard in 1782. The last Nathaniel married Abigail, daughter of Colonel Abraham Dodge, and had Nathaniel Leverett, August 6, 1785, who married, October 24, 1813, Harriet, daughter of Aaron Wait, of Salem; John Whittingham, who married Austin, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Pickman, of Salem; Richard S., the subject of this sketch, January 13, 1790; William Augustus, who graduated at Harvard in 1811; and Daniel Dennison, who died in infancy.

About the year 1790, after the birth of his two oldest children, Nathaniel Rogers removed from Ipswich to Salem. Richard Saltonstall, with his brothers, was educated at the common schools, and in early manhood entered with energy and enthusiasm upon a business career. At that time Jerathmael Peirce, the father of Benjamin Peirce, librarian of Harvard College from 1826 to 1831, and grandfather of the late Benjamin Peirce, professor of astronomy and mathematics at Harvard, was, with Aaron Wait, under the firm name of Wait & Peirce, largely engaged in Salem in the foreign trade. Nathaniel Leverett Rogers, the oldest brother of Richard, married, in 1813, Harriet, the daughter of Mr. Wait, and through his influence Richard obtained large consignments of merchandise to Russia, and spent several years in that country engaged in the management of the affairs of that enterprising house. In 1816 he sailed as supercargo in the ship "Friendship," belonging to the same house, on a voyage to Lisbon and Calcutta, and after successive voyages in that capacity, and one voyage on the ship "Tartar," as master, he, with his next oldest brother, John Whittingham Rogers, was taken into partnership by his oldest brother, Nathaniel Leverett Rogers, who had already established himself at Salem in foreign trade, under the name of Rogers Brothers. The three brothers, all of whom were quick-sighted, quick-witted and quick to act where shrewd calculation and clear judgment led the way, started at once on a career which, during twenty years, overcame every obstacle in the way of its success.

The older readers of this sketch will remember the vessels in their employ and the captains who commanded them,—the "Grotius," "Augustus," "Tybee," "Clay," "Nereus," "Quill" and "Charles Daggett," will be recognized as names of vessels of which not a timber-head remains, while the names of their masters—Woodbury, Ward, Skerry, Neal, Farley, Vanderford, Kinsman, Lamson, King, Mugford, Bowditch, Brookhouse and Drevin—only recall the past and its busy days of active commercial life. With these ships and masters the Rogers Brothers



Ruf. G. Ross

By A. H. Ritchie

John Perkins

were the pioneers in the Zanzibar and New Holland trades, and besides numerous voyages to South America and various European ports, there were performed by them more than one hundred and twenty voyages around either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope.

Those who are familiar with the facilities which ocean cables afford to the merchant who sends his ship to-day into distant seas find it difficult to appreciate the judgment and skill and heroic courage without which no man could successfully engage in foreign commerce fifty years ago. Now the owner communicates with his master in every port, and orders are postponed to meet the exigencies as they arise. Then a one or two or three years' voyage was planned at the start, and its successful termination was a triumph of business skill. Of this skill the Rogers Brothers were largely the possessors and until unexpected and undeserved reverses met them, in 1842, their career was smooth and prosperous.

But the reverses were not sufficient to discourage or depress Mr. Rogers. He met them with the same undaunted courage which he had always exhibited when perils threatened and disaster was nigh. He again adopted the occupation of his early life and sailed as supercargo to Australia in the ship "Ianthé," Captain Woodbury, opening with hope a new chapter in his life. He afterwards became engaged in commerce to some extent with his brother-in-law, W. D. Pickman, of Salem and Boston, and never permitted himself, as long as health and strength remained to fall away from active and absorbing pursuits.

Mr. Rogers married, May 14, 1822, Sarah G., daughter of Hon. Jacob Crowninshield, and had William Crowninshield; Richard Denison, who married Martha Endicott, daughter of Colonel Francis Peabody; Jacob Crowninshield, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Francis Peabody; Sarah and George, who died early; and Arthur Saltonstall. He married, second, March 17, 1847, Elizabeth L., daughter of Hon. Dudley L. Pickman, of Salem, and had Dudley Pickering; George Willoughby, who married Josephine Lord, of Peabody; and Elizabeth P., who married Mr. Pound, and resides in England.

Mr. Rogers was a man who never sought popularity nor office. His individuality was strong, his opinions were his own and not easily changed, his will was indomitable, and for many years his influence in political and civil life was marked. He was at various times a member of the Common Council of Salem and of the Legislature, but the methods of modern politicians were distasteful to him and he had no ambition to keep them company. He died June 11, 1873, at Salem, at the ripe age of eighty-three years.

CAPTAIN JOHN BERTRAM.

Among the names which Salem holds in loving and lasting remembrance, there are few, if any, which are

more highly esteemed than that of John Bertram. He was a notable representative of a class of men who, as civilization advances, grow more and more important in their influence upon society. In a business age like our own, a great merchant is pre-eminently a factor of force. He and his work touch the community at an infinite number of points. His honest successes are an inspiration to the multitude of workers, the patience and industry by which he wins his wealth and standing are a rebuke to the idlers who take life easily and hope to find short cuts to fortune, his methods are suggestive and healthful, and his history is a school book for beginners to study. In the record of human activities there is nothing finer than the story of the career of a truly great and honorable merchant.

And both as a great and honorable merchant John Bertram was exceptionally eminent. He owed nothing to fortune. Born in humble circumstances with no friends to push him, and no capital with which to begin the world, he shouldered himself to the first rank of successful business men by sheer force of will and patient endurance. He first saw the light in the Isle of Jersey, February 11, 1796. His family were residents of the Parish of St. Saviour, to which parish his ancestry as far back as he was able to trace it had always belonged. The Bertram family belonged to the middle class, in the somewhat peculiar society of the unique island which is both French and English. The ancient parish church is still standing, and in later life Mr. Bertram had the pleasure of revisiting the very locality where, as a boy, he had played, and of entering again the old church in whose very shadow he had perhaps in his earlier years nursed ambitions and hopes that were to be realized in his later life. Beyond question, that old church and its surroundings had something to do with imparting a permanent tinge to his thoughts and feelings, for through a long life he showed a profound reverence for and interest in religious matters, and a sketch of the old church procured in his later years was one of the most highly esteemed of his household treasures.

The family came to America in 1807, and settled in Salem. Like all adventurous Salem boys of that day, John conceived a grand passion for the sea. The shop where he worked was within hearing of the lapping of the waves, and through the windows he could catch sight of the lines of masts and the white gleam of the canvass and the songs of the sailors outward or homeward bound, seemed to invite him to become a wanderer on the ocean. At last a decision was reached, and in December, 1812, Captain Bertram, then sixteen years old, shipped for his first voyage on board a vessel bound for Alexandria and Lisbon, rated on the ship's lists as a "boy" with a pay of five dollars a month. Then came the exciting times of the War of 1812, and after his return from his first voyage he followed the adventurous life of a privateer

until he found himself a prisoner on board the prison ship "Alicant," at Bermuda, and in 1815 one of the unhappy captives confined in the prison ship at Plymouth, England.

The close of the war released Captain Bertram from his captivity, and he found himself at home again, with very little to show for his years of hard service. But the boy's romance had become the purpose of the man, and he was soon afloat again, serving in vessel after vessel, voyaging to all parts of the world, rising from grade to grade, until he found himself in command, retiring from the hard life of the sea in 1832, after twenty years of tasking and faithful service. From thence on he continued in the ordinary routine of commercial business until 1848, when the discovery of gold in California set the world on fire. Captain Bertram was quick to discern the value of this new opening for business, and sent out the first vessel from the States after the discovery of gold, and the third vessel which arrived from any port. He, with others, subsequently built a number of ships for the trade, most of them clippers, some of them very large. From 1852 to 1858 he gradually narrowed the range of his commercial business, until at last he confined it to trade in the Indian seas. In 1856 he became interested in Western railroads, and carried into the new business the same energy and caution and foresight which had characterized him in other departments of activity. There, as elsewhere, his ability commanded success, and his faculty for organization enabled him to spend his last years with his business so well in hand, that he was free from anxiety and relieved from overburdensome labor. At the same time he did not intermit his vigilance. Useful occupation was his delight, and he devoutly believed that if a man wished to be well served, he must serve himself. His quiet office was an observatory, whose windows looked north, south, east and west, and he kept watch of what was going on that concerned him, both on the far shores of Zanzibar and beyond the roll of the Mississippi. Wherever the business was the man was, to plan and oversee and superintend.

Perhaps the most notable thing about Captain Bertram—certainly the thing by which he will be longest and most lovingly remembered—was his open-handedness. He was no importunate creditor in the transaction of business. The number of obligations due him, which were cancelled without payment, will never appear upon the open record. Impatient as he might be at any attempt to defraud him, intolerant as he was of all shiftlessness and extravagance, yet when misfortune overtook his debtors, they had nothing to fear from him. Instead of being their persecutor, demanding the pound of flesh nominated in the bond, he was sure to become their helper. He took especial interest in young men in their early business struggles, and was ready to assist them, both with advice, which, however valuable, is cheap, and

also with financial aid, which most men do not furnish so readily. He had been young himself, and knew all the perplexities of beginnings, and, out of his own experience, caught the impulse to save others from what he had suffered himself.

And this open-handedness was not a matter of selfish calculation. It came out of large-heartedness. This business consideration was supplemented by most munificent liberality. During the dark days of the War of the Rebellion he was a most intense patriot, in purse as well as profession. The wants of the soldiers never plead with him in vain, and he often anticipated the cry for help before it was uttered. The records of the Grand Army show that this generous interest was not a momentary enthusiasm. To the close of his life he kept in mind the needs and the deserts of the defenders of the Union, and his unrecorded liberalities in their behalf were quite as numerous as his formal donations. The forlorn condition of the race whom the war liberated was constantly and pressingly present with him, and any plan for their elevation was sure to receive generous consideration at his hand; so that he made himself powerfully felt in the schools and educational movements undertaken in behalf of the freedmen. Soldiers and freedmen alike never lost a better friend than Mr. Bertram.

The needs of his own community made constant and large demands upon his sympathy. He was always ready to listen to a story of want, and no deserving applicant failed of a helping as well as a hearing. His generous instincts often foresaw the formal appeal for assistance. He kept a list, to which he was constantly adding new names, of needy families, to whom he annually sent supplies of fuel, and he left in trust to the city a large amount, the income of which was to be used year by year in providing wood and coal for the poor, and no nobler or more judicious legacy was ever made. Morning by morning his hand kindles the fires on scores of the hearthstones of the destitute, and his memory is kept alive by the gracious light and warmth in multitudes of the homes of poverty. A benefaction of that sort is a well-considered charity.

Captain Bertram's liberalities of this nature were numerous. His gifts to the Salem Hospital, his establishment of the Bertram Home for Aged Men, his legacy to the Children's Friends' Society were all on a munificent scale, and will go on doing a work of blessing for generations to come.

No other single citizen of Salem has done more for the good name and real welfare of the municipality than Captain John Bertram. His life was a striking illustration of the fact that wise and generous giving does not impoverish a man. The serene content of his old age was the result of a useful and unselfish life,—a forcible and instructive lesson to those whose highest ideal of living is a constant struggle for merely personal advantage. The tears of the hun-

dreds whom he had helped, that watered his grave when he was borne to his rest at the ripe term of eighty-six years, were the most satisfying tribute which any man can receive. The regret at his loss, with which his name is always spoken, is conclusive evidence that a useful and generous life is the fairest which any man can live. This is the true earthly immortality which is best worth the having.

So long as Salem is well spoken of by those who are acquainted with the ancient city, there will be coupled with its other claims to regard and renown the name of JOHN BERTRAM.

JACOB PUTNAM.

The late Jacob Putnam was one of the founders of the leather business in this vicinity. He was a man of a kindly nature, of indomitable energy and unflinching integrity, and possessed a large share of that intuitive knowledge of human nature which lies at the foundation of success in every vocation.

He was of English descent and traced his lineage back among the earliest settlers of this Commonwealth, to John Putnam, of Aylesbury, Buckingham County, England, who, with his wife and three sons, sailed from London, in 1631, for New England. He disembarked that same year in Boston, and, after a short stay in Charlestown, proceeded with his family to the then infant village of Salem, and here fixed his new place of abode. That he had been a man of note and had attained prominence in his native country is shown by the fact that a tract of land in Salem was now granted to him by the Crown for distinguished services rendered to the English government. Upon this tract he soon erected a house for himself and one also for each of his three sons, and devoted himself to the subjugation of the wilderness and the development and improvement of his new estate. His family increased and multiplied with the lapse of years, and by the achievements of many of its members the family name of Putnam has attained a deservedly high reputation both in the arts of peace and of war. The immediate descendants of this first emigrant were active, discreet and courageous men, fully alive to all the interests of the early settlers of New England and active and stirring in all the exciting struggles which marked our colonial history. They took part in all the combats with the Indians, at Bloody Brook, Brookfield, Lancaster and other now famous fights. The family soon attained prominence in Salem and, indeed, in the whole of Essex County, the sound judgment and vigorous integrity of its members making them fit leaders in all new enterprises, from the institution of a church to the prosecution of a business venture, and safe guides to wise decisions on the many knotty points that tasked the ingenuity of our ancestors as they laid broad and deep the foundations of our present commonwealth.

General Israel Putnam was from one of the branches

of this family; and his impetuous zeal and daring, which might have degenerated into audacity had it not been so shrewdly tempered with New England discretion, have been displayed in many other members of the family.

One of the sons of this John Putnam, the founder of the family, was Nathaniel, and through him, his son Benjamin, his grandson Stephen, and his great-grandson Stephen, the younger, a share of the ancestral estate originally granted by the Crown to John Putnam came to Jacob Putnam, the subject of this sketch, and fifth in the line of descent from the original settler. Jacob Putnam was born at Danvers November 17, 1780, near the close of the Revolutionary War, and grew up to manhood in Salem and in Danvers. He did not enjoy great opportunities of education, having to depend upon the common schools of his neighborhood for the slender education which he obtained from others. But his best education, as is not infrequently the case, was that which he owed to himself alone. He had inherited the traits of his ancestors in no small measure, and his good judgment and common sense enabled him always to be equal to the demands of any situation in which he found himself, and fully capable of carrying on an active business career. The same adventurous spirit which had found vent in the daring achievements of General Putnam led Jacob Putnam in his early manhood to seek fortune in maritime commerce; but his sound judgment soon persuaded him to settle down into the steady pursuits of a business life. In the year 1805 he made a trip to Calcutta in the good ship "Boston Packet," and was absent from his home for two years.

Upon his return to Salem from this voyage, in the year 1807, he established himself in the hide and leather business. This business he prosecuted in all its branches, dealing in hides, tanning, currying and marketing the finished product, extending his operations as opportunities offered, and always availing himself of whatever improvements were within his reach. He also engaged in the South American trade importing both hides and India rubber from that country. He was interested in the Sumatra trade and became a ship-owner and importer. He continued the active prosecution of his business until his death, which occurred January 18, 1866, when it passed to his youngest son, George F. Putnam, of Boston, the present proprietor.

Mr. Putnam's wife was the daughter of Captain James Silver, of Salem, an East India merchant.

Though Mr. Putnam held himself aloof from any political office, he was a highly public-spirited man, and always took a sagacious and intelligent interest in all matters relating to the improvement of his native city. His generous and kindly nature was also active in many directions, especially in private charities, for he had none of that vanity which seeks to make a public display of its benefactions; and his humane and kindly disposition was known by its

fruits to many a poor family, which had good reason to mourn his death.

Mr. Putnam was also a man of deep feeling of patriotism and eager to promote the welfare of his country. He served as a soldier in the War of 1812, doing duty on the sea-coast defenses at Salem, and serving the public and his country in other directions. He took a deep interest in the prosperity and success of the religious enterprises of his day, both in his native city and in the country at large, and contributed generously towards their support. He was interested in fostering everything that would promote the progress and prosperity of his community and of his country. A man of the highest probity and honor, his character was unstained, and he died respected and honored by all who knew him.

STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS.

Stephen Clarendon Phillips was descended from Rev. George Phillips, who was the son of Christopher Phillips, of Rainham, in the county of Norfolk, England. Rev. George Phillips was born in 1593, and was educated at Tittleshall. He entered Gouville & Cain's College, Cambridge, April 20, 1610, receiving the degree of A. B. 1613 and A. M. in 1617. He came to New England in the "Arbella" in 1630, and settled in Watertown, where he died. By a first wife, who was a Hayward, he had a son, Samuel, born in 1625, who graduated at Harvard in 1650, and succeeded Rev. Ezekiel Rogers as minister of Rowley. Samuel married, in 1651, Sarah, daughter of Samuel Appleton, a native of England, who was one of the first settlers of Ipswich. By a second wife (Elizabeth Welden) Rev. George Phillips had Zerobabel, February 5, 1632; Jonathan, October 19, 1633; Theophilus, April 28, 1636; Annible, October, 1637; Ephraim, 1640; Obadiah, 1641; and Abiel. Jonathan, one of these children, married, January 26, 1680, Sarah, daughter of Jeremiah Holland (Harvard College, 1645), was a schoolmaster and magistrate, and died at Watertown, his native place, in 1704. His children were Sarah, born September 14, 1682; Abigail, April 22, 1683; Jonathan, 1685; George, Nathaniel, Elizabeth, Ruth, Sarah and Hannah. Jonathan, one of these children, was born in Watertown, and married, February 27, 1717, Hepzibah, daughter of Stephen Parker, of that place. He removed, in 1719, to Marblehead, and, about 1740, to Newport, R. I., where he died. His children were Stephen, born July 18, 1718, Ruth and others. Stephen, one of these children, was born in Watertown, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Elkins, of Marblehead. He was a prominent man, deacon of the Congregational Church, and, in Revolutionary times, an ardent patriot and a member of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence. He died in Marblehead March 1, 1801. His children were Mary, born August 22, 1755; Elizabeth, November 28, 1757; Sarah, February 23, 1760; Stephen, November 13, 1764; Lydia, January

17, 1767; William, November 15, 1769. Stephen, one of these children, was born in Marblehead, and for some years was a ship-master in the employ of E. Hasket Derby, of Salem. About the year 1800 he removed to Salem, after which time he was engaged in commerce, except during the last few years of his life, when he spent his summers on his estate in North Danvers. Salem continued, however, to be his residence, and there he died October 19, 1838. He married Dorcas, daughter of Dudley and Dorcas (March) Woodbridge, of Salem, who died at Salem June 15, 1802.

Stephen Clarendon Phillips, the subject of this sketch, was the son of the last-named Stephen, and was born in Salem November 4, 1801. But the distinguished character of his ancestry is not confined to the family whose name he bore. Through his mother (Dorcas Woodbridge) he was descended from Rev. John Woodbridge, a follower of Wickliffe, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, whose son John braved the dangers of the same faith, as did a line of four direct descendants, all clergymen, and all named John. The last John, minister at Stanton Witta, in England, married Sarah, the daughter of Robert Parker, and sister of Thomas Parker, who came to New England and settled in Newbury in 1695. His son, Rev. John Woodbridge, came to New England in 1635, and died in Newbury, March 17, 1695. He married, in 1639, Mary, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, and thus the Dudley as well as the Woodbridge blood runs in the veins of the Phillips family. Nor is this all; Benjamin Woodbridge, son of the last Rev. John, and great-grandfather of Dorcas (Woodbridge) Phillips, married Mary, grand-daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, the author of the "Body of Liberties," adopted as a code of laws by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1641.

Mr. Phillips graduated at Harvard in 1819, and at once entered into active business as a merchant, and in 1822, at the age of twenty-one, was the head of a family, an extensive business man and Representative in the General Court. On the 6th of November in that year he married Jane Appleton, daughter of Willard Peele, of Salem, who died December 19, 1837. On the 3d of September, 1838, he married Margaret Mason Peele, sister of his first wife, who died at Salem July 15, 1883. The children of his first wife were Stephen Henry, born August 16, 1823, whose sketch may be found in the history of the Bench and Bar, in the second chapter of this work; Willard Peele, September 7, 1825, well known in recent years as one of the efficient and successful trustees and managers of the Eastern Railroad; George William, November 27, 1827 (Harvard, 1847); Henry Ware, August 19, 1829; Jane Peele, February 24, 1833; Margaret Peele and Catharine Peele (twins), June 30, 1835; and Abbott Lawrence, December 7, 1837. The children of his second wife were Walter Mason, May 26, 1839; Charles Appleton, January 30, 1841 (Har-



S. C. Phillips.



Engr'd by A.H. Wilson

C. Pratt Hunt



E. D. Kimball

vard, 1860); Edward Woodbridge, August 3, 1842; and Catharine, July 7, 1844.

Mr. Phillips was an ardent lover of his native city, a man of overflowing public spirit, and with a heart which beat with warm sympathy in response to the appeals of his neighbors and fellow-townsmen in behalf of all deserving enterprises and charities. The educational interests of Salem won his early and constant aid and support, and for many years he presided over the board which had them in charge. In 1830 he was chosen State Senator, and in 1834 was chosen in the place of Rufus Choate, who had resigned his seat, to represent the Essex South District in Congress. His duties in Washington were ably performed, and by his generous spirit, his thorough integrity, his business methods and his kindly deportment, he won the confidence and friendship of both political friends and foes. The regard in which he was held by his brother Representatives was well illustrated by Mr. Hardin, of Kentucky, whom Mr. Cushing described as "the gray-haired Nestor of the House, and its perpetually snarling Thersites," who, in a reply to a speech of Mr. Phillips, said that "if all the members of the House were like this gentleman from Massachusetts, God would never have repented that he made man."

After one re-election, in 1836, Mr. Phillips retired from Congress, and in 1839 was chosen to succeed Leverett Saltonstall as mayor of Salem. He held office three years, and on his retirement gave the amount of his entire salary to the city for the improvement of the building occupied by the Bowditch and Fisk Schools. In 1848 and 1849 he was the candidate of the Free-Soil party for Governor, and during those and succeeding years was an active participant in those movements which resulted in the organization of the Republican party.

During the last years of his life he was confronted by adversities in business, and though beyond middle age, with a hopeful spirit and an undaunted courage, of which younger men might well be proud, he set himself about to repair and rebuild his fortune. He engaged in extensive timber and lumber enterprises on the St. Maurice and Three Rivers, in Canada, where his third son, George William, was established for their care and supervision. After a visit to the field of his operations, in 1857, he took passage at Quebec in the steamer "Montreal," for Montreal, on Friday, the 26th of June, with the intention of returning home. On the same afternoon the steamer took fire, twelve or fifteen miles above Quebec, opposite Cape Rouge, and only about one hundred and fifty of the four hundred passengers on board were rescued. Among those who lost their lives was Mr. Phillips. His son sent news of the disaster to Salem by telegraph the next day, stating that his father's body had been recovered, and would reach Salem on the following Tuesday. At sunset on Saturday, after the receipt of the sad news, all the bells of the city were

tolled, and on Sunday appropriate allusions to the death of Mr. Phillips were made in all the churches, and the flags of the shipping and armories and engine-houses were displayed at half-mast. On Tuesday, June 30, the funeral took place at Barton Square Church, and the remains of him, whom the city regarded almost as its father and every man as his benefactor and friend, were consigned to the grave. The *Newburyport Herald* said: "With a fortune or without it, we do not know the man that Essex County could not as well have spared. He was one of nature's noblemen, and as an able, honest, sincere Christian man, added worth to the human race by belonging to it." And every reader of the *Herald* said Amen.

WILLIAM HUNT.

William Hunt was born in Salem April 25, 1804. He was in the fifth generation from Captain Lewis Hunt, who came from England and settled in Salem about 1660. His father's name was William. When a mere lad he was employed by Mr. Jonas Warren, in his store at Danversport. After remaining there a short time he entered as clerk in the store of Mr. Nathan Blood, on Derby Street, Salem, where he remained until 1823, when he was employed by Mr. Robert Brookhouse, who had recently commenced in the African trade. After a few years he was given an interest in the business, which was continued until the death of Mr. Brookhouse, in 1866. They transacted a very large business, which was extended to the interior of Africa, from whence they imported large quantities of palm oil, gold dust, ivory and hides. At one time they owned more than twenty ships and barques. After the death of Mr. Brookhouse Mr. Hunt continued the business with Robert Brookhouse, Jr., Joseph H. Hanson and Captain Nathan Frye, until March 27, 1869, when the last voyage was completed, and he retired from business with ample means.

Mr. Hunt was married to Austis Slocum, daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah (Becket) Slocum, March 24, 1831. Two sons—William Dean and Lewis—and two daughters—Mary Dean Hersey and Sarah Becket Putnam—survive him. He died August 3, 1883.

Mr. Hunt enjoyed a high reputation as an intelligent and honorable merchant. He was also a man of much intellectual culture. His reading was very extensive, he being familiar with all the best authors.

He took a deep interest in all affairs of his native city, filling many positions of trust. In his charities he was very unostentatious, knowing but the need to give the required aid.

EDWARD D. KIMBALL.

The subject of this sketch belonged to a New England family, which moved from Ipswich, Mass., to Bradford and Haverhill, and later to Plaistow, N. H.,

being among the early settlers of the latter place. Here Mr. Kimball was born, December, 1811, and was a son of Nathaniel and Sarah Knight Kimball. He received his education at Pembroke and at Atkinson Academy, N. H., an institution of which his grandmother was one of the early promoters, and which he attended until he engaged in business at home. By the death of his father he was left, at an early age, as the eldest son in a family of three boys and three girls, with the responsibility of assisting his mother and attending to the duties of the farm. For several years he was engaged in business in a small way, and in the fall of 1833 he made a voyage to South America. The following year, at the age of twenty-one, he left the old homestead and moved to Salem, and shortly after married his cousin, the daughter of Hon. John S. Kimball, of Belfast. He entered into the eastern produce business with Stephen Hoyt, who was afterwards made mayor of New Orleans under General Banks. This connection was dissolved in the winter of 1837 by Mr. Hoyt withdrawing from the business; and Mr. Kimball continued it until 1843, when he bought out the African business of his brother-in-law, David Pingree. This necessitated his going to the West Coast of Africa, which he did soon after, taking with him his wife, and remaining about a year and a half, to look after his property and qualify himself for the successful prosecution of the business. This, in connection with the East India business, he continued until stricken with paralysis, from which he died at Paris, France, in September, 1867, at the age of fifty-six, after an illness of three or four years. He had three sons, one of whom survives him. During his business career he was at times associated with David Pingree, Esq., his brother-in-law, and with his nephew, Thomas Pingree, but principally with his brother-in-law, Charles H. Miller, with whom he was associated many years, and who continued the business after his death. His brothers, Elbridge and Nathaniel, were interested in the business, and also Mr. Reader, on the coast of Africa, and in the East Indies Frank Reed, Esq., who died in Batavia.

Mr. Kimball was among the last of the merchants who sent vessels from the port of Salem, and in the latter part of his life he moved his business to Boston.

He, during his life, filled several other positions of trust and honor, among them the presidency of both the Naumkeag Cotton-Mills of Salem, Mass., and the Naumkeag Bank of Salem. He was successful in all his business pursuits from a rare combination of industry and judgment; managing all his affairs with great skill and success; an indomitable worker; he possessed all the requirements for a large and successful merchant, being at once a good buyer, seller and accountant, generous, polished in all his manners, decided in his opinions and prompt to act upon them, which at once gained for him the confidence and re-

spect of all who knew him. And he at all times exhibited a rectitude of character which never wavered from the proper direction.

HENRY K. OLIVER.

Henry Kemble Oliver was born November 24, 1800, at Beverly, Mass., in the Upper Parish of which town his father was minister from 1787 to 1797. He was the third son and the eighth child of the Rev. Daniel and Elizabeth¹ (Kemble) Oliver, both of Boston, and of the seventh generation of the descendants of Thomas Oliver, "chirurgion," who immigrated from Lewes, Sussex, England, to Boston, with his wife, Ann, and their six or eight children, in 1632, in the ship "William and Francis," from London.

Henry Kemble was christened Thomas Henry, which name was changed by act of Legislature in 1821 to that of his mother's only brother, who died in 1802.

Thomas Oliver, the immigrant, a ruling elder of the First Church in Boston, died June 1, 1658, aged ninety years. The direct line of descent to the subject of this notice is as follows:

Thomas Oliver and Ann (maiden-name unknown).
 Peter Oliver and Sarah (Newdegate).
 Nathaniel Oliver and Elizabeth (Brattle).
 Nathaniel Oliver and Martha (Hobbs).
 Nathaniel Oliver and Mercy (Wendell).
 Daniel Oliver and Elizabeth (Kemble).
 Henry Kemble Oliver.

In the year 1801 Rev. Daniel Oliver, with his family, removed to Exeter, N. H., and in 1802-03, to Boston. Here Henry attended, at five years of age, the school of a Mr. and Mrs. Hayslop, and acquired his earliest rudimentary knowledge. In 1809 he was transferred to the school of Madame Tileston. "The two schools," he has written, "were on the same method, a good deal of sitting still—if one could—and a very little teaching for each pupil. Not liking either, and with nothing to interest or amuse, during the dreary six hours of the day, I not unfrequently fell under the discipline of good Madame Tileston. I cannot remember that we had books or slates, and sitting still and being good was not within the bounds of my spontaneity; for I was a nervous, uneasy and playful child."

After leaving Madame Tileston's school, Henry attended the Mayhew School, on Chardon Street, under Messrs. Milliken and Holt, "both good floggers," and later, about the year 1810, the school kept by Ebenezer Pemberton, formerly principal of Phillips Andover-Academy. "With Master Pemberton—but still keeping up my elementary studies in English—I be-

¹ Elizabeth Kemble was the second daughter and third child of Thomas and Hannah (Thomas) Kemble.





Jacob Pitnam

Jacob Pitnam



A. L. Oliver

gan my Latin grammar, under the old dreary method of committing everything to memory. The book used was 'Adams' Latin Grammar,' followed by the 'Colloquies of Cordovius.' I had small relish for Latin, but was quite fond of my English studies and very apt in declamation.

"Some time in 1811 my father removed me to Phillips Academy in Andover, then under care of John Adams. . . . Here, continuing my Latin, I commenced Greek grammar, and memorized, with distaste at the difficult work, all of the book before entering upon translating. When that came about it was upon 'Dalzell's Græca Minora,' a work then in nearly universal use for lads fitting for college. . . . My stay at Andover was for about twelve months, my first three days having been indelibly fixed in memory by the most distressing homesickness."

Returning to Boston, Henry entered the Latin School,—then on School Street, under William Bigelow,—near the close of 1811. His brother, Nathaniel Kemble Greenwood Oliver (Harvard College, 1809), was for a time, with Mr. Bigelow, an usher of the Latin School, and, about the close of 1813, he opened a private school. Henry attended it, and was by his brother offered at Harvard in 1814. "I was then but thirteen years and eight months old, a mere lad, with a short jacket, having, as was the fashion of the day, a wide collar to my shirt, fringed with a ruffle and turned down over my shoulders. . . . On being taken out to Cambridge at the beginning of the term my father gave me most valuable and excellent counsel. A part of this counsel—and it was very earnestly prohibitory—was that I should not attempt to play any musical instrument whatever.¹ I had been a member of the Park Street choir in Boston, and he gave permission for my singing in the chapel choir, which performed the sacred music on Sunday, under charge of William H. Eliot (H. C., 1815). I strove to obey, but I was over-mastered by my love of music, and I borrowed a flute with one key, the upper joint of which was cracked nearly its whole length. . . . I afterwards, at college, learned to play the violoncello."

Henry remained at Harvard College during the Freshman year and until May or June (1816) of the Sophomore year, when the increase at the college of Unitarian views, and the greater expense, induced his removal to Dartmouth College, much against his inclination. He entered the Junior Class of the latter institution in the fall of 1816. "I had no inclination for a literary life, and my whole preparation for college was to me a burden. . . . When I entered college I had but little knowledge of geography or arithmetic, none of history, almost none of the great facts of astronomy. My intellectual powers had not been properly or philosophically cultivated. . . . In Latin and Greek, and in French, I held at college a pretty good

rank, but I failed in mathematics and in intellectual and moral philosophy. I took an interest in what was then called natural philosophy, a good deal in rhetoric and elocution, but felt sorely my unripeness when called upon to express my ideas in composition."

Immediately on graduating at Dartmouth College Mr. Oliver returned to Boston. The commencement at Harvard College occurred one week later, and at that time he received an *ad eundem* with his old classmates, and subsequently, in 1862, the complimentary degree of A.M.

In May, 1819, he was among the applicants for the place of usher in the newly-established Latin Grammar School in Salem, and at the canvass was numbered third in the order of success. But it happened that the first candidate died soon after election, the second obtained a better place at Lynn, and so Mr. Oliver was appointed. He went to Salem on Thursday, June 10, 1819, making his home with "that most excellent man," Rev. Brown Emerson, minister of the South Church. "I entered upon my work as teacher on the following Monday, June 14th, with very great fear and trembling, and entire distrust in my own abilities, knowledge and ultimate success. Finding my imperfections, I commenced a course of self-education, first in the studies in which I was guiding others, then in French, then in Spanish and Italian; adding afterwards a wide course of mathematics and philosophy, astronomy, general literature and history. I was merciless to myself, studying as many hours out of school as I taught within. What I thus acquired I have never forgotten."

On Sunday, June 20, 1819, Mr. Oliver joined the choir of Mr. Emerson's church, his voice, which had been a high and pure soprano, having matured into a deep and very firm and clear bass, with a range from low C to high E. "I also continued my practice on the flute and violoncello, adding to them the double-bass. In 1821, on suggestion of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall,—always my friend, a noble and excellent man in every respect, and then a leading member of the North Church and society,—I commenced practicing the piano-forte and the organ, and, in 1822, I was appointed organist of St. Peter's Church in Salem, removing to Barton Square Church in 1827, in each place with full charge of the choir."

In 1821 Mr. Oliver's father, mother and two sisters came to Salem for a time, and the family resided on Carpenter Street. "Among the families calling upon us was that of Capt. Samuel Cook,² residing on Federal Street. I had met his elder daughter, Sarah, at meetings of the choir of the South Church, of which she and many ladies of the most cultivated families of Salem were members. An intimacy springing up between Miss Cook and my sister Margaret, I saw

¹ His father was entirely destitute of the musical sense, and he had the early dislike of the religious people of his denomination (he was a Calvinist of the Hopkinsian variety) to all musical instruments.

² Captain Samuel Cook was a retired ship-master, the contemporary of the many enterprising and famous master-mariners of Salem, and of its numerous and successful merchants. He married Sarah, daughter of James and Sarah Chever.

her very frequently, and was gradually drawn toward her by the loveliness of her disposition, the unvarying kindness of her temper, the quiet dignity of her demeanor, the gentleness of all her ways and all her words—till I found my whole self possessed with love for her . . . On Tuesday, the 30th of August, 1825, we were married, at her father's house, by the Rev. Mr. Ducachet."

On the 4th of July, 1824, Mr. Oliver delivered the oration at the celebration carried out by the young men of Salem, a production which, according to a published account of the proceedings, "was received with the most flattering testimonials of approbation by a crowded and respectable assembly." While connected with St. Peter's Church, Mr. Oliver entered upon a course of theological study, with a view of entering the pulpit of the Episcopal Church. His views, however, became Unitarian, and he relinquished the study.

In 1827 he was appointed head master of the newly-established English High School, but in 1830 he resigned the position and opened a private school, building on Federal Street a house planned carefully for the special purpose. "I doubled my income within a year, and during the fourteen years I afterwards continued to teach, I had no reason to complain of either patronage or want of success. During these fourteen years I taught boys six years—fitting for college and for counting-room—and girls eight years . . . I opened the school in the spring of 1831 with about forty scholars."

Having in 1821 enlisted into the Salem Light Infantry, at that date and long afterwards one of the best companies of the State, Mr. Oliver obtained a great deal of military knowledge. In 1833 he was elected lieutenant-colonel of the then just organized Sixth Regiment of Light Infantry, and in 1836 he was chosen its colonel, a position he resigned in 1839.

In 1844 Colonel Oliver was made adjutant-general by Governor George N. Briggs, and gave up teaching, but he retained his residence in Salem. The military force of the State at that date consisted of about seven thousand men, all volunteers. The military property was stored in an arsenal near the foot of the Boston Common, in part, and in part in another arsenal in Cambridge. During his occupancy of this office the war with Mexico broke out, and the general government called, in May, 1846, for troops from each of the New England States. This call was subsequently revoked by the Secretary of War (General Marcy). In November of the same year, however, it was renewed, but on Massachusetts alone, one regiment only being called for, infantry. Ten companies were organized. During his term of office General Oliver was elected captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, of which organization he had been a lieutenant in 1838; and in 1847 he was appointed by President Polk a member of the Board of Visitors at the Military Academy at West Point.

He was elected secretary of this board, and prepared the report to the government.

He continued in the office of adjutant-general till 1848, when he was appointed resident agent of the Atlantic Cotton-Mills, a new corporation for the manufacture of coarse cotton shirtings and sheetings, at Lawrence, Mass., to which town he removed in the early summer of the year mentioned.

In 1853 he was sent from Lawrence, with Messrs. Storow and Parsons, to the Constitutional Convention of the State, where he was chairman of the Committee on the Militia.

He left the Atlantic Mills in May, 1858, and in November following was elected mayor of Lawrence. In 1859 he was elected Representative to the General Court.

In 1860, having been nominated thereto by the Republican Convention at Worcester, General Oliver was chosen State treasurer on the ticket with John Albion Andrew, as Governor; and he was re-elected for each of the four years which made up the five to which the office is limited by law.

In 1867 he accepted a call from Governor Bullock, of Massachusetts, to look into the condition of the factory children in the various establishments of the State. This he did for about two years, finding the several laws relating to their employment under ten years of age, and their schooling when between ten and fifteen years of age, violated everywhere. He prepared two reports on the subject, which excited not a little attention and comment, and caused more stringent legislation.

In 1869 he attained an honorary admittance to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and in 1870 he gave the oration at Dartmouth College.

The act for the establishment in Massachusetts of a Bureau of Statistics of Labor, with a chief and deputy, was passed in 1869, and General Oliver was selected by Governor Claflin as the chief of the bureau. To the duties of this office he gave his undivided attention, having to grope his way unguided by precedent, example or experience; everything connected with the investigations being new, and nearly all those investigations rendered difficult and embarrassing by the very strong and powerful influence of the employing class of the State. He left the bureau in May, 1873.

In April, 1876, he received an appointment as one of the judges at the International Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, and was assigned to Group XXV., in charge of all "Instruments of Precision." Under this expression were included astronomical instruments of all sorts, trigonometrical and surveying instruments, microscopes, magnetic and electric, telegraphic and telephonic instruments. There were also added musical instruments of every variety, from organs down, these being assigned to a sub-group, of which General Oliver was chairman.

Subsequently, after the work of the judges was

supposed to have been finished, and they had left Philadelphia, a "Group of Judges on Appeals" was summoned, of which General Oliver was one, and he again repaired to Philadelphia.

A few days prior to his leaving Philadelphia for his home he received a letter from Salem, desiring him to accept a nomination for the mayoralty of that city, to which he consented, and, at the election later, he was chosen mayor. He was re-elected in the following year, and also in the years 1878 and 1879.

At the approach of the year 1881, Mayor Oliver publicly announced his decision not to be a candidate for re-election, against many requests that he would again stand. "Being eighty years of age on the 24th of November, 1880, it is quite time that I should rest," he said, "and it would not be, in my view, right to impose the natural incapacities of old age even upon a willing people."

On his eightieth birthday, with earnest expressions of gratitude for many favors shown him, during a half century of residence, by his fellow-citizens of Salem, he addressed a letter to the City Council, offering as a nucleus of a Public Library for the city, a donation of books from his own library. The city not feeling then in a position to undertake the establishment of a library, a portion of the books—about 800 volumes—was afterwards given by General Oliver to the "Salem Fraternity."

During the summer of 1882, General Oliver began to be sensible of a cardiac trouble, which, without his being aware of the fact, had been discovered several years before by his physician. The difficulty gradually increased, and his condition became very serious in the succeeding winter, but in the following spring the trouble was so far under control that he passed a very comfortable existence. But he, perforce, led a very quiet life, declining all invitations of a public nature, and passing his time in the companionship of his friends, his books and his music. His communications to the newspapers and the periodicals of the day on current subjects, and on the events of "long-ago," became now very numerous.

During the summer of 1885, up to Sunday, the 26th of July, General Oliver's health continued as good as in the two years before. On the Sunday mentioned he complained of his head, and after an unquiet night he awoke with evident cerebral trouble, aphasia being the chief, and, in fact, the only marked symptom. The inability to express his thoughts in words continued, physical weakness supervened, and he was not able to leave his bed on the morning of the 29th. He died in the early evening of August 12th, retaining almost to the last some consciousness of his surroundings.

General Oliver's death called forth extended manifestations of regret and sympathy, public and private, and his funeral, which took place from the North Church, on Monday, August 17th, was attended by a large concourse of citizens and of officials, both of

Salem and of other places. His body rests in the family tomb in the cemetery on Broad Street, Salem, within sight of the school-house which was the scene of his earliest labors as teacher, and in which hangs his portrait. Upon the tomb there has been placed a natural boulder, from the neighboring fields, covered with moss and gray lichens, and upon this stone is engraved his name, date of birth and of death, and a sculptured suggestion of the pipes of an organ, emblematic of sacred music, which was the grand passion of his life.

Of the character of the subject of this notice it is difficult to speak in a brief space, his talents were so various, his acquirements so extensive, and his personality so strikingly composite. His powers as student, teacher, writer, musician and executive officer were such as are rarely combined in the same person. But the strongest note in his character—the dominant chord—was the musical one. "I had," he says, "early manifested a passion for music, acquired from my mother, who had a voice of rare excellence and great skill in singing, and I learned any music I heard my brother and my sisters perform with the greatest ease and rapidity." And again, "My amusements in college were entirely innocent, and I found great comfort and pleasure in the study and practice of music, my voice and knowledge of the flute being passport to many families wherein music, especially sacred music, was practiced. An evening so passed was to me the greatest pleasure I desired." At ten years of age he was a member of the choir at Park Street Church, Boston. He was also, early, a member of the Handel and Hayden Society, of that city, and an active member of its chorus, whenever possible, even beyond the age of seventy years, at which period of his life his voice still retained great sweetness and power. He was, from his earliest residence in Salem, largely identified with music, and he was the most active member of the Mozart Association, founded in 1825, and of the Salem Glee Club, 1832. Gradually, sacred music, as has been stated, came to be his greatest love, the oratorios of Handel, of Hayden, and of Mendelssohn, his passion, and the organ his idol instrument. He was organist of churches in Salem and Lawrence for a period of forty years. As a composer of church music he held high rank, and many of his compositions have an abiding popularity. In 1849 he published with Dr. S. P. Tuckerman "The National Lyric," and in 1875, "Oliver's Collection of Sacred Music." In 1883, Dartmouth College conferred upon him the Degree of Doctor of Music, and requested his portrait to be hung upon its walls.

As an educator of youth General Oliver really loved his profession, and he combined, in a rare degree,¹ firmness and thoroughness with youthful sym-

¹ Rev. Joseph H. Felt, in his "History of Salem," pronounces Mr. Oliver's private school to have been the most complete and successful ever carried on in that town.

pathies and feelings. His interest in education never flagged to the end of his days. He was himself always a diligent student: the classics were his delight, and he never forgot the beautiful passages from the Greek and Roman writers which he had early learned. But he was also a mathematician of unusual excellence.

His services as a member of the school committee were eagerly sought for in both Salem and Lawrence, and in parts of the years 1858, '59 and '60, he was chosen by the State Board of Education to visit the public schools in various parts of Massachusetts, and to attend teachers' institutes and conventions. He was also at various times in the Examining Board of Visitors of Harvard College, both in the classics and in mathematics.

When the high school in Lawrence was opened, he presented to it the extensive and valuable apparatus which he had collected for his private school in Salem, and he added to the gift a set of busts and statuettes, engravings and many books of reference, Latin, Greek and mathematical, for the use of teachers and pupils. As a token of gratitude the school was given his name, and his portrait was requested, which was hung upon its walls. One of the public schools in Salem also bears his name.

As a military man General Oliver showed marked ability. As colonel of the Sixth Regiment he brought it to a high degree of efficiency, and while adjutant-general, through his personal visits to the parades of the various regiments, and his encouragement of drilling, the service was greatly improved.

The rôle of manufacturer was ably filled by him, but it was more through his devotion to what he had in hand than through any special love for manufacturing. Nevertheless, the products of the mills over which he presided held always the highest rank in the market. The employes did their best, urged not only by the knowledge that much was expected of them, but by the personal magnetism and sympathy of their superintendent, which always so touched and quickened those under him, in every position he ever held, that they instinctively desired to do what he wished done. He thus secured from his subordinates, whether he were present or absent, their best service.

In 1851 he founded a library for the operatives of the Atlantic Mills by a present of books. He also established for them free hot and cold baths in a building near the mills.

As treasurer of the State, General Oliver directed the vast business of the office without loss to the Commonwealth, while on one occasion he saved its credit in a great and sudden emergency by pledging his private means. During his term of office the Civil War broke out, and the business of the department increased to an unprecedented degree. The treasurer acted also as paymaster to the troops raised by Massachusetts, and during the continuance of the war he handled and accounted for \$77,000,000—really

the sum was \$154,000,000, for being received and paid out it was twice handled.

As chief of the Labor Bureau General Oliver made a profound impression. His official announcement of the existence of great abuses called forth extended comment and great antagonism. Some of his work struck at the root of great evils, or of erroneous opinions in society, and so awakened deep hostilities; but he lived to hear all his statements of these evils wholly verified, and his efforts to ameliorate them justified. During the five years of holding the office he prepared five annual reports to the Legislature upon the earnings, cost of living, and savings or indebtedness of the laboring classes of the State—their homes, education, habits of living, morals, manners, hours of labor, amusements, societies of various sorts—upon factory life, factory operatives, factory children, the schooling of the latter, half-time schools, etc., in fact, upon everything relating to the great question of labor and the laboring classes, skilled and unskilled, and of every grade and variety of them.

"I left the bureau in May, 1873, retiring with an entire consciousness that I had omitted no effort in endeavoring to do my whole duty, and that I had, regardless of personal considerations, faithfully set forth the real status of the working people, the real wealth-producers of the State."

After leaving the Bureau, and to the end of his life, he retained the deepest interest in the welfare of the working classes, and more especially in that of factory children, as the many articles written by him for the newspapers of the day testify. In April, 1885, his portrait was hung on the walls of the office of the bureau, in Boston, as its first chief.

As mayor—in two cities—his great executive ability and knowledge of men made him a valuable officer, and his retirement elicited hearty expressions of regret and good wishes from the several departments of the city government and from the citizens generally.

General Oliver's wide range of study and reading caused frequent demands for his services as lecturer before lyceums and other literary associations, and before educational, musical and agricultural societies, while his ready command of language, and his wit and humor, made him greatly sought for as presiding officer at festive occasions. Many of these occasions saw him such an officer when he was beyond eighty years of age. Of these latter characteristics, which constituted a very marked feature of his character, it has been written "His wit and humor were keen, exuberant and irrepressible, and his many tales, and his treasury of knowledge made him extremely companionable, and a delightful conversationalist on any topic." A curious feature in his character was the presence of exuberant spirits and gayety, and the passion for sacred music. But with all his gayety his feelings were deeply reverent. He loved nature ardently, and flowers were the source of the greatest delight to



A. Smith & Engraving Co. N.Y.

A. M. Low

him; his highly cultivated garden was the home of many a prize-bloom.

Much as the subject of this notice employed his pen, he published but one little work besides his musical works mentioned. This was in 1830, "A Work on the Construction and Use of Mathematical Instruments in Portable Cases." About the same time he wrote a work on Algebra, but finding that the late Mr. Ebenezer Bailey was engaged upon a book of similar character General Oliver generously withdrew his own manuscript. But he wrote, especially in the later years of his life, a vast number of articles for the newspapers and current literature of the day on all the topics with which he was familiar, and these communications were most entertaining and instructive.

General Oliver's wife died on the 24th of January, 1866, and this was a blow which he never really recovered from. In recording the event he wrote,—*"As said Carlyle of Mrs. Sterling, in his life of Edward Sterling, she was of a pious, delicate and affectionate character, exemplary as wife, mother, friend,—of timid, yet gracefully cordial ways,—with natural intelligence, instinctive sense and worth: with a soft voice, a tremulously sensitive nature, strong chiefly on the side of the affections, and the graceful insights and activities that depend on these; truly a beautiful, much enduring, much loving house-mother."*

Henry Kemble and Sarah (Cook) Oliver had issue,—Samuel Cook, Sarah Elizabeth, Henry Kemble, Maria Kemble, Emily Kemble, Mary Evans and Ellen Wendell.

ABIEL ABBOT LOW.

Salem has been most generous in enriching, with her worthy sons and daughters, other cities and towns of the country. Few places are more indebted to her for such noble gifts than Brooklyn, N. Y., the story of whose better history and higher prosperity could not be told without the mention of such men as Seth Low and his sons, Isaac H. and John W. Frothingham, Ripley and Reuben W. Ropes, George B. Archer, and others of most excellent repute. Hon. Ripley Ropes, after faithful and valuable service to his native city, removed many years ago to Brooklyn, where his exalted character as a man and his long and distinguished usefulness in public life have made their enduring impress upon the city of his adoption.

Abiel Abbot Low, one of the merchant princes of New York, and an eminent philanthropist and financier, was born in Salem, Essex County, Mass., February 7, 1811. He was the eldest son among twelve children of Seth Low, a native of Gloucester, West Parish, of the same State. His mother, Mary Porter, was descended from John Porter, one of the original settlers of Salem village, (now Danvers), and was a daughter of Thomas Porter, of Topsfield, the town adjacent to Danvers on the north. The Porters have

been a numerous and influential race in this part of Massachusetts and elsewhere for more than two hundred years. Mary was born in Topsfield in 1786, and was a lady of superior character, illustrating all the virtues and nobleness of the Roman matron, refined and adorned with the influences and graces of the Christian faith. She lived to be eighty-six years of age and continued to be an object of much veneration among all who knew her, to the end of her useful and honored life. Her husband, Seth Low, was a man of high intelligence and of solid worth, of strong, clear and sedate mind, and of courteous and dignified deportment. He was held in great respect and love by his fellow-citizens at Salem, where he spent the earlier portion of his married life, as also at Brooklyn, N. Y., whither he removed in 1829, and where he died in 1853. A devout, upright, and public-spirited man, he was one of the foremost citizens of Brooklyn, and rendered most important service, in many ways, to that city in its earlier municipal history. Blessed with such a parentage, and inheriting the excellent qualities of both his father and mother, the son could hardly fail of an honorable and distinguished career. He grew up without any of the vices or bad habits which so often blight the hopes and promises of youth. He received his early education mainly at the public schools of his native city, and wisely and diligently improved the opportunities and advantages which were there afforded him. He was, for some time before he reached the age of maturity, a clerk in the mercantile house of Joseph Howard & Co., a Salem firm largely engaged in the South American trade. Here he manifested remarkable aptitude for business, and won, not only the heartiest commendations, but the entire confidence of his employers. In 1829 he removed to New York, and remained with his father, whose occupation was that of a drug merchant, for three years. In 1833 he sailed for Canton, China, and on arriving there became a clerk in the house of Russell & Co., which was then the largest American firm in China, and of which an uncle, the late William Henry Low, was a partner. In 1837 he was admitted into the firm, and, after three years, returned home, in 1840, to prosecute the same business here—already possessed of considerable wealth, though not yet thirty years of age. He was early distinguished for his sagacity, his far-seeing wisdom and his bold and judicious action. Soon after his arrival home, he established himself in Fletcher Street, New York, and there laid the foundation of that which was destined to become the leading house of America in the China trade. The business of the house was of rapid growth and at length assumed such large proportions that a fleet of swift vessels became indispensable.

With characteristic energy he set about building his own ships, and the construction of the "Houqua," "Samuel Russell," "N. B. Palmer," "David Brown," "Oriental," "Penguin," "Jacob Bell," "Contest," "Surprise," "Benefactor" and "Benefactress" kept

pace with the demands of his business for a while; but he was compelled to purchase several, among them "The Golden State," "The Great Republic" and the "Yokohama." For years the house carried on its immense traffic of teas and silks without the loss of any of its ships. From Fletcher Street the office was first removed to South Street, between Beekman Street and Peck Slip, and again, in 1850, to No. 31 Burling Slip, the present site of the establishment. About the year 1845, Mr. Josiah O. Low, a brother, became a partner; in 1852, Mr. Edward H. K. Lyman, a brother-in-law, was admitted into the firm; and at various subsequent dates several sons and nephews,—the firm-name becoming and remaining to this day "A. A. Low & Brothers." The firm have always maintained their justly-deserved reputation for the strictest integrity, and for the largest and most enlightened methods of mercantile pursuit and dealing. Their name has been the synonym for rectitude and honor in all business transactions, and they have been a tower of strength amidst all the changes, fluctuations and reverses in the commercial world during the past forty-six years. Their influence was most powerfully exercised and felt in the cause of maintaining the national credit; and in the gloomy years of the Civil War they bore their full share in the work of defending and saving the Republic. Refusing to allow their ships to sail under any other flag than the Stars and Stripes, they suffered the loss of the "Contest" and the "Jacob Bell," both of which were captured and burned by Confederate privateers, the latter being freighted at the time with a cargo of great value. During Mr. Low's whole business career he has received constant tokens of the high respect and consideration of the mercantile profession to which he belongs, and of the community in which he lives. His influence in the New York Chamber of Commerce has been wholesome and conspicuous, and it has also been justly appreciated and honored. He became a member of it in 1846. In 1863 his sound judgment, his ready grasp of details, his marked sagacity and his unbending rectitude led to his election as president of this world-renowned body; and on the expiration of the stated term of three years, he was re-elected. At the close of 1866 he resigned this position, in order to make a voyage around the world. On January 1, 1867, he embarked with his wife and one son from San Francisco in the Pacific Mail steamship "Colorado," the first American merchant steamer which crossed the Pacific.

On his return he was honored with a banquet, tendered by the representative men of his profession, in the city which had so long been the scene of his labors and his triumphs. He frequently has been called upon to address the Chamber of Commerce and his fellow-citizens upon subjects connected with the financial or political problems of the day. His vigorous mind has been highly cultured by reading, study, travel, observation and action. His style, both as a writer and

a public speaker, is singularly felicitous and effective, and remarkable for clearness, compactness, good taste and elegance of expression. He has the faculty and the habit, not only of stating his case strongly, but of reasoning on it so wisely and fairly, as well as forcibly, that his reader or listener (as the case may be) is carried with him, and willingly, as well as from conviction, adopts his conclusions. It is because of these qualities that Mr. Low has always had such great influence in the associations with which he has been connected, and such weight in the community in matters of general interest. Had his career been in public life, he would have been as eminent in the counsels of state as he has been in the wide domain of commerce. In great crises, commercial, financial or political, in periods of depression, panic or actual disaster, he has the courage of his convictions, and his opinions are eagerly sought and freely given. During the Civil War, on all important questions of national policy or duty, his voice and his action were alike ready and sagacious, clear, loyal and determined. Holding no political office, though several times invited to do so, he often has been called or sent to the national capital in a representative capacity, for consultation with the government in relation to matters of grave commercial interest.

It is not easy to measure the value and influence of such a man in the community and the country to which he belongs. Able, wise, patriotic and of incorruptible purity and honesty, he is constantly a pillar of strength and support to all the best interests of society and is a rock of safety and defense amidst the changes and perils to which government and people are exposed, or are liable. It is not alone Presidents and Cabinets, Congressional leaders and foreign ministers, the army and navy, upon whom we must chiefly depend in the most stormy times, or in the most critical emergencies. All will be lost unless the nation is held mightily to its financial obligations, its plighted word, its sacred honor. After the war, and for many years, the land was rife with dangerous theories and pestilent heresies in regard to these matters, and *Repudiation* itself was a more or less popular cry. It was all-important, and absolutely necessary, that the mercantile and banking classes should lift their voices for the right, that the great commercial metropolis should be heard, that the Chamber of Commerce should speak, and speak with no uncertain sound. Of such occasions, one was in connection with the Centennial Celebration of the Chamber, held at Irving Hall, New York City, April 6, 1868. Mr. Low delivered an address on "The Finances of the United States," and the closing portion of it is here given, in illustration of his sound views, his exalted patriotism and the power and grace of his words:

"Finally," he says, "it seems to me that existing laws for the conversion and redemption of the public debt are good enough till the country returns to specie payment. I look to such return as our only hope of rescue from impending evil. The crisis is full of peril, as all who read and reflect will be forced to admit; the contemplation of this peril leads

me to sorrowful reflection. Three years have passed away since the War of the Rebellion was closed. The eventful month of April, 1865, witnessed the surrender, throughout the South, of all the rebel forces; the disbanding of the loyal armies of the North, and the re-establishment of the national authority everywhere; and although the country was prostrate in sorrow at the death of its great hero and martyr, there was solace and joy in the thought that the blood and treasure of the loyal States had not been poured out in vain. Not only had the life of the nation been providentially preserved, but its honor was untarnished; at home and abroad confidence in the ability of our people faithfully to redeem every obligation that was given during the war daily gained strength, and the speedy restoration of the wayward States to their legitimate place in the Union was the animating hope of every patriotic heart. How this hope has thus far been disappointed it is not my province to consider.

"We may now boast, indeed, that America is 'the land of the free and the home of the brave'; slavery has ceased to exist; the curse and the reproach it brought on our flag and our fame have been buried in a common grave. Have we wiped out this long endured blot on our country's escutcheon, amid all the fire and bloodshed of civil war, in order to deepen and darken the stain repudiation would leave in its stead? Has it come to this, that the Congress of the nation can deliberately entertain propositions, in less than three years after the war, that strike at the spirit and letter of laws now on the statute-book, in the presence of the very men who made them—laws that are vital to the security of those who lent their money for the prosecution of the war! Have we reason to fear that Senators and Representatives who make such demands on our confidence, in their extraordinary measures to enforce reconstruction, will subject our faith to a still severer test? Can they hope to maintain the character of friends of the Union for the sake of the Union if they expose to dishonor the life whose salvation has cost such a price in blood and treasure? Shall we go forth as hitherto, in virtue of our American birthright, proud in the consciousness that our nation's right makes our nation's might, or remain at home rather than be withered by the rebuking eye of every honest man in every other land governed by honest men? It were better, far, to dash from the American ensign every star and leave only the stripes, as a symbol of everlasting disgrace—of everlasting punishment—if we must cease to claim the respect we have hitherto enjoyed under its all-inspiring folds. No! Let me recall these despairing words! I will not believe in such a destiny. The loyal and the true will rally in behalf of the right and the good. The people and the Congress will uphold the national faith. Our eagles and half-eagles will once more circulate throughout the land, our eyes shall be gladdened with the old device, 'In God we trust,' and throughout the world the stars and stripes shall float together the glorious emblem of nationality to millions upon millions yet unborn."

At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Low submitted resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, favoring the resumption of specie payments and the honest discharge of the national debt. No man, more than he, was fitted by talent, character, experience, rectitude and service to stand at the centre in such a time, and represent before the people and the world the commercial mind and interests of the United States. Mr. Low has been solicited many times to become the president of banking, insurance and other institutions of a similar character, but he has declined every proffered station of service save that of a director, in which capacity he is identified with a number of prominent organizations. In Brooklyn, the city of his adoption and residence, he has been one of the most public-spirited and useful citizens. He has been an ever-ready and exceptionally liberal patron of schools and colleges, churches and charities, not alone in Brooklyn and New York, but in other parts of the land; and his contributions of money to every good enterprise or institution that has appealed for aid have rarely, if ever, been surpassed in number and magnitude by

those of any of our wealthy and philanthropic citizens. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of a firm and enlightened Christian faith, the church has found in him a true, devoted, exemplary friend, and many of its branches of different names have been encouraged and prospered by his timely and generous gifts. Fully appreciating the value and importance of substantial education to every community, he has long made the public and private schools of the city objects of the highest concern. Of the Packer Collegiate Institute, in Brooklyn, Mr. Low has been for many years president of the board of trustees, giving to its affairs large and intelligent oversight, and contributing liberally to its library and scientific equipment. The Brooklyn Library and the Long Island Historical Society have found in him, from their inception, one of their most appreciative, active and munificent patrons. The City Hospital, the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Union for Christian Work and many other benevolent institutions, attest his readiness to aid in the support of well-designed and practically-managed organized charities. Perhaps no more touching illustration of this influence has been furnished than in the munificent gift, by Mr. Low, in the name of his wife, of the new and beautiful *St. Phoebe's Mission House*, which he caused to be erected as a fitting memorial of a departed daughter of wonderful beauty of Christian character and life. The building was opened May 5, 1886, and a tablet more recently erected bears the inscription:

"IN LOVING MEMORY
HARRIETTE LOW.

This house is given for the work she loved by her
bereaved parents."

In our great Civil War, Mr. Low's loyalty and patriotism were most pronounced and constant. He was a member of the Union Defense Committee of New York, and quite early in the conflict succeeded Mr. Dehon as treasurer of the committee, which place he continued to fill until the war was over. He was among the most energetic, liberal and useful members of the "War Fund Committee" of Brooklyn, which was organized in 1862, and which efficiently aided the United States Sanitary Commission. He was president of the General Committee of Citizens in Brooklyn, which, in co-operation with the committee of the Woman's Relief Association, in February, 1864, managed and carried out to its grand result of more than \$400,000, the Brooklyn and Sanitary Fair.

This sketch would be quite imperfect did it omit allusion to Mr. Low's constant and most generous relief to those who are in need. It is his nature to "Do good by stealth and blush to find it fame," and the world little knows, though very many privately and gratefully know, the largeness, spontaneousness and mercy of his bounty in their hour of suffering. His sympathy and gifts have not been limited to those to whom he stood in the relation of friend or

mere acquaintance. The casual mention, in his presence, of distress that had befallen even a stranger whom he had never seen and of whom before he had never heard, has many and many a time (within the knowledge of the writer) elicited not only his warm and Christian sympathy, but his prompt and large pecuniary relief. It has often been remarked by those who have known him well, how continuously and tenderly, amidst all his manifold and arduous daily cares, he has borne such unfortunates in mind, recalling their names and circumstances and, with more benevolent intent, making fresh inquiries about them long after it might naturally have been supposed that such cases must have been forgotten. One of his honored father's last injunctions to his children was, "Remember the poor." And that they have done, not more in obedience to the paternal mandate, than from the philanthropic spirit which they inherited from their excellent parents, and which they have also imparted, it may be added, to the succeeding generation. As the acknowledged head of this very large and influential family circle that surrounds him in Brooklyn, and in every domestic relation of life, Mr. Low, it is not necessary to say, finds his own faithful devotion and affectionate care abundantly recompensed to him in the veneration and love of all. And what is thus true of him in the home and amongst his kindred is true of him also in other connections, in which to still larger numbers he has been the prudent counselor, the thoughtful sympathizer, and the helpful and steadfast friend.

Mr. Low was first married, in March, 1841, to Ellen Almira, daughter of the late Josiah Dow, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and a lady of rare worth and loveliness, by whom he had four children,—two sons and two daughters, all of whom survived their mother, who died in January, 1850. In February, 1851, he was married to Anne D. B., widow of his deceased brother, William Henry Low, and daughter of the late M. Bedell, of Brooklyn, N. Y. Mrs. Low has been very prominent in the religious, benevolent and social life of the city; and it was specially under her fond and faithful guardianship, intelligent and judicious training and earnest and conscientious Christian influence that the motherless children to whose charge she succeeded, and her son, William G., who had been born under her first marriage, received together their home preparation for their varied and prominent spheres of usefulness in subsequent years.

Of these five children, Harriette died August 2, 1884; and Ellen, who married Henry E. Pierrepont, Jr., of Brooklyn, died December 30, 1884. The surviving three, are A. Augustus Low, merchant, who married a daughter of the late George Cabot Ward, Esq., of New York; William G. Low, lawyer and Hon. Seth Low, ex-mayor of Brooklyn, and also a merchant, both of whom married daughters of the late Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis, of the Supreme Court of the United States.

LEONARD BOND HARRINGTON.

The names of men who distinguished themselves for the possession of those qualities of character which so largely contribute to the success of private life and to the public stability, of men who have been exemplary in their personal and social relations, thus winning the affection, respect and confidence of those around them, ought not to perish.

Their example is more valuable to the majority of local readers than that of illustrious heroes, statesmen or writers, and all are benefited by the delineation of those traits of character which find scope and exercise in the common walks of life.

Among the individuals of this class few are better entitled to be held in respectful remembrance than is the subject of this sketch.

The direct ancestor of Leonard B. was *Robert*, who came from England prior to 1642, and settled in Watertown, Mass.

For several succeeding generations the Harringtons were tillers of the soil, and became, through their energy and thrift, extensive landed proprietors in the various parts of New England, where they settled and were men of influence and position.

Charles, the father of Leonard B., however, was a tanner and currier by trade, and he carried on this business during the early part of his business career with a good degree of success. He also did a large business as a packer of beef, and opened up a large export trade in it. In this branch of business he was a pioneer, and was very successful until, during the French War, he suffered great losses in vessels and cargoes by French spoliations. He married Mary Bond, by whom he had five children,—Charles, born January 29, 1782; Artemus, born October 14, 1784; Ruth, born August 25, 1789; Jonas B., born August 22, 1792; LEONARD BOND, born January 29, 1803.

Leonard spent his boyhood in Salem, Mass., to which town his father moved from Watertown shortly after the Revolutionary War. He attended school in Salem, where he acquired a practical knowledge of the branches there taught, but, at the age of thirteen years, developing a taste for sea-life, he went a voyage to South America, during which he suffered from yellow fever, and recovering from it, was finally shipwrecked. These experiences led him to give up the sea, and he then chose the business of leather manufacture. He learned this trade in Roxbury, Mass., and after serving his time he worked as a journeyman for several years, and by prudence and frugality was enabled to begin business for himself in 1829, and from that time to the present has successfully maintained his position among business men.

He was married, January 8, 1831, to Margaret G. Hersey, of Roxbury, who was a superior woman, and did much to encourage and assist him in his plans, and was much beloved by all who knew her. From



Eng^d by A.H. Ritchie

L. B. Washington





Caleb Foote.

this union were four children, three of whom are now living.

Having no taste for political life, Mr. Harrington has never been prominent in politics, but has always been identified with the Whig and, later, the Republican parties. In religious belief he is a Universalist, and contributes liberally for the support of public worship.

He is a man of benevolence, easily approached, of kindly instincts, and has always in later years been ready to assist those less fortunate than himself in their business difficulties by his wise counsel and good judgment.

Mr. Harrington has for many years been prominently connected with the financial institutions of Salem. He is president of the Asiatic National Bank and vice-president of Old Salem Savings Bank.

For twenty years he was engineer of the Fire Department, and by his energy and zeal did much to improve the old system; but all this was prior to the advent of the modern steamer, and when the hand machine was made to do duty by "the boys breaking her down."

At the great age of eighty-four years Mr. Harrington is still able to attend to his large business, going to Boston nearly every day, and while having assigned much of the detail to other hands, still in the directing power exercising his business tact and method to the advantage of those associated with him. Mr. Harrington's grandfather was a noted teacher of his day, and as "Master Harrington" was widely known.

Leonard Bond, a maternal uncle, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War.

CALEB FOOTE.¹

Hon. Caleb Foote was born in Salem February 28, 1803, of a sea-faring stock. The first of his ancestors who came to this country, Pasco Foot, who settled in Salem before 1637, had a grant of land in that year, in connection with his fisheries, at Winter Harbor. The degree to which the dangers of the sea assisted in depopulating the maritime towns of our sea-coast in the earlier days is forcibly illustrated in the family history of Mr. Foote. His great-grandfather, Captain William Dedman, died of yellow-fever in a voyage to Havana. His maternal grandfather, Samuel West, a member of the Salem Marine Society, died in a trading voyage to Virginia. His paternal grandfather, Caleb Foote, after serving in the Revolutionary army at Cambridge, engaged in the privateering service, was captured by a British ship, and immured in Forton prison, near Portsmouth, England, from which he escaped to France, and, returning home, died early of disease brought on by the hardships and privations which he had endured in the cause of his country. His father, Caleb Foote, sailed in command

of a vessel from New London in 1810, and his vessel was never heard from afterward, while his wife, Martha, daughter of Samuel Massey West, had died four years before. Thus their son was left at the tender age of seven fatherless, motherless and portionless, wholly dependent on relatives, and began to earn his own living at ten years old, when he left the North Salem Public School to attend in the shop of an uncle in Salem, and later in Boston, returning to Salem again for employment in Mr. Samuel West's bookstore. He was on the point of following the sea, and had shipped as cabin-boy for a sealing voyage in Arctic regions, when the captain who had engaged his services broke the agreement in order to take a larger and stronger boy, and diverted the current of his life. He found employment in the office of *The Salem Gazette* in 1817. Here Mr. Foote has ever since remained as apprentice, proprietor and editor, never long absent from its duties and only rarely engaged in services which called him elsewhere.

The Salem Gazette was one of the few newspapers whose commencement long antedates the present century. On the 1st of August, 1768, began the existence of the *Essex Gazette*. There were for a time transfers to other places, suspensions and changes of name, but the apprenticeship of two proprietors connects without a break the first issue with that of one hundred and nineteen years later (in 1887). The founder of the line, when Massachusetts was a British province, was the sturdy Whig rebel, Samuel Hall. The accomplished and amiable Thomas C. Cushing served his apprenticeship with Mr. Hall, and took his materials and revived the paper, after a broken period, in 1786. Mr. Cushing continued the publication of the *Gazette* until January 1, 1823, when, feeling the infirmities of age and disease pressing on him, he transferred the establishment to one of his sons, Caleb Cushing, and a nephew, Ferdinand Andrews, retiring from business to die September 28, 1824. Mr. Cushing was a man of rare excellencies of character, combining faculties of the mind and qualities of the heart which secured in no common degree the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens, and was a good master in those days of thorough business training.

The life of an apprentice was one of hard drudgery, but the printing-office is a school which gives encouragement to a boy endowed with the love of reading, for the self-education which has to take the place of the opportunities of school and college; moreover, as Mr. Foote grew up, he found kind and influential friends, who, when the opportunity arose, assisted him with a loan in establishing himself in the business by purchasing half the property in the paper. In 1825 he thus became associated with his former fellow-workman, Ferdinand Andrews, as publishers and joint owners of the *Gazette*. In 1826 Mr. William Brown succeeded Mr. Andrews, selling his interest in the paper also to Mr. Foote January 1, 1833, who

¹ By Rev. Henry W. Foote.

thus became sole editor and proprietor until January 1, 1854, when Nathaniel A. Horton, who had followed what were the traditions of this time-honored newspaper for more than a century, in growing up as an apprentice under the training of his senior, was associated with him in publishing and editing the paper. This partnership has continued till the present time (1887). On June 8, 1831, Mr. Foote had also established a small weekly paper, to which he gave the name of *The Salem Mercury*, the original title of the *Gazette*. This was afterwards enlarged and its title changed to that of *The Essex County Mercury*, and it became an important addition to the influence of the office through the wide constituency which it gained throughout the county.

Meantime such public duties as the engrossing labors of an editor would permit came to Mr. Foote. He served on the school committee in 1830-31, and was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1832 and 1833, declining a re-election. In January, 1838, having been for some years chairman of the Whig County Committee, he was elected by the Legislature, on which the duty of choosing the Executive Council at that time devolved, a member of the Council under Governor Edward Everett, and was again elected in 1839, declining a subsequent re-election.

On the accession of the Whig party to the control of the government, a change being necessary, not for party reasons only, in the Salem post-office, Mr. Foote was appointed postmaster in May, 1841, soon after the death of President Harrison, and retained the position three years, administering the office on strict business principles, entirely aloof from political methods, making no change in the subordinate officers, and keeping the business of his newspaper apart from his official duties. A pressure, however, being brought to bear by the administration to induce him to become a partisan of John Tyler and to employ the newspaper in furthering his schemes for election to the Presidency, on refusing to do so, Mr. Foote was dismissed from the post-office in April, 1844. The subsequent years and until the present time (1887), with the exception of seven months' absence in Europe in 1867, were devoted exclusively to the business of the newspaper, in which active labors it was allotted to Mr. Foote to spend a longer period than the full term of life as named by the Psalmist.

A friend, Rev. E. B. Willson, adds the following:

"Mr. Foote's life affords a noteworthy instance—not a solitary one, to be sure—of the admirable substitute which the printing-office and editorial chair may be for the training-school and the college classroom to an apt student. His style as a writer has the better qualities of one college bred—simplicity, perspicuity and purity of diction, and the art of putting things with directness and effect. His knowledge of language and his literary taste and skill are those of the scholar well grounded in English literature and versed in other languages, ancient and modern. Naturally, history, political economy and the affairs of trade and social progress come to be the studies of the conductor of an influential press, an important portion of whose readers are educated men and women. In these departments of journalism Mr. Foote's

accomplishments, at a period when such work was comparatively rare and when he was sole editor, secured for his editorial writing attention and habitual perusal and respect, which has continued during the more recent years, when the editorial responsibility has been shared with his associate. In his long career in the midst of a community characterized by a high average of intelligence and a corresponding moral standard, to have had so strong and enduring hold upon successive generations and through so many and so great changes in manners and opinions, in politics and theology, in private and in social life, bespeaks a man of weight, candor and well-balanced judgment, and of an integrity and steadiness of purpose not often paralleled. His native modesty would never permit him to obtrude his conclusions at any time where their expression was not called for; but those who have drawn from him his opinions upon topics of current interest, including such as were matters of controversy, have been pretty sure to find that he had matured opinions of his own, and that he had not only the courage of his convictions, but that he had been a courageous thinker in arriving at his convictions.

"To those who know Mr. Foote only in the common intercourse of life, and who have only come near enough to observe his unfailing courtesy of bearing, the moral courage, poise and self-reliance hidden behind those genial manners and never-ruffled tones would be likely to be a revelation wholly unsuspected. Not many a man would be able to carry himself calmly and with unshaken nerves through an interview with desperate fellows, who had, without doubt, plotted to rob him of things of value supposed to be on his person, in a retired apartment of their own selection, to which they had conducted him for this very purpose, and when he had come away unharmed from their lair would relate the affair as quietly as if it had been but a common incident. It would bring a genuine surprise to those accustomed to see one characterized by an unvarying serenity of features and urbanity of address in all situations for a lifetime, to find him capable on occasion of shielding a junior co-worker from abusive criticism by rising from the chair editorial and stepping to the front to assure a rich and influential citizen and friend in a firm and peremptory voice that, though not himself the writer, he assumed joint responsibility with the writer for what had been written, and that the course of remark which he had interrupted must cease then and there, or the visitor must leave the place. To be sure, we recognize it as the natural and right combination when courage and kindness go together; but, undubitably, it is not a conjunction so common as not to cause the surprise of delight when we witness it."

The publication and editing of a public journal in a community like that which inhabits Essex County is a self-denying and exigent task, requiring a man to become wholly merged in his work, especially where the newspaper has had an historic part for more than a hundred years in guiding opinion and helping to mould public development. The *Gazette* was founded by a patriot who had zealously espoused the American cause, and it continued the earnest supporter of the principles of Washington and Hamilton and of Federal measures and men as long as the Federalist party continued to exist. To these principles it held faithfully through the later changes of the party-names to Whig and Republican, but without being an organ of any party or individual, and, on occasion, standing alone against an unworthy candidate for high office, and securing his defeat. If a journal of this character has fulfilled its opportunities of public teaching and public influence, in the constant interest of good morals, honest politics and the religion of good-will and charity, it is a fit memorial of the life which has been devoted to it.

Mr. Foote was married, October 21, 1835, to Mary Wilder, daughter of Hon. Daniel Appleton White judge of probate for Essex County. She died December 24, 1857. Of their six children, three are surviving.

1

Henry Wheatland'



W. H. B. Mansfield, New York

Nathaniel B. Mansfield

NATHANIEL B. MANSFIELD.

Nathaniel B. Mansfield was born in Salem, October 20, 1796, three months after the death of his father. His mother was left with four children,—two daughters and two sons. Of the daughters, one married Captain Brookhouse, of Salem, and the other Joseph Eveleth, of Boston, for many years high sheriff. Of the sons, one died single, and the subject of this sketch married the daughter of William Fabens, of Salem, who was one of the successful merchants of his time.

At an early age the subject of this sketch chose the profession of the sea. Having no one to put him forward, he commenced as a sailor in the fore-castle, and by his energy and perseverance soon became officer and then master of a ship. He was part owner of the "Statesman" and "Newburyport," and transacted business between Havana and Russia for many years. He left the sea as a profession at the age of forty-five, and from that time until his death was interested in shipping. He was connected in business at diverse times with Benjamin Howard, Glidden Williams, Samuel Stevens & Co., of Boston, and Captain John Bertram, of Salem. During the last years of his life he was interested in the ice business at Panama, and established, in connection with Samuel Stevens & Co., a line of packets to Australia. Mr. Mansfield was also a member of the Marine Society of Salem.

He took great interest in politics, was an Old-Line Whig, and a member of the city government for many years as well as of the State Legislature. His great speech at that time was in connection with the land damages to be assessed on the Essex Railroad. He refused at various times the office of collector of the port. He was unceasing in his endeavors to accomplish a party victory.

He had the courage of a strong man with the tenderness of a child, and was loved and respected by all who knew him. He died September 24, 1863.

He was a man of unflinching integrity, and died, as he had lived, one of Salem's most honored and esteemed citizens.

BENJAMIN WILLIAMS CROWNINSHIELD.

Benjamin Williams Crowninshield, son of George and Mary (Derby) Crowninshield, was born at Salem, December 27, 1772; descended from Dr. John Casper Richter von Cronenshilt, a German physician, who came from Leipsic to Boston about 1688, and died there in 1711; married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth (Clifford) Allen, of Salem; owned lands near Lynn Mineral Spring Pond. Two of his sons, John and Clifford, came to Salem and were successful and enterprising merchants; John married Anstiss, daughter of John and Sarah (Manning) Williams, the father of George, above-named.

Mr. Crowninshield, like his ancestors, was largely engaged in commercial enterprises in connection

with his father and brothers, under the name of George Crowninshield & Sons. His brother, George Crowninshield, the owner of the famous pleasure yacht, the "Cleopatra's Barge," made an excursion to the ports in the Mediterranean, returning in October, 1817. He built the large brick house on Derby Street, between Curtis and Orange Streets, now occupied as the Old Women's Home. He was a member of the Massachusetts State Senate for several years, United States Secretary of Navy from December, 1814, to November, 1818, Representative in United States Congress 1823 to 1831, one of the first directors of the Merchants' Bank, Salem (incorporated June 26, 1811); married Mary Boardman, daughter of Francis and Mary (Hodges) Boardman, January 1, 1804. He removed to Boston in 1832, and died there February 8, 1851.

HENRY WHEATLAND.

Henry Wheatland, son of Richard and Martha (Goodhue) Wheatland, was born in Salem, January 11, 1812. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1832, and its Medical School in 1837. He never, however, actively engaged in the practice of medicine. At an early age he became interested in the study of natural history, and both in the neighborhood of his home and during voyages for his health to South America and Europe, he made extensive collections, which have enriched the cabinets of the scientific institutions in Salem. He was chosen superintendent of the museum of the East India Marine Society in 1837, and held that office until 1848, when, chiefly through his efforts, the Essex County Natural History Society and the Essex Historical Society—he being an active member of both societies—became united as the Essex Institute, to the building up of which he has since untiringly given the greater portion of his life, and of which society he is now the president. Leaving the field of scientific research to younger men and those who were becoming specialists in its different branches, he later devoted himself to local history and genealogy, and is now admitted to be one of the leading antiquarians in the county, from whose fund of knowledge constant draughts are being made by workers in this field.

Dr. Wheatland is one of the original trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science and its vice-president, a trustee of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology of Cambridge, and a member of the principal scientific and historical societies of the country.

NATHANIEL SILSBECK.

Nathaniel Silsbee, son of Nathaniel and Sarah (Becket) Silsbee, was born at Salem January 14, 1773; descended from Henry Silsbee, of Salem, 1639, Ipswich, 1647, Lynn, 1658, died 1700, through Nathaniel², Nathaniel³, William⁴, Nathaniel⁵. He pursued his studies with Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Hamilton;

died July 14, 1850; married, December 12, 1802, Mary, daughter of George and Mary (Derby) Crowninshield, born September 24, 1778; died September 20, 1835. In early life he was a ship-master and supercargo, afterwards a successful and eminent merchant, a Representative and Senator in Massachusetts Legislature, for three years president of the latter body, Representative United States Congress 1817-21, Senator United States Congress 1826-35.

BENJAMIN PICKMAN.

Benjamin Pickman, son of Benjamin and Mary (Toppan) Pickman, was born at Salem September 30, 1763; descended from Nathaniel Pickman, who came from Bristol, England, with his family in 1661, and settled in Salem, through Benjamin² (born in Bristol, 1645, married Elizabeth Hardy, died December, 1708), Captain Benjamin³, Colonel Benjamin⁴ and Colonel Benjamin⁵; pursued his preparatory studies at Dummer Academy, then under the charge of the celebrated "Master Moody;" graduated at Harvard College 1784; married, October 20, 1789, Anstiss, youngest daughter of Elias Hasket and Elizabeth (Crowninshield) Derby (born October 6, 1769, died June 1, 1836); studied law with Theophilus Parsons (Harvard College, 1769), then residing in Newburyport, and afterwards chief-justice of Massachusetts Supreme Court; admitted to the bar; soon relinquished the practice of the profession and engaged in commercial pursuits, in which he continued during the greater part of his life; a Representative and Senator of Massachusetts Legislature; member of Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1820; member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts; Representative United States Congress, 1809-11. He was president of the directors of the Theological School at Cambridge, and also president of the principal literary and historical and other institutions of Salem and vicinity; died at Salem August 16, 1843.

WILLIAM REED.

William Reed, son of Benjamin Tyler and Mary Appleton (Dodge) Reed, was baptized June 9, 1776; married, November 13, 1800, Hannab, daughter of Robert and Mary (Ingalls) Hooper, of Marblehead (born August, 1778; died May 16, 1855). The first ancestor was William, son of Richard Reed, of Whitelsey, in the county of Kent, who came to America about 1630, settled first at Weymouth, then removed to Boston; Samuel², Samuel³, of Marblehead, Samuel⁴, Samuel⁵, Benjamin Tyler⁶, above-named; an eminent merchant in Marblehead, and highly esteemed for his benevolent and religious character; Representative United States Congress, 1811-15; president of Sabbath-school Union of Massachusetts, of American Tract Society; an officer and member of many other educational and religious organizations. He was so deeply interested in the cause of temperance that

he was styled the "Apostle of Temperance." He died suddenly February 18, 1837. His widow, who survived several years, was always engaged in works of charity, and was regarded as a most accomplished lady and eminent Christian.

BENJAMIN GOODHUE.

Benjamin Goodhue, son of Benjamin and Martha (Hardy) Goodhue, was born at Salem, September 20, 1748; graduated at Harvard College 1766; married, January 6, 1778, Frances Richie, of Philadelphia (born June 27, 1751, died at Salem January 21, 1801); married, secondly, November 25, 1804, Anna Willard, a daughter of Abijah and Anna (Prentice) Willard, of Lancaster, Mass. (born August 20, 1763, died August 2, 1858); descended from William Goodhue, born in England in 1612, took the oath of freeman December, 1636, and probably came over in that year; settled in Ipswich and sustained the chief trusts of the town; was deacon of the First Church for many years, selectman, representative in General Court, etc.; died about 1699; through Joseph², William³, Benjamin⁴.

He early embarked in commerce with credit and success; a Whig in the Revolution; represented the county of Essex in the Senate of Massachusetts from 1784 to 1789, when he was elected a Representative to the first United States Congress under the new Constitution; in 1796 elected to the United States Senate, and in 1800 he resigned his seat and retired to private life. He died at Salem, July 28, 1814, leaving an irreproachable name to his then only surviving son, Jonathan Goodhue, of New York, a merchant who, in character and credit, stood second to none in that commercial emporium.

JOSEPH GILBERT WATERS.

Joseph Gilbert Waters was the son of Captain Joseph and Mary (Dean) Waters, of Salem, where he was born July 5, 1796, and a descendant in the sixth generation from Lawrence Waters, one of the first settlers of Watertown. He graduated at Harvard College in 1816, and studied law with John Pickering, of Salem. In the autumn of 1818 he went to Mississippi, and resided there some two or three years in the practice of his profession. Owing to ill health, he returned to Salem, and opened an office, where he resided during the remainder of his life. He was editor of the *Salem Observer* for several years from its commencement in 1823. He was appointed special justice of the Salem Police Court September 1, 1831, and standing justice February 23, 1842, and continued to discharge the duties of this latter office until the establishment of the First District Court in 1874. In 1835 he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate. He also held other offices of honor and trust. He married, December 8, 1825, Eliza Greenleaf Townsend, daughter of Captain Penn Townsend. He died July 12, 1878.

CHAPTER XIII.

LYNN.

BY JAMES R. NEWHALL.

THEN AND NOW.

*Descriptive Passages—The Indians—The Settlers—Name of the Place—
Natural Features—Productions—Embarrassments and Successes—Civil
History—Statistics.*

"I hear the tread of pioneers
Of nations yet to be,
The first low wash of waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea."

—WHITTIER.

IF, upon the afternoon of some fair day, one should, from the summit of Bunker Hill Monument, through a clear glass, direct his eye northeasterly, he will see stretching in an irregular line of something more than three miles, and at a distance of eight or ten miles, a settlement presenting such features and having such surroundings as will be likely to secure his attention for many minutes. Between him and the settlement, far beyond the circle of busy life that lies at his feet, is a stretch of marsh land of rusty gold tinge, diversified by one or two stately groves, by inlets and by salt streams, and traversed by railroads over which locomotives are constantly puffing, and highways over which horse-drawn carriages of all descriptions are constantly moving.

Extending along the rear of the settlement is a line of dark woodland hills, with here and there cropping out a gigantic porphyry cliff, overlooking many miles of sea and land. In front lies the ocean, ever rising and falling like a thing of life, expanding quietly upon the glistening beaches or dashing sullenly against the huge buttresses of storm-scarred rock, every marine craft known to these waters skimming hither and thither upon its surface.

Directing his eye to the settlement itself, the beholder would observe white suburban dwellings scattered about in picturesque niches with gardens and groves. Then come the central portions, with ponderous business structures, the tall smoke-ejecting chimnies proclaiming the reign of industry and thrift, and in every neighborhood some lofty steeple or graceful tower, testifying to a realization of the higher duties of life.

This is Lynn. And probably no place upon the New England coast can present more attractive features and such varied scenery. It is one of the oldest settlements of Massachusetts, as distinguished from Plymouth, and has always maintained a steady, though not rapid, growth, till, at the present time, it has reached a population of very near 50,000. It is on the northern shore of the great bay which is entered from the Atlantic through the gateway formed by Cape Ann, so named by Prince Charles in filial re-

spect for his mother, and Cape Cod, so named by the notable English navigator, Bartholomew Gosnold, from the circumstance of finding multitudes of cod-fish sporting about there. It was the central one of the three important settlements commenced at nearly the same time,—namely, Salem, Lynn and Boston; is five miles southwest of the former, and ten miles northeast of the latter. It is not now very extensive, territorially, but as regards population is the largest city in the United States, east of Boston.

THE INDIANS.

"Where now the poor Indian scatters the sod
With offerings burnt to an unknown god,
By gospel light shall the path be trod
To the courts of the Prince of Peace.

"And here will commerce appoint her mart;
The marble will yield to the hand of art;
From the sun of science the rays will dart;
And the darkness of Nature cease!"

—H. F. GOULD.

Before proceeding to other topics, a few words regarding the Indian race found here may not be inappropriate. But of that race we are almost entirely destitute of substantial or illustrative details. Enough, however, is known to show that they were not a superior people, but rather a poor specimen of the human family, though the poet and sentimentalist have clothed them in glowing drapery, and awarded them singular nobleness of character. It is natural to feel a deep interest in those who before us occupied the soil we inherit, whether they were of our own kindred or of other tribes, and it is hard not to assign to them ideal virtues. But yet it is unaccountable that so many writers, notwithstanding the authentic accounts of the horrid barbarities of the red men, as a people, of their ignorance and depravity, should persist in giving them such an elevated sense of honor and such refinement of sensibility. From comparisons made by some enthusiasts it would seem as if these "children of nature" were thought to be superior to all other people of all time. But in estimating the character of these, our predecessors upon the soil, would it not be well to call to mind some of the incidents that roughly touched our own Essex County—the barbarities experienced by the Dustin and Rolfe families, in the terrible attacks on Haverhill, and the fate of the "Flower of Essex" at Bloody Brook, for instance?

There is abundant evidence that there were individuals of the Indian tribes of lofty character. Gratitude is a noble trait, and of its possession they furnish touching examples. With unwavering constancy they would cleave to their friends; but with delight and remorseless vigor they would cleave down their enemies. Of physical courage, endurance of pain, and contempt of death they present conspicuous examples. But these would not be offered as evidence of true exaltation. That here and there an individual of exceptional magnanimity appeared is not denied; but the great body were degraded in the

extreme. It would be unjust to assume that they, as a people, were destitute of the innate sense of right that distinguishes human nature wherever found, or that there were not many endowed with those finer feelings which, under favoring circumstances, can modify and redeem.

To the honor of the people of the Bay settlements it may be said that their conduct towards the natives was generally marked by justice, if not generosity, and, hence, but little hostility was experienced till they had become strong enough to dismiss their fears. It was not till the great struggle of 1675, known as King Philip's War, that much occurred hereabout to cause real alarm.

The unmeasured censure that some have bestowed upon the settlers for what is termed their unjust seizure of lands, in given instances, may have been well merited, for it is sad to believe that some came with very different motives from those popularly ascribed to them, and which they professed. These were unscrupulous in their dealings with the Indians, and overreached and wronged them in every possible way; but there were comparatively few of such unworthy ones.

In treating of Indian land titles, and their absorption by the settlers, an important fact is usually left out of view,—namely, the fact that the Indians were themselves but land robbers. They boastfully asserted that the country did not originally belong to them, but that their brave fathers wrested it by bloody war from the former possessors; defiantly endeavoring to strike terror into the settlers by thus claiming to be a race of conquerors, who might, in good time, rally and drive the pale-faced usurpers into the sea over which they had intrusively ventured. Yes, they and their fathers were brave; but their bravery was far too generally that of violence and lust for blood.

And another thing: the Indians did not cultivate the soil, at least to any extent, for they were by no means an agricultural people. The great command to "till the soil" they did not obey, but remained unfaithful stewards; and there is, perhaps, room for the casuist to assume that as they would not perform their duty, there was no wrong in replacing them by those more faithful.

To follow some writers, one might imagine that the dusky dames and damsels had remarkably refined ideas and graceful accomplishments; that in music especially they were really proficient; and, though destitute of guitars and pianos, had a felicitous way of modulating their voices by the songs of birds or purring of mountain rills. And they would lead us in imagination to listen to melodious strains ringing through the forest aisles as thrilling as the song of the old Spanish troubadour and as inspiring as a cathedral symphony. That many of them had musical voices and a perception of true rhythm may not be questioned; nor need it be doubted that they had

ability to express the natural feelings in song and significant action. Says the poet,—

"The Indian maid danced on the smooth curving shore,
And mingled her song with the wild ocean roar."

But that she danced "scientifically" or had what we understand to be trained musical powers, is hardly to be believed. Most certainly the musical instruments of our red brethren did not produce peculiarly harmonious sounds. And if the war-songs were modulated by the notes of birds, they must have been birds of rasping cry, like the crow or hawk.

To conclude: the Indian population hereabout was quite small at the time the whites came. The exact number cannot of course be known; but there could not have been above a few hundreds. They were a degraded people, but brethren of our own race, possessing in some degree every quality that goes to make up the human being. They were unrefined and governed chiefly by the lower instincts of our nature, with undisciplined minds and unawakened moral sensibilities.

THE SETTLERS.

"Deep-minded and austere they were,
With hearts of graver throbs,
And their few errors but appear
As spots on vestal robes."

It was in the autumn of 1626 that the sturdy Roger Conant broke up the unsuccessful fishing and planting station at Cape Ann, and led his little company, among whom was the clerical mischief-maker Lyford, some fifteen miles inland and located at Naumkeag, where, though subject to many privations, their "utter denial to go away" resulted in permanent occupation. Two years afterwards, in 1628, Endicott arrived with his large company. Presently the old Indian name Naumkeag was dropped, and that of Salem, or Peace, adopted; and the settlement soon began to be noted for its business activity, its political and ethical influence.

Some of the new-comers had hardly remained long enough to recover from the excitement attendant on the emigration, and the fatigues of the passage, when they became restless and desirous of trying their fortunes in other and, as they conceived, more promising localities. Permission seems to have been readily obtained for little companies to sit down almost anywhere within the Patent. Indeed, the authoritative Endicott allowed them the broad privilege to "go where they would."

Now let us, by the light of tradition, behold, on a bright day in the early part of the summer of that eventful year 1629, a little company of white men, prospectors from Naumkeag, coming over the rocky hills into the fair Saugus territory. They pause now upon a sunny hill-top, then upon a pleasant plain; they traverse the woodland precinct, view the ponds and water-courses; but above all, delight to gaze upon the ocean, beyond which lies their native isle. But all is done with an eye to the practicability of perma-

nently pitching their tents. A few skulking Indians, perhaps, followed them unseen, filled with wonder and apprehension, because it had been foretold by the dusky prophets that men of fair complexion would one day come and occupy the land. But no hostile demonstrations were made, and the prospectors returned safe, and so well satisfied that it was determined to immediately commence a settlement.

"Over the eastern hills they came,
A sturdy, grave and godly band.
A band then all unknown to fame,
But destined to redeem the land."

And thus it was, that in June, 1629, the settlement of Lynn was commenced—three years after that of Salem, and one year before that of Boston.

The Indian population, as just intimated, was then so small as to be really insignificant; and not being a pastoral or an agricultural people, the land itself was to them of little value, excepting that the woods yielded a fair amount of game, and a few vegetable products afforded some little addition to their limited variety of food. But the sea was a never-failing source of supply; and it is not to be wondered at that the thought of being driven away to some unknown land, where its bright expanse could no more be seen, nor its winsome voice heard, and especially where its store of dainty food could no more be drawn upon, must have been depressing in the extreme. Nor is it to be supposed that, nomadic as to some extent they were, they had not local attachments; that, homely as were their rustic abodes, they were not loved with all the ardor felt by the more cultured of our race, such attachments not being governed by intellectual or moral sentiments. Yet they do not appear to have received the strangers in anything like a hostile attitude.

The names of all who composed the first little company of settlers do not seem to have been anywhere preserved. But EDMUND INGALLS and FRANCIS, his brother, were certainly prominent among them. Edmund Ingalls was a maltster, and established the first malt-house hereabout, though he undoubtedly turned his hand to other employments as exigency required. The industrial portion of the settlers necessarily pursued various occupations in different seasons. The death of Mr. Ingalls, which took place nearly twenty years after, was tragical. He was proceeding on horseback homeward from a short journey westward, when, on reaching the frail little bridge that crossed the Saugus River, he was precipitated into the stream and drowned. The General Court expressed their regrets at the untoward accident, and their willingness to do something indicative of their appreciation of the good services of the deceased by voting the sum of a hundred pounds to his children.

FRANCIS INGALLS, brother of the foregoing, was a tanner, and established a tannery just within the present limits of Swampscott. Mr. Lewis says this was the first tannery in New England; and Mr. Thompson says the same. But it is a mistake. There were tan-

ners in Plymouth several years before. Mr. Ingalls tannery was no doubt the first in Massachusetts, as distinguished from Plymouth. He died at the age of seventy-one years, leaving a will dated August 12, 1672. The inventory of his estate was filed soon after his decease, and the following enumeration of assets will give something of an idea of the estate and household equipment of a fairly well-to-do denizen of that primitive period:

"5 acres of meadow, at Lyn, at 5 pounds, £25. A piece of land in y^e wilderness at Lyn, 2 coats, 2 pairs of breeches, 1 pair draws, and a leather dublet, and a wea-coat, 1 hat and a pair of stockens, 1 pr. shoes, 3 prs. pillows, 3 napkins, 8 pieces of old pewter, 1 Iron Kittoll, a frying pan, 1 Bible and another book, a warming pan, and dripping pan, 3 chairs, 4 cushions, a spinning wheele, 2 silver spoons. Dues to his estate from Nicholas Rich, 17£ 17s. Dues to his estate from Thomas Taylor, 11£."

With the Ingalls brothers appear to have come three others, namely, WILLIAM DIXEY, JOHN WOOD and WILLIAM WOOD, the two latter supposed to be father and son. The father, John, seems to have been a good, common-sense, plodding settler, industrious, but with little ambition. William, the son, was evidently an active, aspiring young man, something of a rover, a keen observer and one desirous of making a mark. And he did make a mark, which remains conspicuous at this day. He may well be called the first historian of Lynn, or indeed of New England. He was the author of "New England's Prospect," which was printed in London in 1634. It was a work evidently inspired by a love for his new home, and gives graphic accounts of the different settlements, their condition, advantages and prospects, with shrewd suggestions and honest deductions, but withal tinged by crude conceptions, more or less attributable to the peculiar views and circumstances of the settlers, and the conceits of the time. His quaint descriptions will continue to be quoted so long as our early history continues to interest. He also, in 1635, published a map of New England, engraved on wood.

The William Dixey who came in company with the Ingalls brothers and the Woods appears to have been a common laborer rather than a handicraftsman. He had been for a short time a servant to Isaac Johnson, of Salem,—very likely a farm laborer, as such employees were in those days called servants. In a deposition made by him some twenty-eight years afterward he speaks of others having come with him, but does not give their names, and says they kept their "cattell in Nahant the sumer following." He subsequently removed to Salem, where he kept the ferry over North River.

Thus we find that during this year—1629—at least five settlers appeared, some of them heads of families, with wives and children no doubt. We have seen, too, by their occupations, that they must have belonged to the classes accustomed to labor, and conse-

quently best fitted to endure the hardships attendant on such an enterprise.

Details regarding memorable events are always interesting, and the introduction of the actors in them renders them doubly so. And surely it is but a meet act of gratitude to endeavor to preserve the names of such as are fully entitled to live forever in the memory of those who continue to enjoy the blessings of institutions founded by them in toil and privation, even though those names may not yet have been heard beyond the circumscribed limits of their ancient home. A conviction like this may often govern in the present sketch.

During the year 1630 some fifty additional male settlers appeared. These, however, were not all heads of families. Among them are found several names still prevalent among us,—a fact indicative of their primary design to make this a permanent home. They settled in all parts of the town, which was then territorially much more extensive than it is now, some locating as many as ten miles from others. They brought with them considerable farm stock, such as neat cattle, sheep and goats, for they were chiefly husbandmen or such as at some portions of the year could turn their attention to farming. Their names are here inserted in alphabetical order, for it is well thus to preserve their memory, as many now living can trace their lineage directly to them. Occasion, however, may be taken elsewhere in this sketch to say something further concerning several of them who, for various reasons, are entitled to more than a passing notice.

Armitage, Godfrey.	Howe, Daniel.
Armitage, Joseph.	Howe, Edward.
Azey, James.	Hubbard, Thomas.
Baker, Edward.	Hudson, Thomas.
Ballard, William.	Hussey, Christopher.
Bancroft, John.	Keyser, George.
Bennet, Samuel.	Lindsey, Christopher.
Breed, Allen.	Negus, Jonathan.
Brown, Nicholas.	Newhall, Thomas.
Burrill, George.	Potter, Robert.
Burton, Boniface.	Ramsdell, John.
Chadwell, Thomas.	Rednap, Joseph.
Coldam, Clement.	Richards, Edward.
Coldam, Thomas.	Salmon, Daniel.
Cowdry, William.	Smith, John.
Dexter, Thomas.	Smith, Samuel.
Driver, Robert.	Talmadge, Thomas.
Edmunds, William.	Taylor, John.
Farr, George.	Tomlins, Edward.
Feake, Henry.	Tomlins, Timothy.
Fitch, Jeremiah.	Turner, Nathaniel.
Graves, Samuel.	Walker, Richard.
Hall, John.	White, John.
Hathorne, William.	Wilkins, Bray.
Hawkes, Adam.	Willis, Thomas.
Hawkes, John.	Witter, William.
Holyoke, Edward.	Wright, Richard.

After 1630 the population steadily increased. Among the new-comers were some of established reputation in public life and some of high social standing; so the place began to be of note and influence. It will probably be in our way as we proceed to intro-

duce many who, at different periods and in various ways, added to the prosperity and fame of this their adopted home.

NAME, NATURAL FEATURES, PRODUCTIONS, EMBARRASMENTS AND SUCCESSES.

"In sooth, your honor, it was a goodly place; but rich domains attract evil eyes."

The original or Indian name of the territory composing the present city of Lynn and the adjacent towns which once formed a part of her domain was Saugus, an Indian word said to signify *great* or *extended*; and by that name it was known till 1637, when the General Court passed this concise order: "SAUGUST IS CALLED LIN." The name Lynn was adopted from Lynn Regis, or King's Lynn, Norfolk, England, which is a venerable borough upon the river Ouse, near where it falls into the German Ocean. It has been a seaport of some importance for centuries, and has a peculiarly interesting history, having, apparently, maintained its loyalty to the sovereign through all the political agitations and civil wars from the time of King John, which monarch presented to the corporation a sword, a mace and one or two other regal gifts, which are still treasured there with chivalrous fidelity. In Doomsday Book, A. D. 1086, Lynn Regis is called Lenne, which means, in the ancient language of Britain, "spreading waters." The name here was adopted through courtesy to Rev. Mr. Whiting, the second minister, who had been a resident of King's Lynn. He was much beloved, being eminent for learning, piety and serenity of temper. He ministered here for the long period of forty-three years.

The extensive Saugus territory, having thus received the name of Lynn, remained intact but few years before it began to be shorn of outlying portions. But down to 1814 no very extensive tract had been severed. In that year Lynnfield, which had been called Lynn End, and having been incorporated as a district in 1782, was set off as a separate town under its present name. Another portion was, by legislative action, taken from the mother town in 1815, and incorporated under the name Saugus, thus reviving the old name in that detached portion of the territory. In 1852 still another portion was set off, and the new town of Swampscott came into being. The next year, 1853, the pleasant little peninsula of Nahant was unbound and made a separate municipality. By these facts it will be seen that it is very difficult to treat those municipal children of Lynn as having any separate early history.

Along the inland border of Lynn rise extensive ranges of rocky, wooded hills, never attaining a height of more than two hundred and twenty-five feet, though appearing, from the water or from the shoreward levels, to be much higher, which overlook the city and its village environs, with meadows, lakelets and low, level marshes, the latter sometimes

entirely submerged by the storm-impelled sea which relentlessly floats off the laboriously raised stacks of salt hay, and afford the strange sight of railroad trains apparently gliding upon the ocean's surface. This marsh hay, it may be remarked, though by no means so highly esteemed for fodder as English or upland hay, is yet well worth the labor of storing. For stock, though not very palatable, it is healthful, and for some purposes quite valuable.

Away beyond, lies the great expanse of Massachusetts Bay, with numerous green isles and headlands, the shores at night illuminated by innumerable lights, confusing, one might suppose, to the mariner, though picturesque to the beholder. Almost the whole of Massachusetts Bay is within the range of vision from the hills of Lynn. And glistening in the sunshine may likewise be seen the gilded dome of the State House, in Boston, some of the architectural piles of the city and the blue hills of Norfolk, Middlesex and Worcester. And the writer dares predict that these hills, so picturesque and pleasant in themselves, so airy and affording such charming views, and withal furnishing such abundance of substantial and handsome building material, will, ere many years have passed, be occupied by structures rivaling in grandeur and romantic conceit many that crown the famed steepes of the Old World. True, in some parts the ascents and descents are such that, for the infirm and sluggish, sidewalk stairs, such as are seen in the beautiful Mediterranean isle of Malta, might be required,—incentives to maledictions like those attributed to the impetuous Byron:

"Adieu, ye cursed streets of stairs,
How surely he who mounts you swears."

But to such as are enraptured with nature in her more untamed aspect, the hope will long remain that such desolating improvements may never come. But it is enough for the good people of this generation that they may yet, upon the sunny heights, enjoy the budding beauties of spring, in the sequestered glens find retreats for summer's fervid hours, and everywhere, as the year draws towards its close, witness the indescribable glow of autumn foliage. Yes, and winter, too, has its charms. What more enchanting than the frosted trees? Suddenly, as if by some celestial alchemy, every limb and twig seems swaying with the weight of brilliant gems. No wonder that poets have so often celebrated the charms of such fairy scenes. Our own Lewis has commemorated, in lines perhaps the most inspiring that he ever wrote, the striking display on the brilliant morning of January 29, 1829. But ours is not the only land in which may be witnessed these radiant exhibitions of Nature's scenic power. In Philip's "Epistle to the Earl of Dorset," written at Copenhagen in 1709, is this graphic passage, which may well be quoted as descriptive of the scene sometimes presented here:

"And yet but lately have I seen, even here,
The winter in a lovely dress appear;

Ere yet the clouds let fall the treasured snow,
Or winds begun through hazy skies to blow.
At evening a keen eastern breeze arose,
And the descending rain unsully'd froze.
Soon as the silent shades of night withdrew,
The ruddy morn disclosed at once to view
The face of Nature in a rich disguise,
And brightened every object to my eyes;
For every shrub and every blade of grass,
And every pointed thorn seemed wrought in glass;
In pearls and rubies rich the hawthorns show,
While though the ice the crimson berries glow.
The thick-sprung reeds which watery marshes yield,
Seem polished lances in a hostile field.
The stag, in limpid currents with surprise,
Sees crystal branches on his forehead rise;
The spreading oak, the beech and towering pine,
Glazed over, in the freezing ether shine.
The frightened birds the rattling branches shun,
Which wave and glitter in the distant sun.
When, if a sudden gust of wind arise,
The brittle forest into atoms flies,
The crackling wood beneath the tempest bends,
And in a spangled shower the prospect ends."

The "Lakes of Lynn," as Mr. Lewis felicitously calls the chain of beautiful ponds that lie upon our inland border, are a charming feature of the landscape. And during these latter years the eligibility of their romantic borders for retired and tasteful residences has become most fully recognized. From them is annually reaped an abundant winter harvest of ice for summer use—collectively some sixty thousand tons. And in various ways they are made to supply the wants and add to the comforts of the people, especially Birch and Breed's Ponds, through which comes our public water supply. The principal of these picturesque lakelets, with their areas, are as follows:

	ACRES.		ACRES.
Birch Pond.....	84	Gold Fish Pond.....	1½
Breed's Pond.....	64	Holder's Pond.....	7
Cedar Pond.....	43	Lily Pond.....	4
Flax Pond.....	75	Sluice Pond.....	50
Floating Bridge Pond.....	17		

BIRCH POND is an artificial reservoir, or storage basin, formed in 1873, for the purpose of an additional supply of water for public use. It was made by carrying a substantial dam across Birch Brook Valley, on the east of Walnut Street, near the Saugus line. A considerable part of this pond is in Saugus.

BREED'S POND is also artificial, and takes its name from Theophilus N. Breed, who, in 1843, built a dam across the valley a few rods from Oak Street, on the north. He thus procured sufficient power for the iron works he established on Oak Street. On the 15th of April, 1851, during the memorable storm by which the light-house on Minot's Ledge was carried away, some forty feet of the dam were demolished, and out rushed the water in a current ten feet in depth, with such impetuosity that large rocks were carried across Oak Street into the meadow below. The dam was repaired and Mr. Breed continued his business, which was iron-casting and machine work, five or six years longer, and then the works were closed.

In 1860 the dam was broken, and the water suffered

to escape, leaving a bed which remained a noxious bog, where rank vegetation flourished and noisy reptiles congregated. In 1863, however, the dam was again repaired, the pond restored and other business commenced. Finally, after an interval of idleness, in 1870, the city purchased the property as the first step towards securing a suitable public supply of pure water. Repairs were made about the pond, the Pine Hill Reservoir was built, pipes were laid in the streets, the pumping engine was set up on Walnut Street and then, on the 27th of February, 1873, the water was sent coursing through the distributing pipes. The reservoir has a capacity of twenty million gallons and is one hundred and seventy-seven feet above sea level.

CEDAR POND is in the northeast section of the city, near the Peabody line, and by a small stream connects with Sluice Pond.

FLAX POND was first looked to for a public water supply. It was in 1869 that it became apparent that something must speedily be done in that direction. It was found that this pond, with its adjuncts, could furnish a daily average of three million gallons, but objections were made as to its use for domestic purposes on account of impurities. A temporary arrangement, however, was made for its use in cases of fire. Pipes were laid, and on the 8th of December, of the year named, the water was sent coursing to the hydrants in various parts of the city. And that was the first time the city received a supply from any source, by aqueduct, for any purpose. This arrangement continued till a supply for all needs was secured from other sources. Flax Pond, from the earliest times, has yielded its waters for many useful purposes. The principal stream that it sends forth is Strawberry Brook, which, in its course to the ocean, has carried mills, supplied tanneries and done many other useful things, besides answering as a highway for the alewives to reach their spawning-grounds. This pond, likewise, is to a considerable extent artificial; and its name was derived from the circumstance that much of the flax which in former times was raised hereabout was taken there to be duly rotted.

FLOATING BRIDGE POND.—This lies in the direct line of the old Salem and Boston turnpike, and the bridge by which it is crossed floats upon the surface, a circumstance that gave rise to the name. This pond is of great depth, so much so that in former times it was spoken of as "without a bottom." The bridge lies flat upon the surface, and, as carriages pass, the water is forced up between the planks, so that some portions are always wet. Stacey's Brook, which discharges at King's Beach, has its rise in Floating Bridge Pond.

GOLD FISH POND.—This is a small gathering of water and occupies what was formerly a brambly bog. It is on Fayette Street, near Lewis, and close by the spot on which Edmund Ingalls, one of the very first settlers, established himself in 1629; hence it was

sometimes called "Ingalls's Pond." It was likewise called "The Swamp," in view of its swampy condition and uncomely aspect. But in 1870, at an expense of about three thousand seven hundred dollars, such improvements were made as rendered it one of the chief ornaments of that part of the city. Especially has it a most attractive appearance at evening, in the lustre of the electric light. About 1840 it began to be called Gold Fish Pond, the name originating in the fact that in it had then appeared large numbers of goldfish, supposed to have been the offspring of five of the species which some boys procured and let loose there in 1837. These fish became so abundant that in a few years the youth of the neighborhood gained many a dime by peddling them about town from buckets of water.

HOLDER'S POND is a pretty little woodland lakelet among the rocky hills, with wild, tangled paths upon its borders, as sequestered as any misanthrope would desire, for his musing hours. And in winter it affords, like all the other ponds, a fine surface for the skater's sports.

LILY POND is upon the north of Boston Street, and near the Peabody line, a portion lying within the limits of St. Joseph's Cemetery. It no doubt acquired its name from the splendid growth of white lilies that year after year, before the multitudes of juvenile depredators began to make their descents, adorned its surface, and perfumed the air around.

SLUICE POND.—At the time the matter of establishing public water-works in Lynn was under discussion, the waters of various sources were analyzed, and it was found that those of Sluice Pond were the purest. This little lake lies near the northeast border, in what used to be called Dye Factory Village, but now Wyoma. It is of irregular shape, and with it, by a gentle little stream, Cedar Pond is connected. The waters of this pond have for many years been utilized for mechanical purposes, the sluice-way through which they passed giving the pond its name; it was, however, formerly called Tomlins's Pond. A small stream connects its waters with Flax Pond, so that Cedar, Sluice and Flax form links to the chain that reaches the ocean by way of Strawberry Brook.

SPRING POND, the main body of which lies in Salem, though the famous mineral spring, from which its name is derived, is just within the Lynn border, has an interesting history which would more properly be given elsewhere. Then there is the little pond, if it can properly be so called, near the centre of the Common. This was formed in 1835, by intercepting the waters of a little brook that pursued its weedy way across that pleasant public ground. Improvements were made and the fountain placed in 1871.

Nothing need be added, perhaps, regarding the mill-ponds that have from time to time been formed by individual enterprise and for individual emolument, though they have added to the prosperity of the place and done their part in the way of beautifying. That

on Federal Street was formed as early as 1655, was dug by hand, and is still supplied by water from Flax Pond, coursing along the canal, tapping Strawberry Brook at Park Street, and running on through a part of Marion. Then there is the twenty-acre mill-pond near the foot of Pleasant Street, formed by Mr. John Alley, in 1831, by running a dam from his wharf to the marsh.

The territory of Lynn presents an interesting field for the geologist. Here are literally hills of porphyry of various colors, red and a beautiful purple predominating, which would, were the stone not so difficult to work, afford an inexhaustible store of handsome and cheap building material. It is now, however, beginning to be used to some extent, in the rubble form. The beautiful walls of Saint Stephen's Church are chiefly composed of it; also those of the First Universalist Church, in Nahant Street. There are likewise large deposits of green stone and syenite. In blasting for the pipes of the City Water-Works up the hill opposite the pumping station on Walnut Street, beautiful dendrites of manganese were found in abundance. Enormous boulders of granite are found in the woods and upon the shores; but these are now fast disappearing, for building purposes. There are also veins of quartz; and there is a tradition that some of the early settlers found gold, in small quantities. The eminent geologist, Agassiz, long had a summer residence at Nahant, and many interesting facts have been brought to light by his researches. The rugged battlements of rock that frown along the shores of the peninsula, upon which he so loved to gaze, and whose mysterious construction he so loved to investigate, we are assured, stood there in solemn majesty ages before Europe emerged from the chaotic mass.

In an examination of the geology of Lynn, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant would naturally be included. But in this place nothing more than a mere suggestion or two can be made as to the various interesting formations. It is profitless to speculate as to what the condition of the formations and deposits was ages ago, or to endeavor by present appearances to trace the operations of nature in pre-historic times. It may, however, be noted as an interesting fact, touching the history of Essex County, that geological researches long ago led to the belief that at a remote period the Merrimac River, after entering Massachusetts from New Hampshire, instead of pursuing its present course, and discharging its waters at Newburyport, followed a more direct line, and cast its contribution into the Atlantic at Lynn. Supposing that to have been the case, and that it had continued to the present time, where now would have been that line of thrifty Essex County border cities and towns, Lawrence, Haverhill, Bradford, West Newbury and the others that so adorn the whole extent of the beautiful valley; yea, and Newburyport herself?

Lynn cannot now boast of a lordly stream like the Merrimac, but she can boast of her bright little Saugus that traverses her western border—a modest little river, to be sure, but one which has largely contributed to her prosperity during her whole history, by furnishing eligible mill-sites and other manufacturing privileges, and by yielding abundance of various kinds of excellent shore fish. Tons of eels have sometimes been speared from beneath the ice during a single winter, and the clam-banks near the mouth have yielded of their abundance many a nutritive meal for the humble board of the poor as well as savory addition to the luxurious table of the rich. Indeed, the extremity of poverty, at least in the matter of food, was never so keenly felt by the settlers hereabout as by those farther inland, the sea, like a faithful parent, being always a good provider. In addition to all these benefits may be mentioned the facilities for salt water bathing, and boating sports. And now, with its tributaries of pure water, this gentle river of Saugus is about to swell the volume of Lynn's public supply.

It was upon the border of Saugus River that the ancient iron-works, said to have been the first in America, were established. And in a romantic glen, a stone's throw from the bloomery, it is alleged, a band of pirates concealed themselves, after quitting their bloody traffic upon the seas, remaining undisturbed till a King's cruiser appeared upon the coast, when capture and swift retribution overtook most of them.

Lynn, as before stated, is about ten miles northeast of Boston, the metropolis of New England. Including Swampscott and Nahant, which, though they have now become separate municipalities, still seem to be mere territorial outposts, the seashore line measures about six miles; and inland from the sea the line measures about five miles. The main body of the city, or rather of the business portion, occupies a plain, with the sea in front. But there are some diversities of surface, Sagamore Hill and the Highlands being airy elevations, crowned by many fine residences.

It can hardly be said that the soil of Lynn is naturally fertile. It is stony, and in many places the descent towards the sea is so considerable that the droughts of summer often have a serious effect. Nevertheless, such an abundance of rich manuring material is day by day thrown up by the sea, and the means of irrigation are so near at hand, that the labors of even the indigent husbandman need not be in vain. Farming was, of course, the chief occupation of most of the early settlers, and it is stated by Graham that in 1637 there were thirty-seven plows in the whole colony, most of them being in Lynn.

In the early times of the settlement the woods, the beaches and marshes furnished irresistible attractions for the sportsman. Feathered game of various kinds was found in the woods, upon the beaches and

marshes; cod, haddock, bass and halibut sported in the offing; and the woods furnished a good share of wild meat.

Of feathered game very little is now found. The fish, or rather the fishing interest, was chiefly taken away by our undutiful children, Nahant and Swampscott, when they departed; and, of course, in the sketches of those places, some account of it will appear. As to furred game, there is now almost literally none in the woods. Occasionally a shame-faced sportsman may be seen shying from the forest at evening, possibly with a poor little rabbit, but most likely empty-handed.

William Wood, the author of "New England's Prospect," who has already been spoken of as a resident of Lynn, was inclined occasionally to give his descriptive passages in numbers. He did not, probably, aspire to the character of poet, though, with as good grace as some others, he might have done so; and perhaps, having called him the first historian of Lynn, we may as well also call him the first poet. Of the flora of this region he discourses briefly in numbers, mentioning among the trees, the oak, cypress, pine, chestnut, cedar, walnut, spruce, ash, elm, maple, birch and some others of smaller growth; naming also the "diar's shumach," the "snake-murdering hazell" and "sweet saxaphrage, whose spurnes in beere allays hot fever's rage." Most of these kinds are still common in Lynn woods, though the chestnut and one or two others are not often seen. The hemlock, one of the most graceful native trees of New England, he does not allude to, excepting, perhaps, under some other name.

Mr. Wood mentions some of the fruits of this "Indian orchard," but does not go much into particulars. Blueberries, blackberries, cranberries, raspberries and whortleberries are still common in the woods and meadows. One of the best known shrubs at present found is the barberry, the root of which was formerly much used in dyeing, as it imparts a beautiful yellow. It bears an acid berry, of bright scarlet, from which an excellent preserve is made. It is, however, no doubt an exotic, and akin to that which in England is called the pepperidge bush. The early settlers introduced some plants for which after-generations had little cause to be thankful; among them the white-weed, now known by the more dainty name of field-daisy, and the wood-wax, that beautiful pest of pasture land. But the barberry seems to hold a doubtful rank. Its prevalence, more than a hundred years ago, became so injurious in the pastures that the law interposed to check its increase. It, however, requires such a peculiarity of soil, that to this day it has not spread over a great extent of territory. Even in most parts of Massachusetts a barberry bush was never seen. The General Court, in 1753, ordered that all persons having barberry bushes growing on their lands should extirpate them before the 10th of June, 1760. And the surveyors of highways were required

to destroy all growing by the roadside within the specified time, or the towns should pay two shillings for every one left standing. The reasons for this order were that those bushes had so much increased that the pasture lands were greatly encumbered; and it was imagined that "a steam flew off" from them that blasted the English grain. So it appears that left-handed thanks were due to the people of other lands, in the early days, for questionable gifts, as well as from us of this generation for the gift of the sarcastically-twittering English sparrow. But then it should be remembered that the many nobler gifts from abroad far outnumber the few of doubtful value.

In the woods and fields, the tangled dells and damp vales, along the weedy rills and upon the rocky heights, may still be gathered wild flowers in great variety, from the brilliant cardinal to the shrinking violet. To sum up in a terse sentence of Mr. Lewis, "The forests, fields and meadows are rich in the abundance and variety of medicinal plants, and the town presents a fine field for the botanist."

Very few parts of the New England coast present so many interesting and at times sublime features as those within and about Lynn. Here bold and jagged cliffs of greenstone, feldspar and other adamantine formations rear themselves as impregnable barriers against the inroads of the ever-assaulting ocean; there, broad beaches of fine, gray sand, so compact and hard that carriage wheels scarcely make an impression, with ridges of the wonderful up-castings of the sea—shells of curious shape and glistening stones of every color and form. In pleasant weather and during the warm season there are many attractions for the pleasure-seeker in promenading, boating and fishing; and for the health-seeker in refreshing breezes, quiet retirement and the restoring sea-bath.

The principal beach is that which joins Nahant to Lynn, and has, from early times, been known as Long Beach. It is nearly two miles in length, and forms a gentle curve. The early geographers spoke of it as a very curious formation. To the first settlers it seems to have been the scene of weird mystery, awe-inspiring and not unmixed with undefinable apprehension. Its hollow moanings warned, its gentle murmurings relieved. Mr. Wood thus alludes to it,—
"Vpon y^e south side of y^e Sandy Beach y^e sea beateth, which is a sure prognostication to presage stormes and foule weather and y^e breaking vp of Frost. For when a storme hath beene or is likely to be itt will roare like Thunder, being hearde six myles." The roaring is not, however, always indicative of an approaching storm, as it arises from the violent driving in of heavy seas by out-winds. The wind may change and the threatening cease. Long Beach was a favorite sporting-ground with the Indians, and gambling groups sometimes assembled here, for the Indians were great gamblers, often risking all their possessions, even to papoose or squaw, upon the turning up of a shell or fall of a stone. The

Indian sagamore dwelt upon the neighboring height that overlooks the beach, and from there was accustomed to view the athletic sports of his people, which took place on the sandy plateau, sometimes being unable to restrain himself from joining in the contests—the same picturesque height that still bears the name Sagamore Hill, and is now crowned by commodious dwellings, stores and other marks of refined and busy life.

Upon these beaches and along the rocky indentations of this rugged coast the sea has, from time to time, cast up from her mysterious store-house wonderful specimens of the deposits there. And they have also been the scene of some most appalling shipwrecks and other marine disasters. Government has done something to lessen the dangers, and still much needs to be done. Egg Rock towers up in the offing, eighty-six feet above sea level, and has an area of some three acres, on one-third of which is a shallow layer of soil. It is a precipitous cliff of feldspar, incapable of being landed upon, excepting at one point and during a calm sea. Upon this lonely rock, which is a couple of miles from Long Beach, a mile from Nahant and three miles from Swampscott, a lighthouse has been erected, which for the first time shed forth its hospitable beams on the night of September 15, 1856.

From time to time the territorial integrity of old Lynn has been raided upon. As already remarked, Lynnfield was set off in 1814, Saugus in 1815, Swampscott in 1852 and Nahant in 1853. But as to the latter, some two centuries ago, it was in danger of being severed from the parent, for it was in 1688 that Edward Randolph, who has been called the evil genius of New England, petitioned Governor Andros for the gift of Nahant, indulging, no doubt, in the pleasant dream of erecting a sort of baronial establishment for himself there. His choice of a seat certainly indicated good taste, if not a love for fair dealing. The town was notified of the petition, and great excitement ensued, it being well known that the petitioner had much influence as counselor, secretary and personal friend of the Governor. He had been sent out to report on the condition of the colonies, and was justly reputed to be unfriendly to their interests. There was no doubt of his high prerogative proclivities, nor of his being one of the chief instruments in annulling the beloved old charter. He himself says that he was regarded at Boston "more like a spy than one of his majesty's servants," and speaks of being welcomed, on his return from a brief absence, by "a paper of scandalous verses." The nature of these "scandalous verses" may be gathered from the following extract:

"Welcome, Sir, welcome from y^e easterne shiers,
With a commission stronger than before
To play the horse-leech; rob us of our fleeces,
To rend our land and tear it all to pieces:
Welcome now back againe; as is the whip,
To a ffoole's back; as water in a ship.

Boston make room; Randolph's returned, that Hector,
Confirmed at home to be y^e sharp Collector."

It can well be supposed that Randolph was by no means a favorite with the people of Boston, for among his other imprudent—or take the word as more exactly expressive without the "r,"—attempts at acquisition, he petitioned to have a house-lot on Boston Common set off to him.

Such was the man who, in 1688, petitioned Andros, who had just about as much love for the colonies and for abstract justice as he, to grant him the beautiful peninsula of Nahant. The Governor undoubtedly was inclined to comply with his favorite's petition; but decency required that the matter should not be consummated with unseemly haste.

On notice of Randolph's petition, a town-meeting was held, and a vigorous protest, setting forth the right of the town to the peninsula and the damage that would ensue from the granting of the petition, was addressed to the Governor and Council. But Randolph was persistent and renewed his petition, denying the right of the town to the land, and even going so far as to declare that Lynn never was an incorporated town, "and so not endowed with a power of receiving or disposing of such land." To this a spirited rejoinder, signed by seventy-four of the principal inhabitants, was forwarded. But it is not easy to say what the result would have been, had not the successful uprising of the people presently consigned both Andros and Randolph to the Fort Hill Prison, in which uprising the people of Lynn naturally took an active part, Rev. Mr. Shepard, the minister, heading the phalanx which marched to Boston, arriving there, as Randolph graphically said, at about eleven o'clock, "like so many wild bears." This Randolph affair formed a lively episode in Lynn's history.

Had Nahant been granted to Randolph, it is easy to see that it would have become a sharp thorn in the side of Lynn; that a continual petty warfare would have ensued. It would no longer have been, as for many years it was, a pasture for her cattle, nor would it have become, as in after-years it did, a delightful resort for parties of pleasure. And even at this day, instead of being the paradise of a certain class of reputed "dodgers," it would have been—we know not what!

From what has already been said, something may be gathered of the condition, habits, culture and general fitness of the settlers as laborers on the foundations of a new social fabric, and likewise something of the natural features of their new home. It will be observed that they came largely from the industrial classes. But they were a thoughtful people, and realized the responsibilities that rested on them. Next to ensuring the means for procuring the prime necessities of life,—food, clothing and shelter,—they felt the importance of supplying facilities for common education, for moral and intellectual training.

Lynn, unlike some other New England settlements,

has all along, in a remarkable degree, depended on herself, procuring whatever she possessed by her own industry and skill; in other words, has had only what she earned. Some of the early settlements were the outcome of foreign business enterprise, and flourished by the aid of foreign capital. Especially in later times have manufacturing communities been nurtured, if not sustained, by capital drawn from outside of their limits. Not so with Lynn. Her advancement has been made through her own enterprise, her accumulations by her own industry. Throughout all the periods of business adversity and temporal distress that have cast their shadows over the community, in colonial, provincial and later times, Lynn has ever been able not only to maintain her own sons and daughters, but to afford, not perhaps of her abundance, but of her thrift and generosity, relief to communities more severely afflicted. "When there were yet few of them, and they strangers in the land," with humble trust, patient endurance and unremitting toil, they applied themselves to their new duties, and seldom failed of meet reward. But the writer is not unmindful that there is a higher duty to perform than the boastful tracing of progress in a mere worldly way, that higher duty being to mark the development of the great principles that constitute the true foundation of human right and duty; of tracing, even in the most limited sphere, the progress of those principles on which true liberty rests—principles which contribute so largely to the sum of human happiness, and have made our nation what she is.

In the history of Lynn, perhaps as conspicuously as in that of any other New England community, may be seen the progress to which we refer—the progress of principles which were the birthright of the settlers, as Englishmen, shadowed forth in the charter of 1215, and finally appearing in more pronounced form in the Declaration of American Independence, in the established Constitutions and supplementary Bills of Rights.

The Andros administration has been referred to. That, perhaps, was the most pregnant, as it certainly was the most stirring, episode during many years of New England history. Something of its bearing upon the people here has been seen. The result, no doubt, was of great benefit politically, for it quickened the apprehension of natural rights and solidified the determination to permit upon this soil no encroachment upon them. The "tyrant of New England," as the obnoxious Governor was called, soon found that opposition attended every step, and manifested itself in every way—in grave denunciation, cutting satire and comic hyperbole. Imagine the effect of the following stanzas from the Sternhold and Hopkins version of the Fifty-second Psalm, as they are said to have been lined off with great unction by an elderly deacon, and with equal unction sung by voices old and young, smooth and rough, in tune and out, at a meeting which the Governor, in one of his tours, deigned to attend:

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast abroad
Thy wicked works to praise?
Dost thou not know there is a God,
Whose mercies last always?

Why dost thy mind yet still devise
Such wicked wiles to warp?
Thy tongue untrue, in forging lies,
Is like a razor sharp.

Thou dost delight in fraud and guile,
In mischief, blood and wrong:
Thy lips have learned the flattering stile,
O false, deceitful tongue."

CIVIL HISTORY.—The civil history of Lynn, in its organic features, does not much differ from that of other early Bay settlements. The town was never formally incorporated, but by the earliest General Court was recognized as an existing municipality. That was enough, though, as we have just seen, the obsequious Edward Randolph, a counselor of Governor Andros when, in 1688, he petitioned for the gift of Nahant, denied this, saying, in answer to the vigorous protestations of the Lynn people, "It does not appear . . . that the said town of Lynn was incorporated in the year 1635, nor at any time since, and so not now endowed with a power of receiving or disposing of such lands, . . . and their town of Lynn is equal to a village in England, and no otherwise." But he and his unscrupulous superior soon found that there was a power somewhere that was able to defeat their arbitrary schemes and land them both in a prison.

The settlers were thoroughly imbued with the sentiment that political power belonged to the people. If Roger Williams was the first here to formulate this as well as certain principles of religious freedom, he was not the first to realize it. When they left the Old World they left the dogma of a divinely-appointed class, and adopted the manly idea of equal rights. Such being the case, what more natural than the establishment of the town-meeting,—the assembly in which all could meet and freely discuss the affairs by which the well-being and prosperity of all were to be affected, and in which each individual, by voice and vote, could exercise his influence? There was the charter, to be sure, and its authority was acknowledged; but its provisions would not have been allowed to override the higher demands of conscience, right and justice, had there been any apprehended attempt to do so, for the trained and ingenious mind can discover ways of interpretation that will circumvent the most crafty scheming.

Very soon the interests of the settlers broadened, and it became necessary to establish "Ye Great and Genrall Courte." And the same right of free discussion and free action was maintained there. At first every freeman was deemed a member of the court, and liable to be fined if he did not attend its sessions, for it was rightly claimed that the community was entitled to the best judgment and skill of each of its members, it being realized as well then as now that in the mind of the humblest hewer of wood and

drawer of water conceptions of unspeakable value might arise. But the time soon arrived when it was impracticable for the whole body of freemen to attend the court sessions; no room could be found large enough to contain them, and then the end had to be sought through deputies or representatives. Soon parties began to appear, and divisions, not on the primary principle of individual freedom, but on the question as to whom it would be most safe and expedient to invest with the delegated power.

Of course it would not be practicable or even desirable to go largely into detail regarding the old town-meetings. They were conducted here much as elsewhere. Every local matter was freely discussed and often the debates broadened into irrelevant dissertations on great public questions and theoretical propositions, very much as they are apt to in these days of political enlightenment. Neighborhood disagreements and jealousies would occasionally arise, and crude conceptions and selfish inclinations manifest themselves. Village orators would harangue at wearying length and village seers forecast calamities; but there were also wise, honest and patriotic men, shrewd counselors and wary watchers for the public good, and through all and in all each felt his own individual rights and acknowledged his responsibilities.

It is not wonderful that the people of the old Bay State clung so tenaciously and so long to the town-meeting. It had carried them safely through perilous times and threatening shocks; and in a broad sense it may even be claimed that it had been the very nursery of American freedom. There was no city organization in all Massachusetts till 1822, when Boston assumed the new investiture, having then a population of forty-five thousand. It was quite a number of years, however, before any other town followed her example. Salem and Lowell were the first, they becoming cities in 1836. But the adoption of the city form was so far receding from elementary freedom, and while it was desirable, if not necessary, in many respects, it also afforded greater facilities for ambitious politicians and wire-pullers to ply their arts.

Lynn adopted the city form of government in 1850. Many worthy and prominent people strongly opposed the change, and the adoption of the charter came near being defeated; indeed, a similar one previously granted by the Legislature had been defeated by popular vote. Mr. George Hood, a man of much ability and strong persuasive powers, led the opposition, and it is a little singular that he who had persistently and vehemently opposed the charter was elected the first mayor under it. In his inaugural address he thus bade adieu to the old régime: "Before proceeding to the business immediately before us, it seems to be appropriate to the occasion to revert briefly to our venerable system of town government, of which we have taken leave forever, and to pay a passing tribute to the memory of the conscientious men who, in the

midst of toil, privation and peril, founded, cherished and transmitted it to us as a rich inheritance. According to Lewis' History, the first white men known to have been inhabitants of Lynn were Edmund Ingalls and his brother, Francis Ingalls, who came here in 1629. The next year came Allen Breed, Thomas Newhall, George Burrill, Edward Baker, John Ramsdell and Richard Johnson; in 1635, Henry Collins; in 1640, Andrew Mansfield, Richard Hood, Edward Ireson and Henry Rhoades,—all of whom have representatives in this City Council, and perhaps others of whose history I have not been informed. . . . Our town government has accomplished its mission; its successful operation for more than two centuries has proved the capacity of man for self-government; it has proved that the safest repository for power is in the hands of the people. During this long period we hear of no abuse of power by them, nor of those to whom they intrusted the care of the town government. They taxed themselves liberally for all necessary objects of public improvement. The church and the school-house grew up together, both significant monuments of advancing civilization." Is it probable that at the end of two centuries more it can be said of the people under the present form of municipal government, that no abuse of power by them or those to whom they entrusted the administration of affairs, had been heard of?

Mr. Hood well said that under the old government the town prospered. Its growth was steady, but not rapid. At the time of the adoption of the charter, in 1850, the population was 14,200; twenty years before, in 1830, it was 6200; in 1765 the first recorded census gave 2198; and the increase of business was in something like the same ratio. But after the introduction of machinery in the manufacture of shoes, which was subsequent to the adoption of the charter, the increase of business and population was seemingly much more rapid, though perhaps the percentage was not much greater.

For nearly two centuries the town-meetings were held in the meeting-house, as the settlers preferred to call their house of worship, the first being an unseemly little structure, standing in a hollow, near the territorial centre, and the only public building. It was not held by the same tenure that "churches" now are, but was the property of the town. There the village orators exercised their eloquence, the village statesmen their patriotism, the incipient wire-pullers their cunning, till the house itself disappeared. "The Old Tunnel," as the parish meeting-house built in 1682 was in after-years called, then became the place for the transaction of town business. It stood near the centre of the Common, and continued for several generations to serve the double purpose of a place for public worship and a place for the transaction of public business. But it was relieved of the latter use in 1806. In the mean time the Methodists had come in and built a house of worship. And some objec-

tions having been made to the further use of the old house, the town-meetings then (1806) began to be held in the Methodist house, which stood near the east end of the Common, at the head of Market Street. There they were held till the erection of the Town-House, in 1814. That building had an interesting history, of which little can be given here. It stood on the centre of the Common, nearly opposite the head of Hanover Street, and for many years the interior remained unfinished. Of course, elections were held in it; military companies drilled there; and it was used for assemblages and exhibitions of various kinds. In 1832 it was removed to South Common Street, at the point where Blossom Street now opens, and the interior finished. On the formation of the city government, in 1850, it was thoroughly repaired and fitted for the reception of the officials under the new and more august order. Thus it remained until its destruction by fire on the morning of October 6, 1864.

It was on the 10th of April, 1850, that the Legislature granted the City Charter; on the 19th of the same month the inhabitants, in town-meeting assembled, voted to accept it; and on the 14th of May the first organization under it took place. The ceremonies were held in Old Lyceum Hall, which stood on Market Street, corner of Summer. The day was pleasant, and a large number, some of whom were ladies, were present. In the evening the new government, together with a considerable company of prominent citizens, partook of a collation in the Town Hall. There was no jubilant display at the initiation of the new government; no procession, no pyrotechnic exhibition, either oratorical or material. All parties seemed to join in a quiet but cordial acceptance of the change, and in a hopeful, if not enthusiastic spirit, determined to repress all former misgivings.

Soon after the destruction of the old Town House the necessity of a substantial City Hall was so manifest that the work of erection was set about energetically; and, on the 30th of November, 1867, the present stately edifice was dedicated. The city offices were soon removed thither, and from that time onward have the commodious chambers echoed with the eloquence of the assembled counselors.

Whether Lynn has prospered more since the adoption of the city form of government than she would have prospered had the old town form been longer continued can only be conjectured. But certain it is, that during the thirty-five years that the existing form has been in operation her progress has been highly satisfactory. The population has more than trebled; and in business, in educational facilities, in benevolent enterprises, and, may we not venture to add, in religion and morality, her advancement has been alike marked.

It has been stated that Lynn has always been fortunate in having among her people men of sagacity,

energy and prudence,—men who, in the administration of her municipal affairs and in her broader interests, vigorously defended her rights and labored for her good. These are deserving of special notice, and in an elaborate history should have a place; but in a limited sketch like the present but comparatively few can be even named. In the troublous days of the Andros administration, among her heroic defenders were Oliver Purchis, Rev. Mr. Shepard, Thomas Loughton, Ralph King and John Burrill. In the stormy times of the Revolution she had the vigilant watchfulness of Rev. Mr. Treadwell, Rev. Mr. Roby, Deacon John Mansfield, Dr. Flagg and Frederick Breed, besides her brave sons who took the field. And all along, down to these later times, she has never been destitute of loyal sons to protect her good name and promote her prosperity. Especially may it be said that during the threatening times of the great Civil War scarcely a man in her whole population could be found who was not ready, if need be, to take the field in defense of the national cause.

The following is a list of the mayors of Lynn, with the dates of inauguration:

GEORGE HOOD, the first mayor, served two terms; was inaugurated May 14, 1850, and April 7, 1851. He was a native of Lynn, and died June 29, 1859, aged fifty-two.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN MUDGE, the second mayor, was inaugurated June 16, 1852. He was a native of Orrington, Me.; born August 11, 1817, and died in Manhattan, Kansas, November 21, 1879.

DANIEL COLLINS BAKER, the third mayor, was inaugurated April 4, 1853. He was a native of Lynn; born October 14, 1816, and died in New Orleans, La., July 19, 1863.

THOMAS PAGE RICHARDSON, the fourth mayor, was inaugurated April 3, 1854. He was a native of Lynn; born July 27, 1816, and died November 24, 1881.

ANDREWS BREED, the fifth mayor, was inaugurated January 1, 1855. He was a native of Lynn; born on the 20th of September, 1794, and died in Lancaster, Mass., April 21, 1881.

EZRA WARREN MUDGE, the sixth mayor, was inaugurated January 7, 1856, and January 5, 1857, serving two terms. He was a native of Lynn; was born on the 5th of December, 1811, and died September 20, 1878.

WILLIAM FREDERIC JOHNSON, the seventh mayor, was inaugurated January 4, 1858. He was a native of Lynn; born [in Nahant] July 30, 1819.

EDWARD SWAIN DAVIS, the eighth mayor, served two terms; was inaugurated January 3, 1859, and January 2, 1860. He was born in Lynn June 22, 1808, and died August 7, 1887.

HIRAM NICHOLS BREED, the ninth mayor, was inaugurated January 7, 1861. He was born in Lynn September 2, 1809.

PETER MORRELL NEAL, the tenth mayor, held the office four terms. He was inaugurated January 6,

1862, January 5, 1863, January 4, 1864, and January 2, 1865. He is a native of North Berwick, Me., and was born September 21, 1811.

ROLAND GREENE USHER, the eleventh mayor, served three terms. He was inaugurated January 1, 1866, January 7, 1867, and January 6, 1868. He was born in Medford, Mass., January 6, 1823.

JAMES NEEDHAM BUFFUM, the twelfth mayor, was inaugurated January 4, 1869. He was afterward elected for a second term, and inaugurated January 1, 1872. He was born in North Berwick, Me., May 16, 1807, and died June 12, 1887.

EDWIN WALDEN, the thirteenth mayor, served two terms; was inaugurated January 3, 1870, and January 2, 1871. He was born in Lynn, November 25, 1818.

JACOB MEEK LEWIS, the fourteenth mayor, served four terms, being inaugurated January 6, 1873, January 5, 1874, January 4, 1875, and January 3, 1876. He was born in Lynn, October 13, 1823.

SAMUEL MANSFIELD BUIER, the fifteenth mayor, served two terms, having been inaugurated January 1, 1877, and January 7, 1878. He is a native of Lynn, and was born June 23, 1816.

GEORGE PLAISTED SANDERSON, the sixteenth mayor, was inaugurated January 6, 1879, and January 5, 1880, serving two terms. He was born in Gardiner, Me., November 22, 1836.

HENRY BACON LOVERING, the seventeenth mayor, served two terms. He was inaugurated January 3, 1881, and January 2, 1882. He is a native of Portsmouth, N. H., and was born April 8, 1841.

WILLIAM LEWIS BAIRD, the eighteenth mayor, was inaugurated January 1, 1883, and January 7, 1884, serving two terms. He is a native of Lynn; born July 29, 1843.

JOHN RICHARD BALDWIN, the nineteenth mayor, was inaugurated January 5, 1885. He is a native of Lynn, and was born May 10, 1854.

GEORGE DALLAS HART, the twentieth mayor, was inaugurated January 4, 1886. He was born in Malden, Mass., December 7, 1846, and is an offspring of the old Lynn Hart family. Mayor Hart, elected for a second term, was inaugurated January 3, 1887.

A short series of statistical statements, touching the present state of municipal and kindred affairs, will now be given. Other statistics relating to special topics will appear in their proper places.

POPULATION.—The population of Lynn, as given by the State census of 1885, is 45,867,—males, 21,752; females, 24,115. Native born, 36,099; foreign born, 9768. Of the age of eighty years, 16 males and 31 females; of the age of ninety years, 3 males and 7 females; of the age of ninety-five years, 4, all females. Colored persons, 624.

The population at different periods is shown by the following:

Years.....	1800	1850	1885
Population.....	2,837	14,257	45,807

DWELLINGS. 1885.—Whole number, 7383,—of

which 7161 are of wood, 76 of brick, 2 of stone, and the others of mixed material. It will be noted that this does not include the business buildings, many of which are of brick and very large. Number of persons to each occupied dwelling, 6.33. Number of buildings erected during the year, 392. Lynn has long been famous for the moving of her buildings from place to place, and, in pursuance of the custom, 55 changed their places during the year.

VALUATION, TAXATION AND POLLS.—The following table shows the progress of Lynn in these matters, at several periods since she became a city:

YEAR.	REAL ESTATE.	PERSONAL ESTATE.	TOTAL.	NO. POLLS.	TAX PER \$1,000.
1850	\$3,180,615	\$1,674,328	\$4,854,943	3,251	\$0.00
1860	6,291,460	3,357,606	9,649,066	3,933	8.80
1870	14,377,212	6,649,903	20,927,115	6,773	17.20
1880	17,913,643	5,470,192	23,383,735	10,702	17.60
1886	23,306,806	6,000,003	29,306,809	13,842	10.00

It will be perceived from the foregoing that we have made marked progress, as well in taxation as valuation and polls.

APPROPRIATIONS AND RECEIPTS, EXPENDITURES AND CITY DEBT.—The "progress" in these matters is indicated by the following:

YEAR.	APPROPRIATIONS AND RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURES.	CITY DEBT.
1850	\$45,000.00	\$36,704.19	Mar. 1, 1850, \$71,308.15
1860	110,007.28	101,560.51	Dec. 31, 1860, 123,100.00
1870	524,776.72	499,583.25	Dec. 31, 1870, 910,000.00
1880	705,009.57	653,327.00	Dec. 31, 1880, 2,100,000.00
1886	1,000,274.65	1,014,617.80	Dec. 20, 1886, 2,522,400.00

It should be remarked, in relation to the city debt, that the exact condition is not always apparent. For instance, the debt in 1886 is given as \$2,522,400.00, but there were such drawbacks as reduced the net amount to \$1,778,128.82.

ALMSHOUSE.—Average number of subjects, 67; average cost of each per week, \$2.62. Aid was also given to 519 families, or some 1600 outside persons; 5457 tramps were during the year provided with food and lodging at an expense of \$320.55.

FIRE DEPARTMENT, FIRE ALARMS, ETC.—Steam fire-engines, 5; hook-and-ladder trucks, 2; horse hose carriages, 5; hose wagon, 1; large double-tank chemical engine, 1; supply wagons, 5; fire alarm telegraph wagon, 1; jumper hose carriages, 2; hose pumps, 5; buggy, 1; small extinguishers, 6. The manual force consists of 1 chief and 4 assistant engineers, 1 superintendent and 1 assistant superintendent of fire alarm telegraph, 6 engineers of steam fire-engines, 5 firemen of steam fire-engines, 12 drivers, 10 foremen, 8 assistant foremen, 49 hosemen, 20 laddermen, 12 substitutes, making a total of 129. There are also in the service of the department 22 horses and 14,750 feet of hose. The number of hydrants scattered about the city is 557, and the number of street reservoirs, 19. The telegraphic fire alarm was established here in 1871, and has proved extremely useful and economical. The number of fire alarms during 1885 was 188, 84 being bell and 104 still alarms. Loss by fire during the

year, \$169,975.85. Expenditures of the department for the year, \$44,840.06.

Notices of the most disastrous fires that have ever occurred in Lynn may be found elsewhere in these pages.

POLICE DEPARTMENT.—The expenses for the year 1885 were \$43,451.44; number of arrests, 1472; 511 being of persons of foreign birth, and 166 females; 828 were for drunkenness, 186 for assault and battery and 128 for larceny; 5453 persons were provided with lodgings.

WATER WORKS.—Net cost of the public works, to January 1, 1887, \$1,342,144.11. Average consumption of water per day during the year 1885, 1,920,519 gallons; average to each inhabitant, a trifle over 41 gallons per day. Total extension of pipe in Lynn, 75½ miles. The report of the president of the board says (1886), "The department has paid all expenses of maintenance, the interest on the water debt, and shows a surplus of \$26,919.18 to be carried to the water-loan sink-in fund."

BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES, 1886.—Number of births, 1296; number of marriages, 616.

Under the sub-titles "Libraries" and "Schools" may be found statistics relating to those institutions, and under "BURIAL-PLACES" will appear certain vital statistics.

And here, perhaps, is the proper place to enumerate some of the institutions, associations and societies for benevolent, moral, social and recreative purposes, of which Lynn has a large number. They are, generally, worthy of honorable recognition, and some are deserving of great praise. It would hardly be practicable even to name them all here, nor is it necessary, as several are spoken of elsewhere. Yet a little space may be allowed, the name of the organization generally indicating its character. Among them are.—Associated Charities (the object being to discreetly distribute the means contributed for charitable purposes.), Board of Fire Insurance Underwriters, 7 clubs for religious, social, political, mutual improvement and recreative purposes. There are also 3 bicycle and 4 boat clubs, and 1 shooting club. Female Benevolent Society, Firemen's Relief Association, Free Public Forest Association, Grand Army of the Republic, Home for Aged Women, Houghton Horticultural Society, Inebriates' Home, Knights of Honor, Knights of Labor, Knights of Pythias, Lasters' Protective Union, Lynn Hospital, McKay Stitchers' Union, 4 Masonic lodges (spoken of elsewhere), Mechanics' Exchange, Medical Society, 9 mutual benefit associations—among them the Workingmen's Aid Association and the Accident Association, 12 Odd Fellows'

lodges, Press Association, Sanitary Association, Shoe and Leather Association, Teamsters' Union, 10 temperance organizations, Young Men's Christian Association.

LYNN BANKS.—There are now (1887) in Lynn five banks of discount, with an aggregate capital of \$1,100,000, to wit: First National, capital, \$500,000; Central National, \$200,000; National City, \$200,000; National Security, \$100,000; Lynn National, \$100,000. There are also two savings banks, namely, Lynn Institution for Savings and Lynn Five-Cents Savings Bank, with aggregate deposits, January 1, 1887, to the amount of \$4,710,000.

LYNN POST-OFFICE.—The business of a post-office may, perhaps, ordinarily be taken as a fair indicator of the business of the place in which it is located. The Lynn post-office was established in 1793, before which time the mail matter of the people here was distributed through the Boston office. Fifty years ago, that is in 1835, the gross amount of postage accruing at the Lynn office, all told, for the year ending October 1st, was \$2,459.28; and the increase of business to the present time is indicated by the following items for the year ending December 30, 1886:

Receipts from sale of stamps, stamped envelopes and postal cards.....	\$50,452.97
Expenditures for salaries, rent, gas, etc.....	23,671.88
Excess of receipt over expenditures.....	\$26,781.09
Number of pieces delivered by carriers.....	3,214,985
Number of pieces collected by carriers.....	1,276,630

There are six daily mails, Sunday excepted, to Boston and the South, and four to the East. Fifty years ago the government did not provide carriers to deliver and collect mail matter, a fact that, no doubt, has had something to do with the increase of correspondence. The rates of postage were much higher than at present. The postage on a single letter from Lynn to New York, for instance, was 18½ cents, a fact which induced many to send by private hand when opportunity offered. But the postage was not required to be paid in advance, a circumstance, one might think, encouraging to correspondence. A penny post began to run about town in 1812; but he was not employed by government, individuals paying him at the rate of two cents a letter. The first postmaster was Colonel James Robinson, and he kept the office on Boston Street near the corner of North Federal. He was a soldier of the Revolution; was succeeded in 1802 by Major Ezra Hitchings, reared a large family of sons and daughters and died, in 1832, in reduced circumstances, being the recipient, during his latter years, of a small pension.

CHAPTER XIV.

LYNN—(Continued).

ECCLESIASTICAL.

*Religious Societies, their Formation and Growth—Sketches of Early Ministers
—Houses of Worship and their Equipment—Statistical Details.*

“The sermon, learned long and cold;
The psalm in graveyard metre told;
But piety, right deep and true,
Each exercise ran through and through.”
—JORDAN.

CONSIDERING the chief cause of the occupation of bleak New England, it would naturally be supposed that the very first public institution in a settlement would be a church. But Lynn was some three years without a minister. Very likely, however, some sort of public religious services were held, especially on the Lord's day.

FIRST CHURCH.—The first church of Lynn, the fifth in the Bay colony, was gathered in 1632; and it remains at this day one of the three or four of the early churches that have preserved their fidelity to the ancient Puritanical faith. Almost every one of the old churches has become Unitarian or Universalist.

The church here appears to have commenced in a way not in accordance with Puritanical or Orthodox order. But whatever irregularity existed was cured by the decision of a council held in March, 1635, “that, although the church had not been properly formed, yet, after-consent and practice of a church estate had supplied that defect, so all were reconciled.” The church was instituted by Rev. Stephen Bachiler, who arrived with his family in June, 1632, the chief inducement for his coming probably being that he had a daughter residing here, the wife of Christopher Hussey. There came with him six persons who had belonged to his church in England, and to these, with such settlers as chose to join them, he commenced ministrations, without installation. He was then of the ripe age of seventy-one years, and appears to have retained great vitality, both mental and physical. He was a man of at least singular characteristics; was high-tempered and extremely tenacious. There was soon serious disturbance among his little flock, and gross scandals began to circulate, insomuch that in four months after his arrival the court was appealed to, and that august body thus decreed:

“Mr. Hatchel is required to forbear exercising gifts as a pastor or teacher publicly, in or out of session, unless he be to those hee brought with him, for his contempt of authority, & till some scandal be removed.”

This sentence, however, was soon after annulled. But the difficulty was not healed; other questions and scandals arose, and the court was again appealed to.

Finally, on his promise to leave town within three months, the proceedings were discontinued. He was here about four years. Afterwards he was at Newbury and Hampton, of which latter place he was one of the first settlers. He subsequently pitched his tent in one or two other places. But in 1651 he returned to England, where, at the age of ninety, he married his fourth wife, his third still living here, and apparently of a reputation by no means unblemished. She petitioned the court for a divorce, but no record of the fate of the petition is found. Mr. Bachiler died near London in 1660, in the one hundredth year of his age. His descendants, and there are many hereabout, take some pride in the fact that Daniel Webster, the eminent statesman, and Mr. Whittier, the poet, trace their genealogical lines to him.

Rev. Samuel Whiting, the successor of Mr. Bachiler, was installed on the 8th of November, 1636. He was descended from a long line of honorable ancestors, and was a son of Sir John Whiting, mayor of old Boston, England, in 1600 and 1608. His brother John was also mayor four years and his brother James one year. Samuel, the minister, was born in 1597, and at the age of sixteen was entered at Emanuel College. He was an apt student, received the degree of A.B. in 1616, and that of A.M. in 1620. Afterwards he received the degree of D.D. His father died while he was in college, leaving a very considerable estate. Emanuel College, as is well known to readers of Puritan history, was called “the hot-bed of Puritanism,” and it was while there, no doubt, that he imbibed those principles which grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength—those principles which so strongly marked his whole life. It is well to bear in mind that what were known as the Puritan principles of that day had reference not only to church, but also to state. It was not only the grand purpose to purify the church of obnoxious rites and ceremonies, but also to free the people from governmental oppression and wrong—to circumscribe the royal prerogatives, defend against the encroachments and reduce the privileges of the aristocracy; in short, to break down every barrier to the reasonable exercise of individual right, freedom and responsibility.

Mr. Whiting took orders in the Church of England soon after graduating, and became chaplain in a refined and wealthy family in Norfolk. After remaining there about three years, apparently in great prosperity and happiness, he accepted a rectorship in Lynn Regis as colleague of Rev. Dr. Price. In that situation he remained three years, administering his office acceptably, excepting his refusal to conform to certain required usages in the established church service; in brief, he was a Non-conformist, subjected himself to the censure of the Bishop of Norwich, and was induced to resign and remove to the parish of Shirbeck, near Boston, where he again filled the

office of rector, and again came under censure for non-conforming practices.

In 1636 his situation became so uncomfortable that he resigned, and prepared to emigrate to America. The same year, 1636, in which he resigned his charge at Skirbeck, he emigrated to America, arriving in May. He does not appear to have greatly enjoyed the voyage hither, as he remarks that he would "much rather have undergone six weeks' imprisonment for a good cause than six weeks of such terrible seasickness." A few months after his arrival, November 8, 1636, at the age of thirty-nine, he was installed minister of the little church here at Lynn.

Mr. Whiting was twice married. His second partner, she who accompanied him hither, and whose remains peacefully slumber in our old burial-place, near the west end of the Common, could claim family descent more illustrious than his, for she could trace her lineage, without a break, to William the Conqueror. She was a sister of Oliver St. John, the chief justice of England during the commonwealth, and own cousin of Oliver Cromwell. But all the incidents of birth and family on his and her part, incidents which to so many, even here and among us of this day, possess a peculiar charm, seem to have weighed nothing in comparison with their strong sense of duty.

The young couple, as they then were, apparently without one longing look behind, left the bright scenes, the comforts and luxuries of their early homes, crossed the stormy ocean, and bravely entered this western wilderness, with stout hearts, to fight the battle of civilization. Nobly did they address themselves to their chosen work, and great was their success. The beneficial results of their coming did not by any means end with their lives. Children were born to them, and children's children have appeared in every path of usefulness, and adorned our whole history. The entire nation has received benefits hardly capable of being over-estimated. Some of their descendants have been conspicuous in theological, scientific and literary callings; others have filled useful and honorable positions in the national civil service; others, again, have risen to eminence in the military profession. One needs only to glance over a dictionary of American biography to learn how meritorious the family has proved.

Mr. Whiting, as might readily be supposed, took great interest in the education of the youth of the town, and, together with his accomplished wife, did everything possible to refine the manners and elevate the condition of every class. He took unwearied pains to advance every material interest—to improve the husbandry, the fisheries, the mechanic arts—indeed, all branches required for the supply of current and prospective wants. And all the time he never lost sight of opportunities to promote the broader interests of the little community, vigilantly guarding against the imposition of wrongful burdens by the General

Court, through misinformation or selfish appliances, and laboring in every honest way to elevate and dignify her name. The town grew apace during the forty years he continued so devoted to her concerns; and it was a healthy growth.

It is not to be forgotten that many of the clergy of that day had very great influence in the direction of public affairs. Indeed, it was common for the executive, legislative, and even the judicial authorities, to apply to them for the solution of intricate questions and the determining of principles. Many, if not most of them, had, like Mr. Whiting, been ministers in the Church of England, and were men of learning and deep thought. The very experiences that induced their emigration often arose from their advanced views of human rights and political liberty. It is to be remembered, too, that at that period the settlement of a minister was, under ordinary circumstances, expected to be for life; not a mere temporary sojourn, as is so often the case in our day. And it will readily be perceived how much greater the opportunity of the faithful pastor then was to inaugurate and sustain pursuits calculated to be permanently beneficial, the long continuance of his fostering care ensuring results that under frequent change could never be attained, at the same time receiving his own reward in contemplating the regenerating effects of his godly teaching.

No sooner had Mr. Whiting commenced his ministrations to the little flock here than the discordant elements that had disturbed it, and the whole community as well, under his predecessor, were harmonized, and old and young gathered around him in delightful sympathy and trust—exemplifying the truth that mental strength, coupled with genial manners, is potent to secure confidence and love.

The remains of that good old man were laid away for their everlasting repose in the then quiet village burial-place, overshadowed by ancient forest-trees, where but a small company had then been gathered, but where now lie an innumerable host, all heedless of the stately edifices that one by one have arisen around, and undisturbed by the tramp of the busy multitude. The spot where he rests is marked by a simple granite shaft, reared, a few years since, by the Hon. William Whiting, of Boston, a direct descendant, who himself rendered such eminent service to our government during the most trying period of the War of the Rebellion, and who has been since called to join his honored ancestor in the land whence none return. In the names of Whiting School and Whiting Street is the memory of this beloved minister perpetuated.

At this point it may be well to give the pastoral succession in this, the First Church of Lynn, with the dates at which the pastorates began, and append a few notes on some whose names appear therein.

1632. Stephen Bachiler.
1636. Samuel Whiting.

1637. Thomas Cobbet (colloague).
1680. Jeremiah Shepard.

1680. Joseph Whiting (colleague).
1720. Nathaniel Henchman.
1763. John Treadwell.
1784. Obadiah Parsons.
1704. Thomas C. Thatcher.
1813. Isaac Hurl.
1818. Otis Rockwood.

1832. David Peabody.
1836. Parsons Cooke.
1865. James M. Whiton.
1872. Stephen R. Dennen.
1874. Walter Barton.
1885. Frank J. Mundy.

REV. THOMAS COBBET, who was settled in 1637 as colleague with Mr. Whiting, was a marked character among the early New England divines—marked for his learning, piety and unswerving principles. He was born in Newbury, England, in 1608, studied at Oxford and suffered for non-conformity. He remained here in Lynn till 1656, then left and settled at Ipswich, where he died in 1685. Mr. Cobbet preached the election sermon in 1649, and the court voted that "Mr. Speaker, in the name of the Howse of deputies, render Mr. Cobbett the thanks of the Howse for his worthy paines in his sermon wch, at the desire of this howse, he preached on the day of eleccion, and declare to him it is their desire he would print it heere or elsewhere." He was a voluminous writer, and among his works was "A Practical Discourse on Prayer," of which Cotton Mather remarks, "Of all the works written by Mr. Cobbet, none deserves more to be read by the world or to live till the general burning of the world, than that of Prayer." The elegant Cobbet school-house, on Franklin Street, erected in 1872, is a memorial of this esteemed minister.

REV. JEREMIAH SHEPARD, who in 1680 succeeded Mr. Whiting in the pastorate, was a man of decided traits, and to a degree destitute of the milder qualities of his predecessor. Yet he was successful in his ministry, and his death was deeply mourned. His pastorate extended over forty years. Mr. Lewis says "he was distinguished for his unvaried piety," and "was indefatigable in his exertions for the spiritual welfare of his people." He reasoned deep

"Of Providence, fore-knowledge, will and fate."

His ministrations were characterized by great seriousness, and his views of human nature gloomy, almost to distortion. Rev. Mr. Brown, minister of the Reading Church, in his journal, under date of June 25, 1712, says: "I was ordained past' of this church and received the dreadfull charge from the mouth of Mr. Shepard, of Lynn."

Mr. Shepard took an active part in some of the political agitations of the day; and in the insurrection that deposed and imprisoned Governor Andros, on the 19th of April, 1689, he exhibited quite as much patriotic zeal as could be expected in a minister of the Gospel, as appears by the relation of one who was present, and who, in speaking of the array that marched in from the country to the assistance of the insurgent Bostonians, says: "April 19th, about 11 o'clock, the country came in, headed by one Shepard, teacher of Lynn, who were like so many wild bears; and the leader, mad with passion, more savage than any of his

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followers." The courage and discretion of Mr. Shepard no doubt did much for the welfare of Lynn during that trying period. He was inclined also to watch with jealous eye any approach of trespassers upon the Puritanical domain, and as Quakerism was beginning to make serious inroads, he appointed the 19th of July, 1694, as a day of fasting and prayer for the stay of that "spiritual plague." He died on the 3d of June, 1720, aged seventy-two years. His tomb still remains conspicuous in the old burying ground, marked by a plain oblong brick stand surmounted by a heavy stone slab, with an inscription now so eaten by time and the elements as to be almost illegible. But his name is enduringly preserved in Shepard Street and Shepard School. Mr. Shepard was a son of Rev. Thomas Shepard, who was born in Towcester, England, in 1605, received an excellent education, came over while yet a young man, and was ordained as first pastor of the First Parish Church of Cambridge, in 1636. He was conspicuous for his fervid piety. In Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence," published in 1651, he is spoken of as "That gracious, sweete, heavenly-minded and soule-ravishing minister, Mr. Thomas Shepheard, in whose soule the Lord shed abroad his love so abundantly, that thousands of souls have cau-e to bless God for him, even at this day, who are the seale of his ministry." He appears to have received the name Thomas in rather a singular way, saying: "The Powder Treason day [November 5, 1605], and that very houre of the day wherein the Parliament should have bin blown up by Popish priests, I was then borne, which occasioned my father to give me this name *Thomas*, because he said I would hardly *believe* that ever any such wickedness should be attempted by men agaynst so religious and good Parliament."

A worthy descendant, Mr. George L. Shepard, of Boston, a son of the late eminent merchant, Michael Shepard, of Salem, has recently published a genealogical account of some of the descendants of the family head.

Mr. Shepard was the first minister of the "Old Tunnel," so called. That famous meeting-house was erected in 1682, two years after his settlement. It will be borne in mind that in those days, and indeed long after, a church here was so far a public institution that its temporal arrangements at least were governed by the votes of the town. To illustrate, let us quote some votes passed at town-meeting in 1692:

"January 8. It was voted that Lieutenant Blighe should have liberty to set up a pow in the northeast corner of the meeting-house, by Mr. King's pow, and he to maintain the windows against it.

"The town did vote that Lieutenant Fuller, Lieutenant Lewis, Mr. John Hawkes, senior, Francis Burrill, Lieutenant Burrill, John Burrill, Junior, Mr. Henry Rhodes, Quarter-Master Russell, Mr. Hilderfield, Sergeant Johnson, Mr. Dayley and Lieutenant Blighe should sit at the table.

"It was voted that Matthew Farrington, senior, Henry Silsbee and Joseph Mansfield, senior, should sit in the deacon's seat.

"It was voted that Thomas Farrar, senior, Crispus Brewer, Allen Breed, senior, Clement Coldam, Robert Rand, senior, Jonathan Hudson, Richard Hood, senior, and Sergeant Haven should sit in the pulpit.

"The town voted that them that are surviving that was chosen by the town a committee to erect the meeting-house, and Clerk Potter to join along with them, should seat the inhabitants of the town in the meeting-house, both men and women, and appoint what seats they shall sit in, but it is to be understood that they are not to seat neither the table nor the deacons' seat, nor the pulpit, but them to sit there as are voted by the town."

The pulpit of the Old Tunnel was capacious enough to contain ten persons. A small bell swung in the little tower, and in the northeast corner of the gallery was a "negro pew," quite elevated and boarded well towards the top. The colored brethren and sisters were required to sit there, where they might hear, but neither see nor be seen.

Mr. J. Warren Newhall, in his poem delivered at the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the church, June 8, 1882, thus speaks of the architecture of this famous old house of worship:

"A modest cupola the roof surmounts
Of quaint design—so history recounts.
'Twas said the belfry bore a semblance fair
To an inverted tunnel poised mid air;
Hence was the structure the 'Old Tunnel' named,
And for this title evermore was framed.
Downward with quite a questionable grace,
The bell-rope fell into a central place
Within the unique auditorium, where
The sexton rang the call to praise and prayer.
We see no gorgeous fresco on the walls,
Through no stained glass the light of heaven falls;
But glinting 'mid the naked oaken beams,
Through the small diamond panes the sunlight gleams.
No richly cushioned slips the people knew,
But plain deal seats, with here and there a pew,
Built by some person, who must first procure
Permission from the town this to secure.
As time advanced these pews more numerous grew,
But were not wholly uniform to view,—
Some large, some small, of patterns manifold,
By which the owner's taste or means were told.

* * * * *

In place of dainty desk therein appeared
A pulpit, with its lofty form upreared,
While like a canopy o'er the preacher's head
The sounding-board its huge proportions spread.

* * * * *

In the bleak days of wintry wind and snow,
No furnace fire dispensed its genial glow;
To those who fain the service would attend,
The humble foot-stove was the warmest friend."

To the fidelity of this sketch the writer can well attest from childhood recollection and experience. Of the oft protracted exercises our poet also gives the following graphic description:

"No warning clock prescribed the preacher's powers;
The simple sand-glass told the passing hours,
Which, when the tell-tale sand its course had run,
Was deftly turned, and sixteenthly begun!
For they preached sermons countless in deductions;
None of our modern half-hour productions,
In continuity they excelled, 'tis true;
Always an hour in length, and sometimes two."

REV. NATHANIEL HENCHMAN succeeded Mr. Shepard in 1720. He was born in Boston on the 22d of November, 1700, as is stated on the Lynn records in the handwriting of his son, and, if the date is cor-

rect, must have settled here at the early age of twenty. But there is doubt as to the correctness of the date. He graduated at Harvard in 1717. His grandfather was Daniel HENCHMAN, the same who planted the historical "big elm" on Boston Common, which was destroyed by a gale in February, 1876. And this Daniel HENCHMAN was also ancestor of Frederick Tudor, the wealthy ice merchant, who did so much to beautify Nahant. Mr. HENCHMAN ministered here forty years, and died on the 23d of December, 1761. Rev. Mr. Barton, in his address on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the church, remarks that Mr. HENCHMAN proved to be a man of very different views from his predecessors, Whiting, Cobbet and Shepard, and adds that his "settlement gave a new and disastrous turn to affairs. Finding here a very flourishing church and society, he left, after forty years' ministry, only eighteen members, and that in the days of the great awakening under Whitefield and Edwards." In 1745 Mr. Whitefield came to Lynn, and Mr. HENCHMAN refused permission for him to preach in the meeting-house, a step that occasioned a long and bitter controversy. The great revivalist, however, found audience-room elsewhere, one of his out-door discourses being delivered while standing on the platform of the whipping-post, near the meeting-house. But yet Mr. HENCHMAN is reputed to have been remarkably genial in manners and to have treated Mr. Whitefield personally with much respect and politeness. It is easy to see that his ministry here was not successful, and that there were serious breaks in the harmony of the parish. He had peculiar notions of ministerial duties and ministerial rights, and was tenacious in his adherence to them. He was twice married and the father of five children. His tomb is in the Old Burying-ground, and is, like Mr. Shepard's, marked by a plain, oblong brick structure.

REV. JOHN TREADWELL was the successor of Mr. HENCHMAN. "And during his pastorate," remarks Mr. Barton, "two events occurred which brought in a state of things disastrous to the church in common with others, viz.: the Half Way-Covenant and the Revolutionary War." He was ordained on the 2d of March, 1763, and remained nineteen years; hence it will be perceived that he was here during the most stirring period in American history. The Provincial Congress, in June, 1775, recommended the carrying of arms to meeting on Sundays and other days when worship was held, by the men who lived within twenty miles of the sea-coast; and so we find Mr. Treadwell appearing in the pulpit with a loaded musket, cartridge-box and sermon. He was born in Ipswich September 20, 1738, and graduated at Harvard in 1758. His pastorate here ended in 1782. He then returned to Ipswich, his native place, and afterward removed to Salem; was a Representative and Senator in the General Court, and a judge of the Common Pleas Court. His patriotism was conspicu-

ous, his manners genial, and he loved to indulge in pleasantry, sometimes even out of season. His witty sayings often gained currency, and many of them are not yet forgotten.

REV. OBADIAH PARSONS, the successor of Mr. Treadwell, was installed February 4, 1784, "in peace, harmony and concord," as Mr. Sparhawk, of Lynnfield, says in an almanac memorandum. He remained eight years and then returned to Gloucester, his native place, where he died in December, 1801. He had two wives and nine children. His settlement here does not seem to have promoted the prosperity of the church, and there were some scandals that hastened his removal, though he seems to have maintained a good social standing.

It was during the pastorate of Mr. Parsons that the parsonage at the corner of South Common and Commercial Streets was erected. And, as an appropriate illustration of some of the habits and customs of the time, it may be pertinent to relate an incident connected with the enterprise. The story is that a number of the parishioners of small means were surprisingly liberal in the amounts they subscribed in furtherance of the good object, though it was understood that their donations would be received in the form of labor upon the premises, at a fixed price per day. The contributors were highly applauded for their generosity and the building committee praised for their liberality in arranging with a neighboring retailer for a supply of "refreshments," as they might be called for, while the work proceeded. Cheerily and rapidly the work went on. And then—when the building was completed and the accounts brought together—the contracting parties were astonished to find that the retailer's score, for *liquid* refreshments alone, exceeded in amount all that class of subscriptions.

REV. THOMAS CUSHING THATCHER was installed next after Mr. Parsons. He was a son of Rev. Peter Thatcher, of Brattle Street Church, Boston; was born in 1771; graduated at Harvard in 1790, and settled here in 1794, remaining till 1813. He attained a good old age and died in Cambridge September 24, 1849. He was affable in his social relations, but inclined to asperity in his controversial writings. He preached the funeral discourse over the bodies of the drowned men from the Scottish brig "Peggy," which was wrecked near the southern end of Long Beach December 9, 1795. The service was held in the meeting-house, the eight recovered bodies being present. There were twelve on board the brig, only one of whom escaped, and he, during the mournful service, stood in the centre aisle. Mr. Thatcher's text was, "And I only am escaped alone to tell thee," Job, ch. i., v. 19. On the 13th of January, 1800, he pronounced the eulogy on Washington. He also delivered the funeral sermon over the bodies of Miles Shorey and his wife, who were instantly killed by lightning on Sunday, the 10th of July, 1803, in the

house which still stands on Boston Street, opposite Cottage. He was a descendant from that Mr. Thatcher who, with his wife, were the only survivors of the terrible shipwreck, in August, 1635, of the bark of Mr. Allerton, which was cast away off Cape Ann and twenty-one persons drowned, including Rev. Mr. Avery, his wife and six children. The island on which Mr. Thatcher and his wife were safely cast is still called Thatcher's Island.

REV. ISAAC HURD, the tenth minister, was ordained September 15, 1813, and remained about three years. He graduated at Harvard in 1806. From Lynn he removed to Exeter, N. H., where he was installed over the Second Church of that place in September, 1817. There he remained till his death. At the closing period of Mr. Hurd's ministry the condition of the church was very low; so much so, indeed, that the question of disbanding began to be agitated. But better things were in store. This was the time when the "liberal" element was beginning to actively work in the old churches, and Mr. Hurd was inclining towards the new views. It is almost wonderful that the church did not at that time recede from the old paths, as so many of the other New England churches did. And it probably would have gone over had Mr. Hurd possessed the firmness and attractive power possessed by some others of the seceding clergy.

REV. OTIS ROCKWOOD, who succeeded Mr. Hurd, was firm in the faith, firm in his denominational attachments, and firm in his determination to prevent, if possible, any straying from the old paths. He was sound rather than brilliant, and to his earnestness is much of his success to be attributed.

The successors of Mr. Rockwood, down to the present time, have been strong in the faith and zealous in their labors, men of ability and learning, and some of them distinguished above the common rank. So well are their characteristics known to this generation that an attempt at portrayal in detail would be needless here, did the limits allow. Their names and the dates of their settlement have already been given. It may not appear invidious, however, to remark that Rev. Parsons Cooke, who was settled in 1836 and died on 1864, was perhaps the most notable since the time of Mr. Shepard. He was especially strong as a controversialist, and seemed to take a grim delight in opportunities to attack the Unitarian, Universalist and Methodist denominations. Persons of his characteristics always make a mark, and have tenacious adherents and determined opponents. It is difficult, therefore, to form an entirely satisfactory opinion from contemporaneous estimates, and future results must indicate the amount of good achieved. Mr. Cooke published two or three works which received some attention at the time they appeared, the most interesting of which, at least to Lynn people, being that entitled "A Century of Puritanism and a Century of its Opposites." It related

to the history of ecclesiastical affairs here, and took quite an unfavorable view of some of his predecessors in the pastorate and those of their communion. Its sometimes poorly authenticated statements, as to the unworthiness of those under notice, opened the way for the future liberal-minded historian to rank him as one disposed to magnify the failings, rather than the goodness, of others.

Besides the foregoing list of regular pastors the church has, of late years, had the services of two or three acting pastors, whose names follow,—REV. GEORGE E. ALLEN, who supplied in 1863-64; REV. JOSEPH COOK, 1870-71; REV. J. R. DANFORTH, 1872. Mr. Cook afterwards became quite famous as a lecturer, delivering several series in Boston and other large American cities. He likewise visited Europe and other parts of the world, attracting much attention. He still (1887) continues to exercise his gifts in his chosen field. While here, he delivered a series of Sunday evening lectures in Music Hall, which created considerable sensation on account of the pungency of his style, and, as many thought, indiscreet and unnecessary assertions and denunciations.

Thursday, the 8th of June, 1882, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the First Church of Lynn was observed by fitting ceremonies at the house of worship, on South Common Street. The day was pleasant and the attendance good. The forenoon exercises consisted of addresses, prayers, Scripture reading and appropriate music. The historical address was given by the pastor, Rev. Walter Barton; and a poem, from which quotations have already been given, was read by the author, J. Warren Newhall. At noon an abundant repast for visitors was spread in the lecture-room. The afternoon services were all of an impressive character. It was an occasion of much interest,—something more than a mere society or denominational observance, being well calculated to enlist the sympathies and stir the feelings of all, especially natives of the town.

The history of the First Church of Lynn has here been dwelt upon more at large, perhaps, than our limits justify; but, in an important sense, it embodies a history of the place. In its communion were the fathers of the town, and, all along, many of the chief men have held it to be their spiritual home. Its influence in early days was potent for good, and in its list of pastors appear some names of more than ordinary lustre.

Having spoken thus at large of the First Church and its ministry, brevity will be necessary in speaking of the other religious societies, of which there are now thirty. Before enumerating them, however, a word should be said of the first churches of Lynnfield and Saugus, which were the Second and Third of Lynn.

The *Second Parish Church* of Lynn was formed in 1720, the year in which Rev. Mr. Shepard died, and became the First Church of Lynnfield. The eccen-

tric but learned Nathaniel Sparhawk was the first minister. In the sketch of Lynnfield this parish will be further spoken of. In the mutations of New England theology it became a Universalist Society.

The *Third Parish Church* of Lynn was gathered in 1732, and became the First Church of Saugus. It was over this parish that the Rev. Joseph Roby was settled for the long period of fifty-one years. He was learned and pious, and withal ardently patriotic, being chosen one of the Committee of Safety at the opening of the Revolution. This society, like that of Lynnfield, finally adopted the Universalist faith.

TRINITARIAN CONGREGATIONAL.—Of the Trinitarian Congregational—or, as they are popularly called, the Orthodox—Societies, there are now four, namely,—the *First Church*, that already spoken of, and whose present place of worship is a fine brick edifice on South Common Street, built in 1872; the *Central Congregational*, founded in 1850, and whose present house of worship is also a fine brick edifice, on Silsbee Street, built in 1868; the *Chestnut Street Congregational*, commenced in 1857 as a Congregational Methodist, and becoming distinctly Calvinistic in 1860, their house of worship being a frame structure on Chestnut Street, built in 1857; the *North Congregational*, founded in 1869, and worshipping in their neat wooden church on Loughton Street, built in 1870.

UNITARIAN CONGREGATIONAL.—The *Second Congregational Society* of Lynn is Unitarian in sentiment. It was founded in 1823 and has a peculiar history, exemplifying some of the changes to which so many religious bodies were subjected at about the time of its institution. As has been seen, Mr. Rockwood, of the First Church, was a strong Calvinist. He was settled in 1818. At that time the leaven of "liberal Christianity," as it was called, and which subsequently developed into broad Unitarianism, had begun actively to work. And it was chiefly from those who dropped off from the old society, having imbibed the more "liberal views," that this was formed. Among the early members were several of the most influential people of the town, and it has always comprised some of the wealthiest. Their house of worship, which is the first and still the only one of the order in Lynn, was dedicated on the 30th of April, 1823, and is on South Common Street. It is a wooden structure, and does not compare favorably with most of the present Lynn houses of worship. It may be mentioned, as an interesting fact, that it was in a sermon preached in Boston, at the installation of Rev. Mr. Shackford, who was the sixth pastor of this society, that the distinguished Theodore Parker first publicly and clearly enunciated his peculiar doctrinal views. Another interesting fact, mentioned by Mr. Johnson in his "Sketches of Lynn," is, that the venerable Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, who was here at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Pierpont, the fifth minister, on that occasion remarked that that "was the ninety-fourth ordi-

nation that he had attended, and that it was the first one where intoxicating drinks were not used, and the first ordination dinner at which ladies were present."

FRIENDS, OR QUAKERS.—A *Society of Friends* commenced worship here as early as 1677. The rigid laws against the Quakers, which for many years deformed the statute-books of Massachusetts, and the story of their rigorous enforcement, are too well known to need recounting. But it should be borne in mind that the so-called Quakers of those days were very different from the quiet, orderly and honest people of after-years who have borne the name. They were a turbulent set, defying the government and outraging, certainly in some instances, the decencies of social life. The society here has ever embraced some of the best people, and, with the exception of one or two rather unaccountable outbreaks, has pursued the even tenor of its way. They worship in a plain wooden structure, on Silsbee Street, built in 1816.

METHODIST.—To that early pioneer of Methodism, Jesse Lee, is to be attributed the formation of the first society of the denomination in Lynn. Rev. Mr. Daniels, in his "History of Methodism," speaking of the travels and untoward experiences of Lee in New England, says,—“In Lynn a more hospitable reception was accorded to him, and there he formed his first society in Massachusetts, February 20, 1791, consisting of eight members. On the 27th of the same month it had increased to twenty-nine members, and in May following more than seventy persons took certificates of their attendance on his ministry—a measure rendered necessary by the laws of the State, in order to secure them from taxation for the support of the clergy of the ‘standing order.’” August 3, 1792, was held at Lynn the first Methodist Conference in New England. “There were eight persons present besides Bishop Asbury,” says Daniels, “among whom was Jesse Lee, who was now exulting in having gained a permanent foothold in this unpromising region.”

The *First Methodist Society* of Lynn, thus formed, has maintained a prominent standing not only in Lynn, but in the denomination at large, and has sent forth several thrifty ecclesiastical offspring. Their present house of worship is a conspicuous brick edifice on the northeasterly side of City Hall Square, built in 1879. *St. Paul's Methodist Society* was formed in 1811. Their present house of worship is a wooden structure on Union Street, built in 1861. The preceding house was totally destroyed by fire on Sunday evening, November 20, 1859. Some five hundred persons, many of whom were children, as a Sunday-school concert was in progress, were in the building, but all safely escaped. The *South Street Methodist Society* was formed in 1830. Their house of worship is a neat wooden structure on South Street, built in 1830. The *Maple Street Methodist Society*, Glenmere Village, was founded in 1850. Their house of wor-

ship is an attractive structure of wood on Maple Street, built in 1872. The *Boston Street Methodist Society* was founded in 1853. Their house of worship is a wooden structure on Boston Street, built in 1853. The *African Methodist Society* was organized in 1856, and their modest house of worship, on Malley Street, erected the next year. *Trinity Methodist Society*, near Tower Hill, was founded in 1873, and their present tasty edifice of wood built soon after. Recently a society has been organized in Wyoma Village.

BAPTIST.—The *First Baptist Society* was founded in 1816. A great deal has been said of the persecutions to which the early Baptists were subjected, and much of the rigorous conduct towards them was inexcusable. Yet it may be said of them, as was said of the early Quakers—they were not characterized by peacefulness, humility and the high sense of Christian duty which characterizes those of the name at this day. Their interference with State affairs no doubt created more opposition than their purely religious doctrines. It is probable that most students of New England history would concede that the banishment of Roger Williams even was brought about more from political than religious considerations. This, however, is not the place for discussing such questions. When the church here in Lynn was formed, the persecutions had long ceased. The house of worship of the *First Baptist Society* is a fine edifice of wood on North Common Street, erected in 1867. The *Washington Street Baptist Society* was founded in 1854. Their house of worship, at the corner of Essex and Washington Streets, is one of the finest in town, is of brick and stone, and was built in 1874. The *High Street Free-Will Baptist Society* was organized in 1871. Their house of worship is of wood, and stands in a commanding position on High Street. The *East Baptist Society* was organized in 1874, and have their house of worship on Union Street. The *Union Baptist Society*, founded in 1880, have their place of worship on Oxford Street, and is a society of colored people. The *North Baptist Society* have their place of worship in Wyoma Village.

CHRISTIAN.—The *Christian Society* was organized in 1835. Their house of worship is a wooden structure on Silsbee Street, built in 1840. This church has always maintained a most respectable denominational standing.

UNIVERSALIST.—The first meeting held in Lynn for the preaching of the doctrines of this denomination was in the Academy Hall in 1811. The *First Universalist Society*, however, was not formed till 1833; it was then organized in the Town Hall, and has had a steady and substantial growth till, at the present time, it is one of the largest religious bodies in Lynn, embracing many of the prominent people. The present house of worship, on Nahant Street, is built of stone and brick, and is one of the finest in the city. The *Second Universalist Society* was organized in 1837. Their house of worship is a wooden

structure on South Common Street, corner of Commercial, the same that was originally occupied by the First Church, and afterwards by a small society of another denomination. Some of the material of the edifice was first used in the famous Old Tunnel.

SECOND ADVENT.—The *Second Advent Society* have a house of worship on Liberty Street, opposite Cambridge. The society, though not large, is composed of earnest believers.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL.—The Episcopal Church was of slow growth in Lynn, though it is no doubt true that there were individual churchmen here at an early period. Richard Sadler, who came in 1635, and located at the present junction of Walnut and Holyoke Streets, it is reasonable to suppose, was a devoted churchman, as he took priest's orders after his return to England. His name is perpetuated in the lofty porphyry cliff that rises near the point just named, and which was granted to him by the town in 1638; and that he was a man of integrity, intelligence and prudence is apparent from the importance of the public offices he was constantly called to fill; and there were no doubt here and there other churchmen who may have veiled their sentiments, so great were the prejudices against them. From all that appears, the first service held here was on the evening of Sunday, October 18, 1818. At that time Rev. Thomas Carlisle, of St. Peter's Church, Salem, preached in the First Parish Meeting House, known as the Old Tunnel, the same in which the celebrated Whitefield had been denied the privilege of holding a service. But things had changed. The rigid fetters of the old faith were loosening, and it was actually by invitation of some of the influential members of the parish that Mr. Carlisle came. Yet, as events proved, these good men had but poorly informed themselves as to the church offices and requirements, for they were chiefly the very men who soon after formed the Unitarian Society. However, a sort of church was instituted, which existed, but did not flourish, for a year or two, and then became extinct. It was not till 1834 that another attempt was made to establish a church here. An organization was effected, and for a time they were so prosperous as to erect a modest house of worship, which was consecrated in 1837, but failure ensued; and it was not till 1844 that permanent church worship became established. It was then, in 1844, that St. Stephen's was formed. For some years it was weak and without much influence, but finally became prosperous, and is now one of the most substantial in the diocese. The house of worship, on South Common Street, is a beautiful structure of brick and stone, more costly than any other church building in the county, and is endeared to the parish, especially, as the gift of the late Hon. Enoch Redington Mudge. It was consecrated on Wednesday, November 2, 1881, and cost two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The interior is impres-

sive for its richness and freedom from all garish display, some of the decorations being very costly. A chime of ten bells has recently been placed in the tower, and first rang out their sonorous notes on the morning of Easter day, 1886. Among the tunes played on that occasion were "Jesus, Lover of my Soul," "The Morning Light is Breaking." This is the first chime ever in Lynn; is pronounced by experts to be superior in tone and unison, and was procured by members of the parish in grateful memory of Mr. Mudge, the donor of the edifice. The weight of the largest bell is three thousand and thirty pounds, and the cost of the whole was five thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. The chime was welcomed with much satisfaction by the people generally, and two of our local poets, in pleasant strains, celebrated the acquisition. Three of the eight impressive stanzas by J. Warren Newhall are here given:

"In the Sabbath morn's hush with melodious accord,
They shall join in an anthem of praise to our Lord;
And their soul-soothing vespers, at eve's hour of rest,
Shall be wafted like notes from the Isles of the Blest.

"They shall ring at the bridal, where love's vows are breathed
By the blushing young maiden with orange-blossoms wreathed;
Or chime the low dirge as the grief-bidden tear
Of affection bedeweth the cherished one's bier.

"At fair jocund morning, or peace-hallowed night,
We shall list to their music with grateful delight,
As they blend in a chorus exultant and strong,
Or soothing and sweet as a lullaby song."

And in the poem of twelve stanzas, by our fellow-townsmen, Joseph W. Nye, are these felicitous lines:

"'Tis meet they first our joy should ring
Upon the glorious Easter Day,
While we responsive gladly sing
The risen Christ and own His way.

"O bells! ye fitly grace the tower
That one of liberal soul did raise,
Who gave this fane—a sacred dower—
To which all hearts yield ready praise.

"O city loved! with grateful heart
Receive this gift so kindly free;
To thy fair name it will impart
A charm that we have longed to see."

The *Church of the Incarnation* was formed in 1886, chiefly by members who withdrew from St. Stephen's. They at present worship in their beautiful stone chapel near the corner of Broad and Estes Streets. There is every reason to hope and believe that this parish will soon be exercising an extensive and benign influence.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.—*St. Mary's Parish.*—The first Roman Catholic service held in Lynn seems to have been in 1835, a private house accommodating all the attendants. In 1848 the numbers had so increased that they purchased a frame building on South Common Street, near Elm. This building had rather a singular history. It was first a *Methodist* house of worship, and stood on land purchased of the *Congregational Society*. In 1815 it was bought by the newly-formed *First Baptist Society*, and occupied

by them for a number of years. Next it became a district school-house; then, in 1848, it was purchased by the Catholics and fitted up for their services; and finally, on the night of the 28th of May, 1859, was destroyed by an incendiary fire. The first minister was Father Charles Smith, who died in January, 1851, and was succeeded by Rev. Patrick Strain, who yet, 1887, remains in charge, having served for the longest term of any of the present Lynn ministers.

After the destruction of the first house of worship the Catholics obtained the use of Lyceum Hall, which stood on Market Street, at the corner of Summer, and there mass was said, instructions given and confessions heard. In 1860 the site for the present St. Mary's Church, at the south side of City Hall Square, was procured, and the fine Gothic structure erected. It remained for some years the most imposing church edifice in Lynn. It is built chiefly of brick, its dimensions being one hundred and fifty by seventy-three feet, and having a steeple one hundred and sixty-five feet in height. The interior is imposing, has a number of costly paintings and a fine organ. The seating capacity is one thousand three hundred.

Connected with St. Mary's Church is an excellent parochial school for children of both sexes, at which the daily attendance is over six hundred. The management is in the hands of Rev. Father Strain, and the expenses are met by the members of the parish.

St. Mary's Cemetery, on Lynnfield Street, consecrated Nov. 4, 1858, is connected with this parish.

The Catholic population of Lynn has steadily increased, and at the present time outnumbers any other Christian denomination—so far, at least, as is indicated by attendance on public ministrations. There are now five Catholic priests resident here, and they are as a body worthy of commendation for their zealous endeavors to elevate the character and condition of those under their charge. The long and successful ministry of Father Strain will ever be remembered to his credit.

St. Joseph's Parish, in Union Street, embraces chiefly the Catholic population in the eastern part of the city. It was formed in 1874, and their stately house of worship erected in 1875. Like St. Mary's, it is built chiefly of brick, and is a conspicuous edifice, with a seating capacity of about one thousand two hundred. Rev. J. C. Harrington is the minister, having an assistant. St. Joseph's Cemetery, on Boston Street near Cedar Pond, is connected with this parish.

A *French Catholic Church* was formed here in 1886, and a church is already in process of erection.

The Catholics of Lynn, it is thought, form about thirty per cent. of the whole population.

SWEDENBORGIAN.—A Swedenborgian or New Jerusalem Society was formed here in 1886. Some years ago an attempt was made to establish a society of this order, but the worshippers were so few that services were not long continued.

In addition to the foregoing, there are here, as in most places as large, other religious organizations sustained by some of the churches or by pious and benevolent individuals, such as the *Bethel* and the *West Lynn Mission*, which are doing much good.

It will be seen by the following table that there are now in Lynn thirty-one organized Christian bodies, to wit:

Methodist (1 African)	8	Congregational (Unitarian)	1
Baptist (1 African)	6	Friends	1
Congregational (Trinitarian)	4	Christian	1
Roman Catholic (1 French)	3	Second Advent	1
Universalist	2	Swedenborgian	1
Protestant Episcopal	2	Salvation Army of America	1

The following gives the city assessor's valuation in 1886 of the church property belonging to some of the principal religious societies, including the church edifices and the lots on which they stand:

St. Stephen's (Episcopal)	\$223,000
First Universalist	122,000
First Methodist	102,000
Washington Street Baptist	81,000
Central Congregational (Trinitarian)	73,000
First Congregational (Trinitarian)	63,300
St. Mary's (Roman Catholic)	62,000
St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic)	62,000
First Baptist	41,000
Friends	17,000
Second Congregational (Unitarian)	16,600

Some of the edifices, it will be observed are quite costly; and if the time should ever arrive when they are as heavily taxed as individual property, impecunious worshippers may regret the rich appointments. We should not have been likely to have erected so many churches nor so grand ones had taxation interposed its hungry hand. The above enumeration, as will be observed, does not include all the houses of worship. Taking in the whole, it is found that for the year 1886 the amount of church property exempt from taxation was \$1,079,000.

It is easy to see from the foregoing that Lynn is by no means in a state of spiritual starvation, or, at least, need not be. Her places of worship are numerous and eligible. And as to the learning and ability of her clergy, she would probably acknowledge inferiority to very few. Perhaps there is a little overstraining that verges on the sensational in some societies, and occasional displays that have the unpleasant air of denominational rivalry; but then even spiritual emulation may result in good.

In the "leading" churches a good deal of attention is paid to music. And in some instances it really appears as if that were considered of more importance than the preaching; naturally enough, too, where the music is good and the preaching is poor. But that does not seem to be exactly the right idea. The sacred strains that resounded in the rude sanctuaries of our fathers, though not, perhaps, in full accord with the rules of harmony, were fervid and stirring to the pious heart. But is not the tendency of much of the church music of this day rather to lead from devotion

to admiration—admiration of artistic composition and artistic rendering? And does not the sedate worshipper sometimes feel as if listening to

"Light quirks of music, broken and uneven,"

such as would only

"Make a soul dance upon a jig to heaven."

The singing in some of our churches is, at the present time, congregational, with the leading of a chorus choir; in others a quartette fills the programme. St. Stephen's follows the ancient church custom of having a surpliced male choir, chiefly boys, whose young, fresh voices and natural renderings add greatly to the interest of the service. In one church an "orchestra band" has lately appeared as an attraction.

A few remarks as to religious observances in former days might be of some interest here; but it is necessary to pass on to other topics. It may, however, be remarked, by the way, that there were, at different periods, quite different views prevailing. In early times the Levitical law, in all its rigidity, was adopted; then came from time to time modifications in one way and another; and, finally, about the close of the eighteenth century, the leaven of French infidelity began perceptibly to work in some classes. But in this part of New England the stronghold of Puritanism was long maintained. Albert Gallatin, the eminent financier and Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson, was a native of Geneva, and of rigid Puritanical stock. He was in Boston in 1783, and thus speaks of life then and there: "Life in Boston is very wearisome. There are no public amusements, and so much superstition prevails that singing, violin-playing, card-playing and bowls are forbidden on Sunday." Calvin himself would probably have sanctioned these views, though they were far from New England Calvinism. But these few mere hints on this subject must suffice.

CHAPTER XV.

LYNN—(Continued).

SCHOOLS—LIBRARIES—NEWSPAPERS.

Schools, their Number and Character, with Sketches of Some of the Old Teachers—Present Condition, Cost of Maintenance, with Various Statistical Items—Notice of Early Collections of Books—Free Public Library, its Formation, Growth and Present Condition—Newspapers, Sketch of the First Paper here, and its Editor—Papers of the Present Day.

Men of learning, men of training,
O, be yours a potent away;
Writing, teaching, vice restraining,
Guiding in the better way.

—ALLAN.

SCHOOLS.—The next thing thought of after the establishment of the church was the school. And the

purpose was not so exclusively then, as it now is, that the youth might be prepared for the common business transactions of life, which at that period were few and of limited range. It embraced also the higher motive of fixing in the youthful mind the principles of moral rectitude and religion. Thus, we find an enactment of the General Court in 1647, commencing: "It being one chief proiect of y^eould deludor Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of y^e Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading from y^e use of tongues, y^e so at least y^e true sense and meaning of y^e originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, y^e learning may not be buried in y^e grave of our fathers in y^e church and commonwealth, y^e Lord assisting our endeavors: It is therefore ordered y^e every township in this jurisdiction after y^e Lord hath increased them to y^e number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and reade," &c. . . "And it is further ordered, y^e where any towne shall increase to y^e number of 100 families, or householders, they shall set up a grammar schoole, y^e master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fitted for y^e university, provided y^e if any towne neglect y^e performance hereof above one yeare, then every such towne shall pay £5 to y^e next schoole till they shall performe this order." In 1654 the court prohibited the teaching of schools by persons of "unsound doctrine." Were such a statute now in force, the first difficulty would be to determine what is "unsound doctrine."

Many of the first teachers were of the clergy, and it need not be remarked that they, with perhaps a few exceptions, were graduates of the English universities, and many had been ministers in the Church of England. Naturally enough, they had a veneration for classical learning, and believed in the superlative virtues of Greek and Latin. But there was little time wasted in attempts to give a smattering of every kind of knowledge, useless as well as useful, as has been the case in later days. There were few books, but the deficiency was supplied by the instructors in various quaint ways, by brief explanatory talks, by homely and ingenious illustrations.

The first action of Lynn in her corporate capacity in relation to schools, so far as the records show, was in January, 1696, when it is recorded, "The Selectmen agreed with Mr. (Abraham) Normanton to be schoolmaster for the town for said year ensuing, and the Town is to give him five pounds for his labors, and the Town is to pay twenty-five shillings towards the hire of Nathan Newhall's house for a year to keep the school in, and that said Mr. Normanton hire said house." It seems as if, with a salary of five pounds, the town might have provided a school-room for Mr. Normanton. This, however, could not have been the first opportunity the youth of a town had to gain in-

struction; far from it. And it will be observed that the court, as just quoted, does not require that in places of only fifty householders there shall be established a school, but that a resident shall be appointed to "teach such children as shall resort to him," etc. It was when a place had increased to a hundred families, that they were to "set up a grammar schoole."

The early records of Lynn having disappeared, there seem no means for determining when the youth were first gathered for instruction. There is no doubt that Mr. Whiting and Mr. Cobbet, the early ministers, took pains to instruct the youth of their day. And Mr. Lewis remarks, under date 1687, "Mr. Shepard kept the school several months this winter." So there must then have been an established school. Many of the churches had a "teacher," so-called, connected with the ministry. The word, as thus applied, did not then have the same significance that it now has, but evidently had some connection with secular as well as religious teaching. Mr. Cobbet, who was colleague with Mr. Whiting, was called "teacher." On the 6th of October, 1680, when Mr. Shepard was ordained pastor, Mr. Whiting's son Joseph was ordained teacher. In 1718 Mr. Shepard being out of health, the selectmen were directed to employ a schoolmaster, and in their selection "to have relation to some help for Mr. Shepard in preching." On the town records, under date December 21, 1691, it is stated that at a meeting of the selectmen "Mr. Shepard, with his consent, was chosen schoolmaster for the year ensuing." These sufficiently show the intimate relation then existing between the clerical office and teaching.

In 1702 a vote was passed allowing ten pounds for the maintenance of a grammar-master, "such master to have over and above the said ten pounds 2 pence per week for such as are sent to read, 3 pence per week for them that are sent to write and cipher, and six pence per week for them that are sent to learn Latin, to be paid by parents and masters that send their children or servants to learn as aforesaid." A grammar-school was one in which Latin was taught, English grammar not being in use. Arithmetic was taught by the instructor's writing sums on a slate; and reading and writing were taught much as they now are. These were the common and chief studies. Spelling was allowed to range loosely about the alphabet, there being no fixed standard. So long as the letters used gave the right sound to the word it was sufficient; and some of their words look queer enough to the school-boy of this day.

It appears, that for the convenience of the different neighborhoods, the school was at some periods a sort of ambulatory institution, being at one time located in one part of the town and then in another—a fact that has given rise to the supposition that there were more schools than really existed. For instance, in 1720, the school was kept in Lynnfield, in Saugus, on the Common and at Woodend. John Lewis was

teacher that year; but he was very soon superseded, or an additional school was established, for another master soon appears; and it is not probable that there were two teachers to the same movable school. The name of the new teacher was Samuel Dexter, and he was probably a descendant from Thomas Dexter, one of the most enterprising of our earlier settlers, as he was certainly the progenitor of several eminent persons. He was but twenty years of age when he took the school; was a son of Rev. John Dexter, of Malden, and a graduate of Harvard. He subsequently became minister of the First Church of Dedham. He says in his diary: "Then being desirous, if it might be, to live nigher my friends, by y^e motion of some, I was invited to keep y^e school at Lyn; w^hfore, quitting my school at Taunton, I accepted of the proffers made at Lyn, and Feb. 17, 1720–21, I began my school at Lyn, in w^h I continued a year; and upon y^e day y^e my engagement was up there a committee from Maldon came to trent with me in reference to Maldon school, w^h proposalls I complied with and kept y^e school for ab^t six weeks, and then was mostly to the present time, [4 Dec. 1722] improv'd in preaching."

The Friends, or Quakers, established a school in Lynn in 1776; and in 1784, after considerable opposition, the town voted to grant their request to have a portion of the school-money especially appropriated to its support. The annual allowance was continued some years. Micajah Collins was master of this school more than a quarter of a century, ever retaining the respect of the parents and affection of the pupils; and of those who received his instructions there are a few yet remaining who can now hardly speak of him without emotion. He was born in 1764, of Quaker parents, received a fair education, and was an approved minister of the Society for almost forty years. In his ministerial capacity he traveled much and became known and respected in many parts of the United States. He was married, but left no issue. The last moments of his life are represented to have displayed in a marked degree the true characteristics of the dying Christian. Many friends and neighbors assembled around his bed, and in kind words he dealt to them admonitions and encouragements, and expressed his own assurance of a blessed immortality. Then he took each individual by the hand and bade all an affectionate farewell. Like the setting of a summer's sun, he gently passed away, without a murmur or a sigh. He died on the 30th of January, 1827. From a poetic tribute to his memory, penned by Rev. Enoch Mudge, a clerical father in the Methodist Church, and published in the *Newport, R. I., Mercury*, the following lines are extracted:

"In temper open, amiable and mild,
In manners simple, trusting as a child;
He to the youth a pleasing pattern gave.
Of access easy, pious, cheerful, grave;
All classes felt an interest in the man,
For innocence through all his actions ran.
Long as an able minister he stood,

And spent his lengthened life in doing good;
At home, abroad, the humble Christian shone,
While all the praise he gave to God alone."

To the *Lynn Transcript* of December 24, 1886, James A. Breed contributed an article in which he named twenty-two persons living who were pupils of Master Collins, fourteen of them residents of Lynn. None were less than seventy-two years of age, and the ages of five ranged from eighty-five to ninety-three.

Down to the beginning of the present century hardly any girls attended the public schools. There were several reasons for this. One was that their services were needed at home; another, that the studies were not thought necessary for their sphere; and a third, that it was not proper to have boys and girls so closely associated—all which ideas seem to be reversed in this our day. Female pupils are first spoken of, in a Lynn school report, in 1817.

It would be tiresome to multiply details concerning the early schools. Those of Lynn maintained a creditable standing. The people were poor, and during the depressed times immediately preceding the Revolution, the stormy days of the war, and the turbulent period immediately succeeding, the cause of education was permitted to languish. But the vital fires were not extinguished, only smouldering; and when more settled times were reached, they revived with renewed activity. Teaching was not formerly reckoned as a regular profession, but was usually undertaken as a temporary calling by students preparing for other vocations. And this, no doubt, sometimes operated unfavorably for the schools. Such, to a great extent was the case in Lynn, till within fifty or sixty years. Indeed, the wages of all the teachers here, till within twenty-five years, were very low, and they were compelled to resort to various expedients to make both ends meet, if they were blessed with families. There was good old Master Blanchard, who, in 1811, came here to take charge of a district school, bringing with him in the lumbering old carriage his ten children, and finding two others added to the number in due time; he probably never had a salary above three hundred and fifty dollars a year, and to eke out was compelled to keep little private evening schools, and do odd jobs as accountant and scrivener. He was for some ten years teacher in the little square one-story wooden building, with hipped roof, that stood on the latitudinal centre of the Common, nearly opposite where Commercial Street now opens, its diminutive belfry, unoccupied save by the store of lost bat-balls which had from time to time lodged there, giving it a sort of classical aspect. There he taught reading, spelling, defining, writing, ciphering, a little grammar, and those now too often neglected, but highly desirable accomplishments,—good manners, correct deportment and respect for age.

Master Blanchard's religious principles were of the

old Puritanical order, and somewhat rigid at that. And the church probably owed much to his determined stand and urgency that it did not, as did so many other churches of the order, about that time, swerve to the so-called "liberal" faith. He ever made it a part of his duty to endeavor to train the moral as well as the intellectual faculties of those under his charge, as many of the generation now nearly passed away would gratefully attest. He usually devoted an hour or two every week to lecturing the pupils on morals, manners, or some didactic subject, closing with a fervent prayer.

He was a musician of much taste and skill, led the singing in the old church from 1811 to 1824, and composed one or two psalm tunes which long continued popular, and may sometimes now be heard. He was a fifer in the Revolutionary army, and drew a small pension which did its part to help along. His musical talents, however, were never exercised in the school-room, for artistic music was not then thought a necessary accomplishment for those who were chiefly destined for the shoemaker's seat or the farm. The village singing-school afforded opportunity for those whose musical aspirations could not find adequate expression in the natural form of whistling.

Yet Master Blanchard was not a pronounced character, as the world goes, and it seemed singular to many that he should have had the influence he did. Some called him "non-committal" or "time-serving." His influence probably lay in his stern morals, his intelligence and genial manners. He was interesting in conversation, but usually grave and little given to humorous turns. He died on the 25th of May, 1842, aged seventy-eight years.

The Lynn Academy, a private institution, was opened in 1805, and had some days of prosperity, but more that were otherwise. Its beneficial influence, however, was marked, several of its preceptors being men of excellent acquirements and high character. It continued till superseded by the High School in 1849.

Having said thus much of the old schools and school-teachers, a word about the school-houses may be appropriate. Till within fifty years the Lynn school-houses were quite unseemly in external appearance and void of internal conveniences; yes, they were shabby. And such was the case in most places, excepting a few of the richer and more pretentious. Mr. Everett's picturesque conception of the tasty red-top school-house nestling so cosily and significantly at the cross-roads was ideal, for paint was grudgingly applied without, and within would usually be found dirty floors, hacked benches and wad-decorated walls. In Lynn we could boast of hardly anything shapely, to say nothing of the grand or beautiful, till 1848, in which year the commodious wooden structures on Franklin and Centre Streets were erected and supplied with such modern appliances as placed them among the best in the vicinity.

And since then the erection of such stately structures as the Cobbet, on Franklin Street, and the Ingalls, on Essex, in 1872, evince the zeal of our people in the cause of common education. There are one or two of the old school-houses yet in existence, and a comparison of them with those just named is well calculated to astonish not only for the evidence of immeasurable architectural advance, but also, perhaps, for the progress in extravagance. But the comparison must end there, for no such inequality exists between the teachers of old and their modern successors. And let us ever bear in mind that the grandest school-houses do not always insure the best teachers or turn out the best scholars.

Our present *High School* was commenced in May, 1849, in the wooden structure then standing on the west side of Franklin Street, where the Cobbet school-house now stands. Jacob Batchelder, who had for fourteen years been preceptor of the old Academy, was the first teacher. The present High School house, near Highland Square, was completed in 1851, and the school was immediately quartered there. It has enjoyed almost uninterrupted prosperity, and its teachers have been uniformly learned and skillful.

Alonzo Lewis, the poet and historian, was a teacher here in Lynn, his native place, for many years; and it is not easy to determine whether, in the vigor of life, he prided himself most as a poet, historian or schoolmaster. One of his longest poems is entitled "The Schoolmaster." It comprises nearly seven hundred lines, and flows on from beginning to end in his usual melodious style. On the opening page appear these lines:

I sing the Teacher's care, his daily pains,
The hope that lifts him and the task that chains;
His anxious toil to raise the gentle mind,
His skill to clear the path for youth designed,
His faithful watch o'er life's expanding ray,
To guide young genius up Improvement's way.

And further on are these:

The Teacher's lot is filled with pain and care
Which but devoted hearts are fit to bear.
His rank and worth in freedom's cause are great,
Surpassed by few that bloom the public state.
His is the task to fit the youthful mind
For all the stations by its God designed.

There are many beautiful passages in this poem, though some critics have thought that as a whole it falls short of one or two others in his volumes. It would be pleasing to quote a number of passages did the scope of this sketch permit; but we may venture to give a short selection or two as specimens of the emanations from that gifted mind, which so uniformly indicate reverence for learning and love of virtue:

"Some shade of woe o'er every lot is thrown;
Some secret pain each human heart must own.
Yet, sons of learning! it is yours to rise
Above earth's ills, to seek your native skies.
There, with congenial stars your worth shall shine,
And form a galaxy of rays divine!
And though awhile outshone by some bright sun,

Yet still ye glow when his clear course is run.
As yonder splendid cone of torrid light
Gleams with rich lustre on the dome of night,
And marks the path where day's bright orb has past,
So hallowed genius! shall thy memory cast
Its pure effluence o'er the shade of mind,
To light the path for future worth designed.
Horo the glad muse her tribute pays to thee,
Taylor, thou Shakspeare of divinity!
From humblest scenes thy genius bade thee soar,
The brightest realms of virtue to explore.
Raised from the teacher's to the bishop's chair
Life's purest honors waited on thee there;
And youth and age, by thy instructions blest,
Kissed with tears thy everlasting rest."

And again:

"Ye, who the pages of romance have scanned,
And think to find such at the poet's hand;
Know that refinement springs from lofty thought,
That life's best pleasures are by virtue brought;
That warmth of heart and excellence of mind
Are in devotion's sacred charm combined;
This is the joy that bows to heaven's control,
This the exalted pure romance of soul."

Mr. Lewis gained much commendation by his "History of Lynn." But it was not voluminous, embracing but about two hundred and fifty octavo pages; yet it was so condensed as to contain much more than its proportions would seem to allow; and, unlike most works of any kind, appeared, in the mind of the reader as he proceeded, to expand and shed more and more light. It has been said that historical works are always interesting. But there is an immeasurable difference in the degrees of interest. Minute details often weary, and yet they often possess a wonderful charm. Their success depends upon the judgment with which they are interwoven. Mr. Lewis's details are never wearying. And he had a happy faculty of introducing reflections and illustrations that opened extensive fields of useful thought—a faculty of inestimable value in any writer.

Mr. Lewis took great interest in the prosperity of his native place,—judging by results, much greater than he took in his own individual advancement,—and did many good things that otherwise might have long remained undone. The construction of the road to Nahant, along the harbor side of the beach, was an enterprise carried through in a great measure by his exertions. For the light-house on Egg Rock we are, perhaps, indebted to him more than to any other individual. The names of old streets were suggested by him, and so were the names of most of the ponds and the romantic and picturesque places and objects about the woods and along the shores. The city seal was drawn by him; and, in short, we owe a debt of gratitude to him for an almost countless number of useful labors and useful suggestions. In the mere profession of teaching, no doubt, there have been a number here who would rank as the superiors of Mr. Lewis, but it may be questioned if there has been one who, on the whole, has added more to the prosperity or done more to promote the refinement and elevation of our people. He was born in the neat little cottage

still standing on the north side of Boston Street, nearly opposite Bridge, on the 28th of August, 1794. He obtained, chiefly by his own exertions, a very good education, though he was not a college graduate. His poetic talents were early developed, the first volume of his poems appearing in 1823. Another and enlarged addition appeared in 1831. But the largest collection was issued after his decease, in 1882, in a handsome volume edited by his son Ion, and formed a graceful tribute to his memory. The first edition of the "History of Lynn," by Mr. Lewis, was published in 1829, in four numbers; the next edition was issued in 1844, in the form of an octavo of two hundred and seventy-eight pages. In 1865, four years after his decease, a new edition appeared, enlarged by newly-discovered matter, and with the annals brought down to the time of publication, by the writer of this sketch. He died in his picturesque little cottage at the seaside, on Beach Street, on the 21st of January, 1861.

At the present time the female teachers of our public schools far outnumber those of the other sex; and it is well that it is so, for their influence on the young minds committed to their charge, in the lower schools especially, has unquestionably a most beneficial effect. But a glamour surrounds the mistress of old, of which she of our day is divested, distance of time lending its enchantment. Says Shenstone:

"Her cap, far whiter than the driven snow,
Emblem right meet of decency does yield;
Her apron dy'd in grain, as blue, I trowe,
As is the harebell that adorns the field:
And in her hand, for sceptre, she does wield
Tway birchen sprays." . . .

"Albeit no flattery did corrupt her truth,
No pompous title did debase her ear;
Goody, good-woman, gossip n'aunt forsooth,
Or dame, the sole additions she did hear;
Yet these she challeng'd, these she held right dear."

And the poet's graphic delineation has other winning touches:

"One ancient hen she took delight to feed,
The plodding pattern of the busy dame;
Which ever and anon, impell'd by need,
Into her school, begirt with chickens came;
Such favor did her past deportment claim;
And if neglect had lavish'd on the ground
Fragment of bread, she would collect the same;
For well she knew, and quaintly could expound,
What sin it were to waste the smallest crumb she found."

There was worthy "Madame Breed," who long taught her little school on Water Hill, her frilled cap without a stain, and her manners as stately as if she were a queen. Some of our "best people" of the present day can trace their pedigree to her. She was mother of Andrews Breed, so long landlord of Lynn Hotel, in the days of its greatest glory, and grandmother of our fifth mayor.

As to the condition and comparative usefulness of our present schools, there have been more or less derogatory whisperings; not so much touching their

management as the course of study; but as that is to a considerable extent prescribed by law, it is so far beyond the regulation of those in whose hands the educational interests are more immediately placed. The boast that these primary seats of learning are now far superior to any heretofore known is often heard. But the important question is: Are they superior in adaptation to existing wants? The law requires instruction in "orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, drawing, the history of the United States and good behaviour." It is highly probable that if each town could have its own way, or, in modern phrase, were "local option" permissible, this simple curriculum would in many places be changed, as the common pursuits in different localities greatly vary, rendering some studies much more desirable than others. Of course, each town must know its own wants. As a general requirement, however, perhaps the present could not be much improved. And the same may be said of high school studies, as there, in addition to those named, it is required that "general history, book-keeping, surveying, geometry, natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, the civil polity of the Commonwealth and of the United States, and the Latin language" be taught.

But the law does not end with the above requirements. It opens a wide, permissive door through which numerous other studies, some of questionable utility, may and do intrude where the authorities allow or direct. It is here that danger lies, for some that were better kept out will occasionally, by mysterious influences, find their way in; some, to say the least, as useless as necromancy. Great responsibility rests on school committees, and it is agreeable to be able to testify that Lynn has usually been fortunate in securing those who had a due sense of their responsibility and intelligence and energy sufficient to execute their great trust in a way most conducive to the best interests of the people.

In former years such studies were pursued as best prepared the pupil to meet the requirements of the position he was in homely honesty expected to occupy in after-life; not such a position as imaginative parental affection might picture. There is so much knowledge the possession of which is sure to add to our well-being that it seems unwise to occupy ourselves in efforts to gain that which is of doubtful utility. It has been said that all knowledge is useful, but most certainly all knowledge is not equally so. No one can learn everything, life not being long enough for that, and hence is it not the part of wisdom to learn as thoroughly as may be that which is indispensable or sure to be most useful? There is an old maxim that speaks of the jack-at-all-trades being good at none, and why not apply the suggestion to the departments of learning?

Are we not more prone to theorize than our practical fathers were? more charmed with the ideal? But it may be asked, Is not the mind more fully de-

veloped and strengthened, better disciplined and polished, through these modern requirements; are not more extensive, beautiful and ennobling avenues of thought opened through such means? This is a point for the wisest to discuss, and when they have determined it they will do well to let the world know the result.

The annual reports of our school committees are full and perspicuous, and it seems as if no citizen need be in ignorance of the condition of every school, nor of the ever-growing wants of our whole educational system.

The following summaries will perhaps give as much statistical information concerning our present schools as may be thought necessary. They are for 1886.

Number of Schools.—1 High School, 7 grammar schools, 66 primary schools, 2 evening schools, 1 evening drawing school.

Teachers.—Whole number of teachers in day schools, including music teacher, drawing teacher and teacher of elocution, 141; number of teachers in evening schools, 45; number of teachers in evening drawing school, 4; in High School, 5 male and 6 female teachers; in grammar schools, 4 male, 53 female; principals' assistants, 5; teachers in primary schools, 66.

Pupils.—Average whole number of pupils belonging to all the day schools, 6415; average daily attendance of pupils in all the day schools, 5614; average number of pupils to a regular teacher in High School, 29; average number of pupils to a teacher in grammar schools, 42; average number of pupils to a teacher in primary schools, 53; average attendance of pupils in evening schools, 321; average attendance of pupils in evening drawing school, 116; High School graduates, June, 1886, 28.

Cost of Support of Schools.—For such as are accustomed to estimate the value of things moral and intellectual, as well as material, on a pecuniary basis, it may be stated, in brief, that the actual expenditure from the city treasury for the support of the public schools in 1886 was \$126,905.85, which included, for teachers' salaries, \$82,096.37, and for each pupil between five and fifteen years, \$16.86. The relative cost of the schools may be seen from the fact that the total expenditures of the city for the year were \$1,014,617.80.

LIBRARIES.—As auxiliaries in the cause of education, our libraries should be named. The first incorporated institution of the kind in Lynn appears to have been the "Social Library," which was established in 1819, though before that there were one or two collections of books to which the public generally had access; one especially, of considerable value, though limited in the number of volumes, near the close of the last century, in charge of Rev. Mr. Thatcher, of the First Church. The "Social Library" was a useful institution and continued some

thirty years under its original organization, and then was united to the small collection of the Natural History Society. Its number of volumes seems never to have exceeded 1500. In 1855 the "Lynn Library Association" was incorporated and became custodian of the united collection, then numbering about 2000 volumes.

In 1862 the "Lynn Free Public Library" was established, receiving the books of the Library Association, with such additions from other sources as raised the number of volumes to 4100. Thus began the notable Lynn Public Library, the usefulness of which is too well understood to need much remark here. The city year by year makes liberal appropriations for its support and increase, and has been fortunate in the selection of those who take special charge of its interests.

There has been a steady increase in the number of volumes of the Public Library, and at the close of 1885 there were 34,411 bound volumes and 4486 pamphlets. The number of deliveries during the year 1885 was 85,355, and the largest number taken out in one day during the year was on Saturday, January 31st, when 951 were delivered. Receipts for the year, \$4994.25; expenditures, \$6974.27. Whole number of books purchased during the year, 888, including of religious works, 28; scientific, 61; biographical, 79; historical, 134; prose fiction, 219.

Of course there were, all along, as the town grew, small circulating libraries in the different neighborhoods, and limited collections belonging to societies and clubs. These, together with those of the religious societies, furnished probably more good reading than was availed of in those industrious times. Charles F. Lummus, the first printer, for instance, had a collection of two or three hundred volumes in connection with his office, which he called the Redwood Library.

There have not been many large donations to our Public Library as yet, though from time to time books and other appropriate contributions have been made. In this respect Lynn has been less fortunate than many other places. But there was one opportune legacy which will not be forgotten—that of \$10,000 from Sidney B. Pratt. Mr. Pratt was born on the 14th of May, 1814, and died on the 29th of January, 1869, never having been married. He was unassuming in manners, liberal in ideas, diligent in business. Soon after the opening of the Eastern Railroad, in 1839, he commenced the express business, in a small way, which, by his promptness, activity and faithfulness, grew apace into large proportions, and finally, under the name of "Pratt and Babb's Express," became one of the leading lines in the vicinity. The public estimation of him was indicated by the attendance at his funeral, which took place from the Friends' meeting-house, of the mayor and other members of the city government, and a large concourse of business citizens. The donation to the library was by

will. A good likeness of him is to be seen in the Public Library.

Another liberal bequest to the Public Library was made by Lyman F. Chase, who died January 3, 1885. This gift was \$5000. Mr. Chase was a native of Lynn, and much respected as a young business man, his age at the time of his decease being forty-three.

NEWSPAPERS.—There was no newspaper published in Lynn till 1825. It was on the 3d of September of that year that the *Weekly Mirror*, under the proprietorship of Charles Frederic Lummus, made its first appearance. And, as this was an event of marked importance in our history, something more than ordinary notice may surely be proper, both of the paper and its proprietor.

The appearance of the *Mirror* certainly was not brilliant, either mechanically or editorially. There were but nineteen lines of editorial matter in the whole paper. And there was no greeting to the public, nor allusion, in any shape, to the prospects, plans, or expectations of the publisher. An original tale occupied five of the little columns, and an original poem filled another. Mr. Lewis probably wrote both of these. Three or four advertisements appeared on the third page; and the rest of the paper was made up of news items and short extracts. The four pages of the sheet—that is the printed part—were each a fraction less than nine inches by eleven in size; the type was much worn, the ink poor, the paper coarse and dingy. The size of the type was long primer, excepting about one column of brevier and two of pica. And, on the whole, the expectant public can hardly be charged with undue fastidiousness for failing to bestow very high encomiums on this new-born child of the press. Mr. Lummus told the writer, among other things, while recounting the experiences of that eventful period, that he sent a copy to the *New England Galaxy*, then under the charge of Mr. Buckingham, requesting an exchange, but received his own back, with the second *e* in the word WEEKLY changed to an *a*. The fifth number appeared in a somewhat enlarged form. The same width of column was preserved, but some five inches were added to the length, making a paper of much better shape. But this was done without boasting or any flourish of trumpets. There was not a line of editorial on the subject; nor was there, indeed, a line on any subject, in that number. Two of the columns were in pica; and the use of that large type was continued, to some extent, for a long time, he, the publisher, taking all suitable opportunities to gravely assure his readers that it was for the benefit of the aged people, whose eyes were dim; and many thanks did he receive for his kindness. The *Mirror* was first printed in a small wooden building, on the west side of Market Street, just where Tremont Street now opens. But in four or five years the office was removed to another small building, at the west end of the Common, the most active business of the town at that time being centred there.

For a considerable time the *Mirror* could boast of but little in quantity, in an editorial way, though what there was, was very good in quality; and it soon became a very readable paper, for, as the proprietor gathered confidence and became more experienced, he displayed most excellent taste and judgment in his selections. He had an open eye for the substantial and useful as well as the exciting and entertaining, and was diligent in looking up matters of local interest. And his brief remarks were often strikingly comprehensive. He seldom attempted an article more than a square or two in length, and was never guilty of spreading over half a column what might just as well be expressed in twenty lines.

Mr. Lummus was very social in his disposition; was acquainted with everybody; was an accomplished musician, and something of a military man. He likewise interested himself in political affairs, but was too honest to gain a reputation for stability as a partisan. In all intellectual and recreative enterprises, from the dignified lyceum to the jovial chowder party, he was ready and active, and hence frequently found himself in a situation where he was able to pick up matter for useful or amusing "squizzles," as he termed his short articles. And he was able in a short time to gather around him quite a number of very acceptable correspondents.

Mr. Lummus earned for himself the popular nickname of "Philosopher" in a rather amusing manner. Lawyer Gates being in the office one day, abruptly inquired, "Charles, what does the F. in your name stand for?" "Philosopher," was the instantaneous response. The ready wit so struck the old gentleman that he at once gave currency to the self-bestowed sobriquet.

He had a strange propensity to frequently change the appearance of his paper. Every little while his sheet would appear, perhaps with a new head, a different width of column, or some fanciful display of ornamental type. His means were limited, and his office but poorly supplied with materials. An ancient Ramage press, which looked as if Franklin might have worked at it, a small font of second-hand long primer, a little brevier, and a very few little fonts of small ornamental letter, with a case of pica and a few pounds of great primer, were almost everything he had. His three stands were so aged as to totter on their legs, and his galleys were warped or cracked. The only large type in the office for years were two or three alphabets of four-line pica antique capitals, which served for the heading of handbills, and at one time for the heading of his paper. With such a fitting out, he could not, of course, be expected to turn out any very elegant specimens of the art. But at that time such displays in job printing as are now made were not thought of. In March, 1832, the writer purchased his whole establishment for two hundred dollars, paying quite as much as it was worth. He had, however, in the mean

time procured a small font of new long primer, and sent off the old press, hiring a small iron one.

As to the success of the *Mirror*, it may in brief be stated that small returns rewarded hard labor. The number of subscribers was about four hundred—sometimes running a little below, but seldom above. The amount of work in the office—jobs, newspaper and all—could be done by the publisher and one hand. But at first, in a corner of his office, and afterward in a separate room, Mr. Lummus kept a shop with a small stock of stationery and fancy articles, such as are usually sold in a country book-store. A few musical instruments likewise formed a part of his stock, and he would frequently, in times of the greatest hurry, abruptly drop his composing stick to perform a solo on one of them, much to the discomfiture of his journeyman. Indeed he did not possess quite so strong an attachment for manual labor as for some other pursuits. He was fond of considering the matter in a philosophical way, and would sometimes remark, "Well, I guess I won't work too hard to-day, lest I should have nothing to do to-morrow," which remark was the sure precursor of a ride, a walk or an interval of repose over a book. There was a vein of humor, without the sting of sarcasm, running through his conversation, and he much loved a harmless practical joke.

He had an original way of ridding himself of idlers and such disagreeable company as quartered in his office: it was, to immediately set them at some disagreeable work. No matter who the individual might be, old or young, high or low, he would be called to go for a pail of water, sweep the floor, or perform some other equally dignified service, a plausible excuse always accompanying the request; and when one thing was done another was ready to be commenced on, until the victim was wearied out. A gentleman of the first respectability was once seen rolling at the press with a hand-roller, his clothes, hands and sweaty brow all bedaubed with ink, while Mr. Lummus was pulling on with all possible speed, to prevent any opportunity for rest, his countenance wearing the gravity of a sphinx. His financial ability was not of a high order, and he was, moreover, of quite a liberal turn. So it is hardly probable that had his income been ever so great he would have become rich. He would occasionally hire a horse and wagon, and occupy perhaps half a day in going to Salem to procure two reams of paper. The writer was informed by a neighbor of his that he called at his place one forenoon, urging him, in great haste, to ride with him to Boston, whither he was bound, in a chaise, alone. It being a pleasant day, the invitation was accepted. On reaching the city he drove directly to a famous restaurant, and called for some favorite viand, which was speedily before them. As soon as the meal was disposed of, Mr. Lummus arose, and, with an air of great satisfaction patting the natural receptacle of all good dinners, informed his friend that he was ready to start for home.

In the matter of dress Mr. Lummus was far from being a successful imitator of Brummel, though he was always decently clad. The exterior habiliments, however, were not usually in exact keeping with the interior; for sometimes within his muddy and ungainly cow-hide boots he wore delicate silk stockings. And beneath his shaggy coat, of dingy-white and ancient fashion, was perhaps underwear of the finest linen.

He occasionally conceived strange antipathies and prejudices which would sometimes exhibit themselves in a manner rather amusing than offensive. Seeing him once seize the list of the carrier for the eastern part of the town, and begin eagerly to cross off names, the writer asked him if so many wished to stop their papers. "I don't care whether they do or not," he replied, "but if they want it any longer they've got to move out of Woodland to get it." As some of his best friends—among them Mr. Lewis and Mr. Curtin—lived in that section, it seemed odd that he should have conceived such a prejudice.

Like most editors, he was fond of having his paper talked about, and loved much now and then to create a sensation. To that end he would occasionally concentrate in one of his little paragraphs enough material to serve most editors for a column—charging a perfect little bomb-shell—perhaps offensive from its personal application, or roughly divulging some private matter.

Like most editors, too, he was pleased to see his articles going the rounds of the press; and he knew well how to accomplish the end by inserting that which, from its bare oddity, would be snapped up. For instance, he, upon one calm summer morning startled the community with the bold announcement,—*"Huckleberries is ripe."* And the press all over the country echoed his announcement. It was customary in former days, as well as now, for people to complain of the dilatoriness of the Legislature. And Mr. Lummus once issued his paper with the usual conspicuous heading, *"Legislative Proceedings,"* in one of its columns, followed by a long blank space. It was thought to be a good joke; but he said the best of the joke was that it saved the setting of so many types.

The *Mirror* was discontinued in March, 1832, the proprietor having become involved, and the income not meeting the expenses. In the summer of the same year he published the first Directory of Lynn. It was a small 12mo, of seventy pages, with paper covers, and contained such information as is usually found in publications of the kind.

Mr. Lummus now passed some four years without any regular, settled employment. He worked a little at printing, kept a circulating library for a short time, had one or two classes in French and several in music. His plan in teaching French was to learn a lesson one day and teach it the next, thus keeping one step ahead of his pupils, and so near them as to see all the difficulties of the way—so he said—and his success was so satisfactory that one large class made him a valuable present.

There is no doubt that Mr. Lummus did much to awaken and foster a love for literature and other refining influences in the little community, and that we of the present generation owe a debt of gratitude for that. In the columns of his little paper the writings of Miss Fuller, Enoch Curtin, Solomon Moulton and quite a number of others first appeared. And Mr. Lewis was a contributor to its columns as long as it existed. He was in some sort a literary "head-centre," and his quaint and unpretentious criticisms doubtless had much influence in rectifying the style of inexperienced writers. Many times has the writer heard him remark, in his serio-comic undertone, while looking over a manuscript and ruthlessly drawing his expunging pen through passages, no doubt, thought by the writer to be the most brilliant: "There is a flower without any smell;" or, "There is no nub to that."

Early in 1838 the health of Mr. Lummus began seriously to fail; and it was not long before he was compelled to take to his room and then to his bed. The writer often visited him then, for, being in sickness and adversity, he was neglected by most of those who, in his brighter days, had been cheered by his friendship. He was usually cheerful, for his Christian faith was strong, and he seemed to feel no regret at the near approach of death. But to the last his natural eccentricities would occasionally exhibit themselves. One afternoon, just before his death, the bell happened to toll for a funeral. He heard it and remarked, "There, there is that old bell again; well, it will toll for me in a few days, I suppose," without any apparent conception that it would strike one as an unseemly remark. At another time he was found sitting up eating a piece of toast, and, in reply to the inquiry as to how he felt, said: "Oh, your grandsir will be well enough in a few days, I guess." But after he had retired, and one was at his bed-side to bid him good-night, he explained by saying that his remark might have savored of levity; that it had reference to his death, which would probably take place in a few days; and he certainly trusted that all would be well with him.

It was on the 20th of April, 1838, at the age of thirty-seven, that Mr. Lummus closed his life. He had marked singularities of character, but always proved so fast a friend and agreeable companion that he was universally beloved. And he had such an honesty of purpose, and strong desire to "do a little good in the world," as he expressed it, that his memory is more worthy of being cherished than many of higher pretensions and greater renown. Says Mr. Lewis: "He was an excellent musician, and a choice spirit. Few young men in Lynn were ever more extensively beloved or more deserved to be. But thou art dead! 'Alas! poor Yorick!' Thine is a loss to be thought about, and thou shalt long live in our love."

Such was the beginning of printing in Lynn; such the first printer and his outfit; such the first news-

paper, its character and success. Since that time many papers have arisen, flourished for a time and passed away; but there has hardly ever been a period without one or two respectable journals. At the present time (1887) we have the following:

The Lynn Reporter (weekly), established in 1854.

The Lynn City Item (weekly), established in 1876.

Daily Evening Item, established in 1877.

The Lynn Bee (daily), established in 1880.

They are all on the high road of prosperity, in a pecuniary way, each being far in advance of all the others, according to their individual claims. But then, money-making is, of course, a mere secondary matter with the worthy publishers. And as to editorial management, it may be remarked that every sheet bears evidence that not one of the editors would reasonably be expected, in the accustomed modesty of the craft, to deny that he is the ablest of the entire brotherhood. Commendation, however, is needless here, and criticism would be unbecoming.

There are a number of book and job offices, besides the offices at which newspapers are printed. And the work turned out is quite equal in accuracy and elegance to that done elsewhere in the commonwealth.

CHAPTER XVI.

LYNN—(Continued).

INDUSTRIAL PURSUITS.

Iron Works, First in America—Planting and Fishing—Cloth Manufacture—The Great Shoe and Leather Trade; its History and Present Condition—Other Manufactures—Statistics Pertaining to the Different Trades, interspersed.

"Earth is the work-shop of mankind,
And we're all workers here,
With busy hand or busy mind,
Each in his destined sphere.
Work's higher wage—content and health—
Its lower—luxury and wealth."

In a very short time after the settlement of Lynn was commenced, mechanics of the few kinds necessary to supply the limited wants of the people appeared. Even before the Colonial Patent was removed to New England, which was in August, 1629, the company at home were careful to see that a sufficient number of skilled artificers were sent over.

IRON WORKS.—The first undertaking of general importance was the establishment of the iron works on the border of Saugus River. These works were commenced as early as 1643, and formed an enterprise worthy of more extended notice than can be attempted here. The undertaking was one of unquestionable importance, not only to the narrow circle of settlers in this immediate vicinity, but to the whole country. It may, indeed, like many other great projects, have been induced and fostered by hopes of pecuniary gain

to those directly concerned; but certain it is that it resulted in great general good, though it ended in financial disaster and vexation in individual instances. Yet, after all, it is by no means certain that individual selfishness was the mainspring of the scheme. The Massachusetts Company evidently realized the importance of such works to the settlers, for before the removal of the patent the subject was earnestly discussed, and at a meeting in London, March 2, 1628-29, an agreement seems to have been made with a Mr. Malbon, "he having skyl in iron works," to come hither on a prospecting tour.

These works at Lynn have been spoken of as the first in America; but the claim that those at Braintree were the first is not forgotten. After patient research, however, the writer is convinced that the claim cannot be substantiated. Mr. Malbon is known to have been here as early as October, 1629, and seems first to have settled at Salem. Now Braintree is some twenty-five miles away, and that distance, in the almost entire absence of roads, was a serious matter. Why, then, should he have gone so far away, and into another jurisdiction, when ore could be found so near at hand as Saugus?

It is evident that some of the workmen at Braintree were previously employed in Lynn, among them Henry Leonard, who came over in 1642, to engage in the Lynn works. But after all, a priority of two or three years in the establishment of such a business is of little importance, though it is well to be exact, considering that sometimes other and material facts may be dependent.

It is apparent that though the Lynn Iron Works were not sustained by local capital—for there was little here—some of our leading men were active in promoting their establishment. Robert Bridges, for instance, in 1642, took specimens of the ore to England, and was, in truth, instrumental in forming the company. And Thomas Dexter, who owned some of the land in which the ore was found also took a lively interest in the enterprise. It is, therefore, unjust to call it a mere English speculation. The people of Lynn did what they could to help along the business.

Smelting, forging and casting were carried on at these works, as well as blacksmithing and various other branches of metal work. And it is singular that there was not better success. One or two inventions of a very useful kind were perfected by some of those employed here; notably by Joseph Jenks, who delighted the farmers with a greatly-improved scythe, or "engine to cut grass," as the court called it. Here were also made, as Mr. Lewis states, by the same ingenious Mr. Jenks, the dies for the famous pine tree coins of 1652. In 1654 the authorities of Boston agreed with Mr. Jenks "for an Engine to carry water in case of fire," which is said to be the first fire-engine in America. There must at one time have been a good deal of business, for that period, carried on at

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the works, as Winthrop, in a letter dated September 30, 1648, says, "The furnace runs eight tons per week, and their bar iron is as good as Spanish." The ore was obtained in the vicinity, and was of the kind called bog ore.

The site of the works was in a sheltered vale on the border of the river, in what is now the centre village of Saugus; and a picturesque little hamlet called Hammersmith grew up apace. Henry Leonard and his brother James worked here, and their descendants have to this day been identified with the iron manufacture, not only of New England, but the whole country. From the humble beginning of these Lynn works has developed the enormous iron trade of the present day. Skilled workmen went from here from time to time, and established themselves in different parts; and their children and children's children, adepts in the same calling, borne on the waves of population as they spread over the land, are still easily identified as of the old Lynn stock.

As before intimated, these iron works were not a financial success. There was very little ready money in the colony; and though the manufactured articles were sold at a very reasonable rate for coin, yet, as the General Court curtly told the company, an axe at twelve pence was not cheap to one who had no twelve pence to buy. And again, they had not been long in operation when they became involved in vexatious and expensive lawsuits. Hubbard says, "Instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use, there were hammered out nothing but contentions and lawsuits." They seem to have gained the ill-will of many of their neighbors, had difficulties about flowage, about contracts for wood, and so on. And a most remarkable prejudice appears to have arisen from the apprehension that they would consume so much wood that fuel would become scarce. They, however, continued in a sort of lingering consumption for many years, when the fires of the forges went out never to be relighted, the begrimed workmen departed never to return, and the chief tangible marks of their existence now remaining are two or three grass-grown hillocks of scoria, called by the people of the neighborhood the "cinder banks." Curious visitors sometimes dig through the thin soil that covers the slag and frequently find bits of charcoal as fresh as when ejected from the sooty portals, and occasionally a piece of iron casting.

In the description of New England by Samuel Maverick, recently discovered by Mr. Waters in the British archives, and probably written in 1660, appears the following: "Five miles westward (from Marblehead, 'the greatest town for fishing in New England') lyeth the Towne of Lynne along by the sea side, and two miles above it, within the bounds of it, are the greatest Iron works erected for the most part at the charge of some Merchants and Gentlemen here residing, and cost them about 14000£, who were, as it is conceived, about six years since Injuriously outted

of them to the great prejudice of the Country and Owners." So it seems Mr. Maverick recognized their value; and he must have been familiar with their whole history, for he came over as early as 1624, at the age of twenty-two, and settled on Noddle's Island, now East Boston, which the General Court granted to him in 1633—a fact which indicates an appreciation of his character and services, notwithstanding the deep prejudice that prevailed on account of his being a zealous Episcopalian.

It may be thought that the most proper place for a notice of these works would be in the sketch of Saugus, as they were actually within the present limits of that town; and no doubt the worthy gentleman who furnishes the sketch of that place will give them suitable attention. But there was no settlement of the name Saugus during their existence, nor for a hundred years after. They are always spoken of on the records as of Lynn. While it is of little moment on which side of the present line they were situated, it may be thought that their importance entitles them to some notice in both places. They were the first considerable mechanical industry established here. Craftsmen there were in sufficient numbers and variety to supply all local needs, and that was about all.

After the now historical iron works on Saugus River were abandoned there seems to have been no attempt at iron-working here for almost two centuries, unless blacksmithing be called such. It was in 1843 that Theophilus N. Breed built a factory on Oak Street for the manufacture of shoemaker's tools and for various kinds of castings, erecting a dam and forming what has ever since been known as Breed's Pond, a description of which has already been given. After a few years, however, Mr. Breed relinquished the business, and the pond finally became the property of the city, and yet forms one of the chief sources of our public water supply, as well as a pleasing feature of the landscape, surrounded as it is by romantic hills and woods.

PLANTING AND FISHING.—Planting and fishing were indeed the chief dependence for many years. And they insured a comfortable livelihood, so that the people hereabout were, in a sort, independent from the beginning. The land, however, was not very favorable for husbandry, though the sea yielded an abundance of valuable manuring matter; and in later years, as the cost of labor increased, farming ceased to be profitable, till it has now been well-nigh abandoned.

The fishing was at first confined to what is now known as dory-fishing, and was chiefly carried on from Swampscott. The little boats of the settlers, like the skills of the Indians, merely ventured into the offing. But there was no need of going farther, as the fish were abundant near the shore. It was not till 1795 that the first jigger, so called, a sail craft of some twenty tons, was procured. But from that time

the business increased, affording ample maintenance to many and fortunes to some. The fishermen here have promptly availed themselves of every new discovery and improvement in the prosecution of their calling and been alert in taking advantage of propitious tides.

Shell-fish have always been taken in great quantities along the shore, and many an indigent family have found that the clam banks never refused a liberal discount.

The lobster trade, too, has been one of very considerable profit, though it has of late years been so vigorously pursued that fears have arisen lest the dainty crustacea may be exterminated. As before remarked, the fishing was chiefly carried on at Swampscott, which was a part of Lynn till 1852. And, as the writer, when preparing the proposed sketch of that town, will necessarily have something to say about the fisheries, but little need be added here.

An idea of the extent of the lobster yield on our coast may be gathered from the fact that during the year ending May 1, 1865, there were taken at Nahant 150,000, and at Swampscott 37,000. The average value, as taken from the traps, was six cents each. Since that time the annual catch has gradually diminished. And under the apprehension that the species may become extinct, as just stated, the Legislature has been invoked for their protection. But one would think there could not be much danger in that direction, as piscatory naturalists assure us that a single female lobster will lay 42,000 eggs in a year. It must be, then, that there are "denizens of the deep" as fond as we of the savory food.

The district of Lynn, Nahant and Swampscott returned, as the product of their fisheries for the quarter ending December 3, 1880, as follows: Codfish, cured, 300,000 pounds; mackerel, 400,000 pounds; herring, salted, 100,000 pounds; lobsters, 7000 pounds; fresh fish, daily catch, 315,000 pounds; fish oil, 3200 gallons. Total value, \$44,141.50.

A brief quotation from William Wood's quaint description of what he saw in 1631 may close what is needful just here about the fisheries: "Northward up this river [the Saugus] goes great store of alewives, of which they make good red herrings; insomuch that they have been at charges to make them a wayre and a herring-house to dry these herrings in. The last year were dried some 4 or 5 last [150 barrels] for an experiment, which proved very good. This is like to prove a great enrichment to the land, being a staple commodity in other countries, for there be such innumerable companies in every river that I have seen ten thousand taken in two hours, by two men, without any weire at all saving a few stones to stop their passage up the river. There likewise come store of basse, which the English and Indians catch with hooke and line, some fifty or three score at a tide. . . . Here is a great deal of rock, cod and macrill, insomuch that shoales of basse have driven up shoales of

macrill, from one end of the sandy beach to the other, which the inhabitants have gathered up in wheelbarrows." Alewives still go up the fresh-water streams for a few weeks in the spring to spawn in the ponds; especially do they swarm in Strawberry Brook on their way to Flax Pond; but they are not now esteemed so highly for food as formerly. There are but few bass, some rock cod and occasionally great quantities of mackerel. The habits of the latter, however, are so peculiar that different seasons show very different accounts.

CLOTH MANUFACTURE.—In 1726 the Salem Court awarded to Nathaniel Potter, of Lynn, £13 15s. for the manufacture of three pieces of linen. It is not clear what kind of cloth this was, but is very likely to have been what was afterwards known as "tow cloth." Certain it is that flax was raised here in considerable quantities. The fine pond near our northeastern border, known as Flax Pond, received its name, as mentioned in the description already given, from the circumstance that much of the flax was rotted there. The tow cloth, as it came from the family hand-loom, was not regarded as a very genteel fabric, but its durability could not be questioned, and after being whitened it was fair, though not so smooth and soft as one of this day would desire for an innermost garment. The raising of flax and manufacture of tow cloth has long since been discontinued.

In the early times of the settlement sheep were raised to some extent, and of course the fleeces were by the thrifty dames wrought into comfortable clothing. But the whirl of the spinning-wheel and click of the hand-loom have long since ceased to be heard.

SHOES AND LEATHER.—*Shoes.*—The history of shoes and shoe-making seems always to have had a peculiar interest. Workers at the craft appeared at an early period of the world, for it was necessary to protect the feet from the arid sands of the torrid zone and the frosty plains of the frigid. The earliest covering of the feet in the one case was no doubt the sandal, manufactured from some vegetable production, and in the other, the moccasin, made of uncurried skin. Sandals are still worn in the eastern countries, though light shoes seem generally preferred. The manufacture of shoes in those countries is conducted in the same primitive style that was in practice here in our early days, though the sewing-machine and other revolutionizing contrivances are being introduced. The writer, while threading his way through one of the narrow old streets of Algiers, two or three years since, came across a shop in which were half a dozen shoemakers busily at work on the same kind of low seat used in the Lynn shops of sixty years ago, knee-stirrup, lapstone and broad-face hammer, fulfilling their duties as of yore. So natural did the whole look that a pause was involuntarily made; but though the jolly workers seemed not averse to have a chat, the difficulties of language rendered the communication very limited. In the same city a French-

man was seen busily at work on an American sewing-machine.

Of all the industries of Lynn, the manufacture of shoes has taken the lead for many years; but it was not till the middle of the last century that she began to be known, to any marked extent, in that line of business. Nor is it certain that there was any special inducement for the establishment of the business here, though the manufacture of leather, which was engaged in to some extent in the earliest times, may have had something to do with it. Edward Johnson, of Woburn, writing in 1651, speaks of a Shoemakers' Corporation in Lynn, and Mr. Lewis remarks that the papers relating to it were unfortunately lost, "having probably been destroyed by the mob in 1765." But it must have been an insignificant association. And what reason there was for supposing that the papers, if any really existed, were destroyed in the Stamp Act riot, is not known. It seems more probable that they would have been destroyed in the disorderly times of Andros; but more probable still that they never had any papers.

Edmund Bridges and Philip Kirtland are usually spoken of as the first shoemakers here. They came in 1635. But John Adam Dagyr, a Welshman, who came in 1750, seems to have raised the humble occupation almost to the rank of a fine art. He took great pains to excel; and, it is said, imported the most elegant shoes from Europe, and dissected them for the purpose of discovering the hidden mystery of their elegance. This, however, appears to have been done before, but without the desired effect. Shoemakers from all parts of the town, says Mr. Lewis, went to him for information; and he is called in the *Boston Gazette* of 1764 "the celebrated shoemaker of Essex." From this time Lynn took rank as the foremost place for the manufacture of ladies' shoes in all New England—indeed, in all the provinces. But Mr. Dagyr, in a pecuniary way at least, never profited much by his skill and labor. The writer has been told by one who knew him well that he lived in a homely way, was not very neat in his dress and did not keep his little shop, which was on Boston Street, near where Carnes now opens, in the neatest order; in short, that he fell into such habits as were not conducive to a thrifty life. He finally became so destitute as to make his home in the almshouse, and there he died in 1808. Kirtland Street, in the westerly part of the city, and Kirtland Block, in Union Street, perpetuate the name of the earlier craftsman, Philip Kirtland, and so, in its way, does the Kirtland Hotel, in Summer Street. But as yet no such honor has been bestowed on the name of Dagyr, unless a wild spot in the domain of the Free Public Forest Association, lately consecrated to his memory, be taken as such.

At the time of Dagyr's arrival, 1750, there were but three men in Lynn who carried on the business to such extent as to employ journeymen; and these

were William Gray (grandfather of the rich merchant, so extensively known by the inelegant sobriquet of "Billy Gray"), John Mansfield and Benjamin Newhall; the latter, the writer is pleased in being able to say, was his great-grandfather.

Down to the Revolution the business moved onward, but its progress was slow. And during the war, like most other matters of trade, it was sadly depressed. Soon after the return of peace it began to show renewed strength, and was presently recognized as the leading employment of the place. Some of the shrewd business men seeming to have a prophetic vision of the position it was destined to occupy in future years, vigorously set about placing its interests on as firm a footing as possible. Several energetic workers to that end are more worthy of being remembered than some others who are extolled as public benefactors. There was Ebenezer Breed, a native of the town. He made himself acquainted with all that was to be learned in Lynn, and while yet a young man went to Philadelphia, where he engaged in a profitable business connected with the trade here. In 1792 he visited Europe, and not only sent over quantities of the better and most fashionable kinds of shoe stock, but also some skilled workmen to instruct the operatives at home in the more elegant mysteries of the art. He seemed determined to prove that as fine and substantial shoes could be made in Lynn as in Europe, and he succeeded. But the business in a measure languished, for shoes could be imported from England and France and sold cheaper than the manufacturers here could turn them out. Finding such to be the condition of things, Mr. Breed, in conjunction with some others in the trade at Philadelphia, set about endeavoring to induce Congress, which then held its sessions in that city, to impose a duty on imported shoes sufficient to protect the home manufacture. They resorted to a little shrewd management to effect their purpose. Among other schemes a dinner party was given, for they well knew that an appeal to the stomach is in many cases more irresistible than an appeal to the head. Sundry members of Congress were invited to the banquet, as well as divers charming ladies, among the latter the fascinating Quaker widow, Dolly Todd, once Dolly Payne, and afterward Mrs. President Madison. Mr. Madison himself, who was an influential member of Congress, was also there. One or two of the ladies appear to have been aware of the ulterior purpose of the party, and not averse to assisting in making it a success. It need only be added that a very satisfactory act was passed, and Lynn rose on the event. Perhaps facts like these may partially account for the pertinacity with which our people have all along adhered to the protective tariff system. Poor human nature is such that self-interest has much to do with shaping principles.

Without attempting to follow the progress of the trade into minute details, it may be well to state a

few facts that will enable one to judge of its growth. In 1810 there were manufactured here just about 1,000,000 pairs, and they amounted in value to \$800,000. The earnings of the female binders reached \$50,000. Twenty years later, that is in 1830, the number of pairs made was, in round numbers, 1,670,000, Lynnfield having been set off in 1814 and Saugus in 1815. Twenty-five years later, that is, in 1855, the number of pairs is found to have been 9,275,593, Swampscott having been set off in 1852 and Nahant in 1853. From 1865 to 1875 there were made, on an average, not less than 10,000,000 pairs a year, of the average value of \$1.20 a pair.

But a statement of the condition of the shoe trade at the present time would no doubt be most interesting as well as useful, and it is proposed to attempt it with some fullness.

Colonel Wright, in his synopsis of the last United States Census, gives

The number of shoe factories in Lynn as	174
The average number of employees as	10,708
Capital invested	\$4,263,250
Wages paid in one year	4,931,530
Stock used	12,918,221
Value of product	20,916,867
Gross profit	3,097,296
Estimated interest and expenses	2,350,482
Net profit or loss	746,814
Average yearly product per employee	1,956
Average yearly net profit per employee	70
Average yearly earnings for each employee	461
Percentage men employed	71.7
Percentage women employed	28.
Percentage children employed . . . . .	.3

These latest published figures show that \$668,280 more were paid in wages, in a single year, than the total capital invested. Equally remarkable is the high yearly average of earnings for each employee, which, it should be remembered, is the average for men, women and children. It is also satisfactory to learn that less than one-third of one per cent. of all Lynn shoe employees are children. The careful attention given, in recent years, to collecting statistics of employees and wages makes the reports of statistical bureaus unusually interesting and instructive. Industrial information is eagerly sought, and an especial interest has centred in examining the progress of the shoe industry, because of its wonderful development and because that development is the result of American ingenuity.

Although the shoe business has such a powerful hold on the every-day life of the people of Lynn, lofty shoe factories do not, by any means, constitute the whole of Lynn's wealth and enterprise. Wherever factories of any kind are located, there naturally spring up a score of subsidiary industries engaged in producing articles which may be used as component parts of a staple product. Lynn, rich in its hundreds of large and small supply factories, which furnish almost everything from tacks, boxes and blacking, to the beautifully finished kid skins of the great morocco factories, is not an exception. From sumac-filled

vats, sunk deep in the ground, up five and six stories, the city is devoted to every department of its chosen industry. Above ground and below ground the business centre of the city is thoroughly dedicated to productiveness.

To speak of leather-scented Lynn is almost to speak the literal truth. From tall chimneys, which stand above ponderous boilers and powerful engines, pours forth the smoke of leather shavings and leather refuse, swept from the busy workrooms. Thus everything serves its purpose. Hundreds of leather-shaping machines furnish ton upon ton of fuel for the great boilers. As moisture from vegetation is taken up by the sun, and formed into clouds which pour forth rain to increase the same vegetation, so old leather assists in the manufacture of new leather. Every piece of discarded leather has a value. Thin shavings are pasted and pressed into some new form, fibrous pieces are ground into leather board, and even a ton of factory sweepings has a marketable value. Thus from the time the tanner sells the hair shaved from the skin, to the time the skin is cut and split into a thousand pieces, every particle has a use and value.

The activity and bustle of Lynn people is, in no small measure, due to association with swiftly-moving machinery. Indeed, it is almost impossible to work with people who are always in a hurry to keep up with machinery without catching the same habit. There is nothing lazy about Lynn. It is distinctively a city of workers when there is work to do. There are, unfortunately, seasons of the year when trade is at a low ebb, and there is therefore a necessity for making the most of it when the factories are in motion. There are two busy seasons, one during January, February and March, when summer goods are manufactured, the other during July, August and September, when winter goods are manufactured. The Western market generally requires goods earliest, the Baltimore and Southern market next, the Philadelphia, New York and New England markets latest. Western wholesale buyers order sample pairs of the next summer's styles as early as the preceding October, and for winter wear as early as the preceding March. Summer is as much a preparation for winter, and winter for summer, in shoe manufacturing, as in any other great industry. Although six months in the year probably comprise the busy seasons, yet there are often factories which run exceptionally steady through the greater part of the year. In fact, there is some trade in every factory every week in the year, as samples, sample orders and duplicate orders fill up a great amount of time between the seasons. The uncertainty of constant employment calls for good wages, so that during the busy season operatives earn a handsome sum, which, if it could only be continued throughout the year, would make the trade of shoe-making very desirable. The dull times, however, put the annual income at no more than a supporting average.

The conduct and ownership of Lynn factories is decidedly different from that of most manufacturing cities. In the large mill cities especially the factories are owned by corporations, and often only a small percentage of the stock is owned by residents. The profits of the corporation are paid to non-residents, who may have little interest in the city's prosperity. Not so in Lynn. Lynn is almost wholly owned by Lynn residents. Wages and profits alike contribute to the city's advancement. There are no stock corporations, but every firm manages its own business. By the industry and perseverance of its own citizens, Lynn has increased its wealth, and taken a proud position among the foremost manufacturing cities of the world. Prosperity is not borrowed, but is a home product.

Wages in Lynn are paid weekly. It has been so ever since factories were first established, being an outgrowth of the old custom of paying the shoemaker for his work as soon as finished. Saturday is the great pay-day. Lynn shoe manufacturers have always been well rated in the financial world, and no doubt much of their sound financial standing is due to frequent payments. They have an immense cash paid-up capital in labor alone, all of the time, and as labor is estimated as about one-fourth the value of the manufactured product, Lynn manufacturers would pay one-fourth immediate cash for all their bills, even if they did not pay any more. Labor bills are preferred bills in Lynn, and its good effect is seen on every hand. A "nimble sixpence" has always been a Lynn business principle, and any other system would seem unnatural.

Lynn operatives have never been called to work by factory bells. Nominally there are fifty-nine working hours in the week, but practically there is so much work done by the piece that operatives work a much smaller number of hours. Factory whistles give alarms at seven o'clock in the morning, at twelve o'clock noon, and at one and six o'clock in the afternoon. Those employed by the week observe these hours, excepting on Saturday, when work is over at five o'clock. Almost every kind of work is piece-work, as even in work done by the week there is some stated amount to perform, which is practically the same. There is unusual freedom in entering and leaving factories, and a time-keeper from some strictly-conducted industry would no doubt consider Lynn perfectly demoralized. It would be hard to name a place where employees can be more independent and more fully allowed to regulate their own time than in the factories of Lynn.

Lynn employees live well, dress well and are very thrifty. They live for the most part in detached houses arranged for one or two families. There are very few tenement blocks, and on the average there is one house to every seven persons of the whole population. Manufacturers, as a rule, are not large real estate owners, and do not attempt to house their

own employees, as is often the case with corporations. The employees themselves are large real estate owners, hundreds of houses being owned by thrifty workmen and workingwomen, who have built for themselves neat little homes. Until recent years people still preserved land for kitchen gardening, even in streets contiguous to the business centre. These gardens are gradually filling up, but the same custom still exists in the outlying streets. Lynn owes much to its working people. Had they been less intelligent and industrious, the city could never have grown so evenly and so neatly as it has. Had the working people been less willing to build houses with their surplus earnings, the increasing population could never have been so comfortably accommodated. Manufacturers needed money for increasing business, and could never have afforded to build the houses as fast as they were needed. Lynn has been the mutual success of employers and employed, and a history of its progress which failed to give proper credit to its small property-owners would do injustice to the people—the bone and sinew of the community.

As is the case in every other great industrial community, Lynn capitalists and workmen have oftentimes disagreed on the equivalent to be paid for labor. A general disagreement has almost always resulted in a strike. It is a strange fact that strikes almost invariably occur with most frequency in years of great business depression, when manufacturers can least afford to pay increased wages, and when workmen can least afford to remain idle. The success of a strike depends greatly on the efficiency of labor organization and the confidence of the members in the leaders. There are periods when organizations spring up in great numbers, and other times when the members lose interest and the organizations are less powerful. Disagreements between capital and labor are no modern invention. The good old doctrine of "bearance and forbearance" will do more to engender good feeling than anything else. Water is bound to seek its own level. If the market will warrant it, prices go up, and if there is no demand, prices must go down. Prices get where they belong, despite remonstrance, strikes and differences of opinion. No combination of capital or organization of labor can arbitrarily permanently establish them. For a short time it may be possible to govern them, but that progress which changes trades and trade methods is no respecter of combinations or organizations, and grades and levels prices in accordance with the prosperity or adversity of the existing generation. It is for us to adjust ourselves to changing circumstances with as little friction and as peacefully as possible.

The process of shoe manufacturing does not necessitate so large a plant nor so expensive an outlay as textile manufacturing. Shoes are composite, and the shoe industry is composite. The shoemakers take a

number of manufactured articles, and sew and nail them together in a stylish, shapely manner, thus producing a shoe. There are few chemicals to evaporate if manufacturing ceases for a day, a month or a year. Nearly everything in shoemaking represents work. When work stops, the factory process stops. There is no boiling, mixing or dyeing process going on while the shoemaker sleeps, but his guiding eye and hand are necessary to progress. Water, blacking, glue, paste, cement and applied finishes are all the liquids that enter into the process of shoemaking. In tempering stock, water exclusively is used, every other liquid being for external application. On account of this simplicity, shoes can be made economically in a very small compass, with little outlay, or can be made in great factories with a perfect wealth of machinery. It is a versatile business, and depends on the energy and perseverance of the manufacturer. It is more a business of the people than any great textile industry possibly can be. It is possible for a mechanic to rise from the lowest to the highest position. There are even workmen's co-operative factories. The workmen invest a sum of money in the enterprise, are paid the same wages as are paid in other factories, and are to share in the profits. Shoe manufacturing needs industry, economy and a natural talent for making business success, like any other pursuit. Small beginnings are just as possible to-day in any business as they ever were, and are just as inconvenient. The convenience only of a large capital seemingly makes it a necessity. Oftentimes a comparatively newly established firm will outstrip veteran manufacturers in the race for trade. This has a tendency to keep trade progressive, and no doubt will contribute to its permanence. With the constant invention of improved machinery and tools, the style of conducting business changes about as often as the styles of shoes.

To small capitalists venturing into the shoe business, contractors are a great assistance. With their help a man can manufacture shoes at a very small outlay. There are contractors to do almost everything. Large manufacturers even have a large part of their upper-stitching done by contractors. But to the small manufacturer, the shoemaking contractor, with a line of machinery, is incalculably valuable. He not only contracts for making the shoe, but will even provide lasts and everything necessary to be used. It is possible for a man to have one small room for headquarters, and yet, by contract, arrange for the transaction of an extensive and profitable business. The product does not have that distinctive individuality, however, which belongs to individual factories, because several manufacturers are often supplied by one contractor. But it serves to show how thoroughly Lynn is equipped for the business in all its phases.

Not only in our country, but beyond the seas, the fame of Lynn factories has attracted notice. During the year 1885 a young man, the son of a wealthy

German, made his home in Lynn and worked on different machines in a Lynn shoe factory, studying the ways of Yankee shoemaking. American machines and Lynn machines have made their way all over the world, attracting great attention and interest. Lynn is only one large customer for her own great supply dealers who make the city their headquarters. Lynn supplies go to a dozen foreign countries as well as all over the United States.

If a person were to ask what grade of goods were manufactured in Lynn, he would be told everything in the shape of a shoe. The staple grade is a medium and low-priced article for ladies, misses and children, but there are also several prosperous firms manufacturing for men, boys and youth. In ladies' wear, everything is made from elegant hand-sewed French kid button boots and delicate beaded velvet toilet slippers to shoes of cheaper material, which are made for the million. Everything that can be thought of or desired for American wear is made in Lynn. There are some goods made for export, but the goods for foreign wear form a very small part of the year's business.

Lynn represents a city built without any natural advantages, excepting a healthy situation and beautiful natural attractions. There is no reason why it should have become a prosperous city more than many another, and it would not have become so but for the untiring industry, energy and perseverance of its inhabitants. The city is blessed with a very poor harbor, has no extensive water-power privilege, is not a great railroad centre, and, until a few years since, had only one steam railroad privilege. Its close proximity to Boston has, until recent years, been a disadvantage to local store-keepers, and there has not been that reliable country trade from neighboring towns which has contributed to the wealth of more distant cities.

Lynn is not a county-seat, and has no National, State or County buildings or institutions. The city forcibly illustrates how a whole people can, by devoting themselves assiduously to some definite calling, make themselves proficient and prosperous. The world is never surprised at rapid growth in the West, but the growth of an ancient town on the rock-bound New England coast is remarkable and noticeable. Lynn, a quiet, home-like town, grew from itself, by itself, to a position of importance, and is now the largest city in Essex County. Its inhabitants knew how to make shoes, and they made them. Increase of business called out increase of inventive power to supply the demand. Machines to make shoes called for factories, and factories called people in from towns all over the Northern New England States, where shoes had formerly been sent to be made. This remarkable city is an interesting study because of its peculiar success, as without natural or fortunate advantages it has grown and made a famous name.

And this seems a proper place to go a little into historical detail regarding the leather manufacture here, as distinguished from the shoe manufacture. But, before passing to that matter, the writer would acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Howard Mudge Newhall for what is most interesting in the foregoing account of the shoe trade.

Leather.—There is an old proverb which tells us that there is "nothing like leather," so necessary and useful is it in all the arts and for many domestic purposes. So well aware of this were the early settlers of New England that we find the General Court voting, in September, 1638, to "remember to provide bark in the following April for the tanning of divers hides to come." This importation of hides would seem to indicate that they had few cattle, or that they purposed to kill as few as possible, that their numbers might increase. It is probable that the hides of those killed were not well taken off or properly cured, and thus were lost through neglect or destroyed. For this reason we find an order passed in October, 1640, providing for the proper slaughtering and care of hides and skins, and for sending them to be tanned and dressed, with a fine to be imposed upon all who neglected such duty. In June, 1642, the Court passed an elaborate bill, providing that no butcher, currier or shoemaker should exercise the feat or mystery of a tanner, on pain of forfeiting six shillings eight pence for every hide or skin tanned; butchers to forfeit twelve cents for every gash or cut made in slaying; no persons except tanners to be allowed to purchase any hides; persons selling hides insufficiently tanned to forfeit them; tanners not allowed to let their liquors heat or spoil on pain of £20 for every offense; no currier to dress any leather insufficiently tanned, or burn or injure any leather in dressing, on pain of forfeiting the full value of every such hide; sealers of leather appointed, and leather not sealed to be forfeited; sealers to take oath to perform their lawful duty. This order was afterwards extended so as to include all leather made into boots and shoes. In 1646 a stringent law was made to prevent the exportation of any hides or skins, and persons so exporting, and masters of vessels receiving them, were to forfeit their full value.

A committee was appointed May 31, 1672, to look after defects in the tanning of leather and report means to prevent the same.

Although goat and sheep-skins were not classed with hides, yet the same stringent measures were taken to prevent their exportation. A number of glovers, whose names were George Hepbourne, Thos. Buttolph, James Johnson, Nathaniel Williams, Geo. Clifford and Thomas Goulby petitioned against their exportation by one Ralph Woory in 1645, and he was restrained from sending away more than eight dozens, and he and all others forbidden thereafter to export any unless made into gloves or other garments—an early instance of the protection of labor and home industry.

In 1672 every seaport town was obliged to choose an officer to see that no hides or skins were improperly transported.

That the manufacture of leather from hides was carried on at Lynn at a very early day is evident. We are informed that Francis Ingalls, one of the first five persons who settled within our bounds, was a tanner and carried on the business on what is now Burrill Street, in Swampscott, and it is claimed that his was the first tannery in the colony. Mr. Lewis states that he saw some of the vats removed from their ancient position about the year 1825. George Keysar came to Lynn about 1639. In 1649 he bought from Samuel Bennett the land lying between Boston Street and Waterhill, and extending from the Newhall property to the present city pumping station. This had previously belonged to Joseph Armitage. Keysar carried on the tanning business here till his removal to Salem, in 1680. His wife was a daughter of Edward Holyoke, and he died in Salem in 1690, aged seventy-three. His son Elizur pursued the same calling at Salem, and his son John at Haverhill—this fact showing that the sons were educated to their father's trade here in Lynn. In 1665 a child by the name of Elizabeth Newhall was drowned in one of Keysar's tan-vats near Boston Street. This property was not disposed of by Keysar's heirs till after 1702, when it probably passed into the possession of the Potters, who owned the property on the opposite or northerly side of Boston Street. In 1705 Robert Potter, who was son of the first settler, Nicholas, disposed of this tan-yard with the tan-house to his son Benjamin, who was a tanner, having very likely, also, learned his trade from the Keysars; Benjamin afterwards acquired the title of captain, and pursued his calling here till 1745, leaving his estate to his children, only one of whom was a son, named Benjamin, and he became *non compos* and had a guardian for many years.

Upon substantially the same premises once occupied by Keysar and Potter a tan-yard and tan-house have been in operation within the memory of persons still living, and the last occupant, Samuel Mulliken, finished off the tan-house into tenements for dwellings. This old building has been demolished within a few years. The yard is still vacant, and the ancient vats can be found by digging.

Upon the premises covered by the factory of John T. Moulton, a tan-yard was in operation at a very early day by Lieut. John Burrill. He was a son of the first settler, George, and was probably born in England in 1631. He lived on Boston Street, in what was more latterly called the Carnes house. This stood upon the spot where Carnes Street joins Boston Street, and was exactly opposite the tan-yard. Col. John left the tan-yard and buildings to his son, Theophilus Burrill, Esq., who also carried on the same business here till 1721, when he sold out to Deacon John Lewis. He in turn, by his will, gave

the tan-yard and tan-house to his grandson, Samuel Lewis, who sold it, in 1782, to Daniel Newhall and Nathaniel Sargent, who continued it. In 1793 Newhall sold out to Sargent, and he continued alone till his death in 1798. In 1805 Joseph Watson was the owner and pursued the currying trade. These premises were purchased about 1844 by Joseph Moulton, and have been occupied by him and his successors till the present time (1887), for the manufacture of morocco leather. Many of the old vats were removed by him, and some still remain. This spot, therefore, has been used for tanning purposes for nearly all the time since the settlement of the town. A fine spring of cold water, with the natural stream now called Strawberry Brook running through the yard, and in later years a head of water from the canal above, gave the place unusual advantages for a business of this kind. To Mr. John T. Moulton, son and successor of Joseph Moulton, the writer is much indebted for facts here given touching the leather business.

During the latter part of the last century and the beginning of the present the tanning business was carried on by Benjamin Phillips at the yard of the mill at Waterhill. Here he had a chance for a fulling-mill for softening his hides, running it by water-power, which was quite an advance over the old method of horse-power. To him were apprenticed the brothers Winthrop and Sylvanus Newhall, who afterwards had their tan-yards on Market and Broad Streets, then called Blackmarsh. Winthrop Newhall was succeeded, in 1818, by his son Francis S. Newhall, who, in 1822, formed a partnership with his brother Henry for carrying on the morocco leather business.

Probably Winthrop Newhall was the last of the heavy leather tanners here, the morocco trade having supplanted the heavier business which seems to have taken deep root in Salem and Danvers at about the same time.

The morocco manufacture was probably commenced by William Rose upon the same spot where the Burrills began and carried on the tanning of hides. This is inferred from the fact that when Joseph Watson made a mortgage of these premises, Rose was called upon to sign his name as witness to the conveyance. He may have been working for Watson or carrying on business in a small way for himself in Watson's shop. He shortly after had a shop for himself on a spot near that now occupied by St. Stephen's Church, on South Common Street, but left town in 1809, going to Charlestown. On Boston Street and in the vicinity of these old tanneries lived John Adam Dagyr, who has been so many times advertised as the celebrated shoemaker of Essex in 1764, and his opinion and advice in regard to the kinds of material requisite for ladies' shoes may have had something to do with the introduction of the morocco business here. At any rate, it came about in his day. His wife's father, Moses Newhall, was probably a shoemaker; the father

of Moses certainly was, as the records show. It is a very unpleasant circumstance that both Dagyr and his wife, in their last days, came to want.

Daniel Collins, many years ago, carried on a tannery on Boston Street, nearly opposite the present Kirtland Street. Levi Robinson took the business more than fifty years ago, and it has finally developed into the large morocco establishment of John E. Donallan.

From Rose and his small beginning has the business gradually increased to its present extensive proportions. This matter has been faithfully treated by David N. Johnson, in his "Sketches of Lynn." He brought it down to 1880, since which time the amount of business has somewhat increased, and two or three new firms have taken up that other branch of the trade, the manufacture of tawed and alum-tanned calf and sheep-skins.

The manufacture of leather, of one kind and another, but chiefly morocco, in Lynn, at present reaches a pretty high figure, as appears by the following from the last United States Census returns:

Number of establishments,	23
Employees,	768
Wages paid during the year,	\$408,518
Capital invested,	\$910,100
Stock used,	\$1,057,763
Value of product,	\$2,309,272

MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURES.—The other manufactures of Lynn appear almost insignificant in comparison with the shoe and leather. But something should be said regarding them. The aggregate (including the shoe and leather) as given by the last United States Census, is as follows:

Number of establishments,	329
Employees, total average number,	12,446
(Males above 16, 8934. Females above 16, 3487. Youth and children, 36.)	
Wages paid during the year,	\$5,821,572
Capital invested,	\$5,882,360
Stock used,	\$15,551,938
Value of product,	\$25,216,778

A very large proportion of the above, of course, belongs to the shoe business. Indeed, the same census gives as the value of the boot and shoe product \$20,946,867, of the above grand aggregate of \$25,216,778. A few of the other industries may be named:

Bricks.—It was early found that there were large deposits of excellent clay in and about Lynn. And it has always been used to some extent. But heretofore wood has proved so much cheaper as a building material that brick-making had no great encouragement. During later years, however, things have changed, and bricks are coming into more extensive use. The value of bricks annually made is about twenty-eight thousand dollars and the number of persons employed, forty.

Boxes.—The value of boxes—paper and wood—manufactured in Lynn during a year is about one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and the total

wages paid fifty-five thousand dollars. It will readily be supposed that these are chiefly used in the shoe trade.

Fisheries.—Lynn, with Swampscott and Nahant, belongs to the fishing district of Marblehead. But since Swampscott and Nahant turned their backs upon their aged mother she has had little to show in the matter of fisheries, and little in the way of shipping, if her ambitious yacht-fleet is excepted; but that, by hardy delvers of the deep, would probably be regarded as belonging to the ornamental rather than the industrial. Recent returns, touching the fisheries, have already been given.

It appears, by the last published returns, that the industrial employees of Lynn receive higher wages than those of any other place in the county—the average yearly earnings of each employee being four hundred and sixty-seven dollars. And this average applies to men, women and children. In Haverhill the bulk of the business is similar to that of Lynn; and there the average yearly earnings of each employee is but three hundred and forty-eight dollars, while at the same time the average number of men workers there is some four per cent. greater than at Lynn. In Salem the average earnings of each employee is three hundred and forty-three dollars. In Newburyport but two hundred and sixty-eight dollars. Peabody comes nearest Lynn, showing four hundred and fifty-four dollars per year for each employee.

In closing this division of our work, it is not amiss to remark that the manufacture of boots and shoes takes the lead of all the industries of Massachusetts. The total value of products in the State, in 1880, was \$631,135,284; and of this \$105,118,299 was of boots and shoes. Other manufactures, as stated by the careful hand of Colonel Wright, stood as follows: cotton goods, \$68,566,182; food preparations, \$68,035,755; woolen goods, \$47,473,668; metals and metallic goods, \$40,190,569; leather, \$30,188,859; clothing, \$27,253,582; mixed textiles, \$21,601,038; machines and machinery, \$20,894,545; paper, \$18,858,361; furniture, \$11,196,827; printing and publishing, \$10,474,684. "These twelve industries produce \$469,352,369 worth of goods out of the total product [\$631,135,284] of the State."

The actual average yearly earnings of boot and shoe employees throughout the State, including both sexes and all ages, is \$381.58.

A few other industries of Lynn may be alluded to in passing, which never grew to large proportions, but yet were of some importance in their day:

Ship-Building, or rather boat-building, as it would be called at this day, was engaged in here to some extent, at an early period. A sloop of fifteen tons was built in 1677, and another of about the same burden in 1685. And within some twenty-five years of the latter date, about half a score of vessels, ranging from ten to thirty-five tons burden—and one of sixty—were built here. About 1726 a ship-yard was estab-

lished on Broad Street, a little east of the foot of Market, at which were built, as is stated, sixteen schooners and two brigs. But the business there was abandoned after a few years. There seems to have been quite a number of expert workmen at ship-building in Lynn for many years, and one or two remarkably skillful naval architects. The celebrated frigate "Constitution" was built in Boston, at the ship-yard of Edmund Hart, a Lynn man. In 1832 a yard was established in West Lynn, a little east of Fox Hill Bridge, at which were built a few small vessels. The Lynn "Whaling Company" was formed about that time, and hopes of a profitable maritime business were entertained, but the enterprise proved a failure.

Chocolate began to be manufactured at the mill on Saugus River, at the Boston Street crossing, as early as 1797. In or about 1805 Amariah Childs purchased the establishment and commenced manufacturing an article that soon acquired a world-wide reputation, continuing the business till 1840.

Snuff had been made at the mill as early as 1794 by Samuel Fales, but the use of snuff becoming, by degrees, unfashionable, the business died out.

Salt.—Salt-works were established in Lynn in 1805, but the business never grew to large proportions. The works were on what is now Beach Street, near Broad.

Silk and Silk Printing.—Some fifty years ago a number of our people became much interested in the silk manufacture. They procured collections of worms and planted great numbers of white mulberry trees for their food. They were successful in a limited way, but the business never resulted in anything profitable, and in a year or two the efforts were discontinued. The results in some instances were quite satisfactory. The writer remembers being shown, by a neighbor, some handkerchiefs which were woven from silk raised by him and printed at one of the silk printing establishments, which for a number of years did an active business in Wyoma village, in the vicinity of Strawberry Brook, and on Waterhill.

Wall Paper and Rubber Goods were also manufactured here fifty years ago, and the waters of Strawberry Brook were utilized in some other small manufacturing enterprises.

NEW INDUSTRIES.—Quite recently there have been added to the industries of Lynn one or two of much promise, which are well worthy of enumeration.

Electric Lighting.—Very soon after it had become demonstrated that electricity could be successfully utilized for the illumination of cities, a local electric light company was formed in Lynn and permission given by the city to supply customers, the city itself becoming a large customer also. This company introduced into the streets the very successful arc light of the Thompson-Houston patent, and this mode of lighting soon became so popular that in 1883 a brick building was erected on Stewart Street to enlarge the capacity to meet the local demand.

The capitalists who became interested in this enterprise, recognizing that the development of electric lighting was in its infancy, were convinced that they could profitably invest capital for the manufacture and introduction of electrical apparatus. To that end they invested money in the Thompson-Houston company, of New Britain, Conn., organized under the laws of Connecticut. The machinery and plant of the company was soon removed to Lynn to occupy the substantial brick factory building on Western Avenue, erected for them by the late Minot Terrill, a gentleman who spent nearly the whole of a large fortune, which he had inherited, in building improvements of lasting benefit to the city. The company brought many new families to Lynn, the business increased, and the factory accommodations have had to be enlarged by the addition of another large building. At the beginning of 1887 fully six hundred people were employed, and the annual product amounted to one million dollars. This product is sent all over the world, the demand increases, and oftentimes the works are kept in operation until late in the evening to keep abreast of the orders.

Prof. Elihu Thompson, an experienced electrician, from whom the company derives its name, is very versatile in discovering new methods of applying electricity, which constantly adds new departments of work in the factory. The company, although chartered in another State, is practically a Lynn enterprise, and destined to be of great importance to the city. The main business office is in Boston; the Western office in Chicago.

Hat-Finishing.—In the early part of 1887 a hat-finishing establishment was commenced on Summer Street by Mr. Timothy Merritt. The new undertaking will no doubt become a growing success, as the projector has a good knowledge of the business and energy and enterprise. Every new industry contributes to Lynn's permanent growth, and there is no reason why coverings for the head cannot be as successfully manufactured by her people as coverings for the feet.

The Ice Business may not be strictly called a manufacture unless frost is considered a working partner. But it is now an important industry, and one to be considered, more directly than almost any other, a home industry, the material being of home production and the perfected article being consumed at home. During the last three or four years there have been harvested an average aggregate of some sixty thousand tons each year. In the storing season somewhere about three hundred men are employed in the various departments. At other times, of course, the number varies, and is considerably less.

Occasion has been taken to speak of the industrious habits of the people of Lynn, and of their economy. Upon these traits have mainly rested that general thrift which has been marred by few examples of large accumulation, or of extreme penury—a condi-

tion certainly the most desirable for any community ; for it is the condition that insures the greatest degree of contentment and freedom of mind. Contentment, however, is not, in a worldly sense, an incentive to enterprise, for those who feel contented in low degree seldom put forth the energies necessary to rise above it. Till within a short period Lynn has had no really rich men ; and perhaps it would have been better had she remained as she was. But strife for riches in an eminent degree characterizes this period ; yet how different is the course men pursue for their attainment. Some, without genius, culture or special opportunity, succeed by boldness and courage, others by frugality and carefulness, others by persistent labor. And then individuals are animated by very different motives in their desire for wealth ; some desire it for the ease it brings, some for its luxuries, some for the social position it ensures ; and some, it is to be hoped, for the good it enables them to do for others. And if, in the whole round of cravings, this latter incentive does not in some measure enter, one might as well remain idle.

"Labor brings the joys of health ;
Labor brings the need of wealth ;
In thy brother's labors share,
And thine own the lighter are."

How much we nowadays hear about shortening the hours of labor ! Our friends, the "Knights of Labor," are not the only ones exercised about the matter. If one would gain time from manual labor for purposes of health or intellectual improvement, or for any of the higher purposes of life, he is certainly to be commended ; but if only for the lower and enervating indulgences which too often fill up "loafing hours," as they are aptly called, he had better be at work.

To the true New Englander

"Absence of occupation is not rest ;
A mind quite vacant is a mind distressed."

CHAPTER XVII.

LYNN—(Continued).

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Early History, with Sketches of Some of the Commanders—Ancient and Honorable Artillery, with List of Lynn Members and Notices of Some Achievements—Lynn in the Indian Wars, in the Revolution and Subsequent Wars, and in the Great Civil War—Her Present Military Organizations.

"Thermopylae and Marathon,
Though classic earth, can boast no more
Of deeds heroic than you saw
Once saw upon this distant shore."

THOUGH the Indians in this immediate vicinity manifested but little hostility towards the settlers, there were constantly disturbing apprehensions.

Perhaps the promptness in military preparation did much to prevent any serious attacks, though the small number here, and their inefficient weapons, could not give them much encouragement in aggressive attempts. But it was not so in some other quarters, and Lynn soon put herself in a condition to succor any neighbor that might stand in need. The Indians quickly learned the use of firearms, and there were enough among the settlers whose base cupidity led them, without scruple, to furnish muskets and ammunition to the dusky warriors in exchange for furs and wampum currency. Even as early as 1630 the Court found it necessary to order that "noe person whatsoever shall, either directly or indirectly, imploy or cause to be imployed, or to their power permit any Indian to vse any peece vpon any occasion or pretence whatsoever, under pain of Xs. fine for the first offence, and for the 2 offence to be ffyned and imprisoned at the discretion of the Court." This was the next year after the settlement began.

Military skill and personal bravery were naturally in high repute. Plymouth had her Miles Standish, and Massachusetts, though perhaps destitute of a leader as conspicuous as he, could boast of several commanders of experience and tried valor. Lynn was remarkably fortunate in this respect, as she had within her borders two or three well skilled in the tactics of the field. The first major-general of the colony was John Humfrey, who settled here in 1634. His dwelling was on the east side of Nahant Street, and overlooked the sea, Nahant and the Beach, and was but a short distance from the spot on which the habitation of Montowampate, or Sagamore James, the Indian ruler, stood. The writer is well aware that Mr. Humfrey's residence is thought by some to have been at Swampscott, but careful research has shown that to be an error. He indeed owned an extensive tract of land thereabout, but assuredly did not live in that then lonely place. Some even suppose that the "Farm House" on the estate, so highly improved and embellished by the late Hon. Enoch Redington Mudge, was the identical residence of Mr. Humfrey. But it is thought that even a slight examination would be sufficient to convince any one that such a house could not have been built at that period. It is in the style of a later day. He possibly had cultivated acres in the vicinity, and may have erected some rude structure for the temporary shelter of laborers. He also had a land grant in what is now Lynnfield, including the beautiful little lakelet still known as Humfrey's Pond. This latter grant was made in 1635, the year after his arrival, and in these words,— "There is 500 acres of land and a freshe pond, with a little ileland conteyning aboute two acres, granted to John Humfrey, Esq., lying betwixte nore & west from Saugus [Lynn], provided hee take noe part of the 500 acres within 5 myles of any towne nowe planted. Also, it is agreed, that the inhabitants of Saugus [Lynn] & Salem shall have

liberty to build stoor howses upon the said ileland, and to lay in such provisions as they judge necessary for their vse in tyme of neede."

Mr. Humfrey was one of the most eminent men in the colony, was an original Massachusetts patentee, and, before the removal of the patent to New England, was chosen Deputy-Governor. It being, however, thought best for the interests of the company that he should for a time remain in England, Thomas Dudley was chosen to serve in his stead, and came over with Winthrop's company in 1630.

When Mr. Humfrey came over he brought with him, says Winthrop, "more ordnance, muskets and powder." He was accompanied by his wife and six children, and it is pretty certain would not have returned so soon had it not been for the disconsolate yearnings of his home-sick wife, who was a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. But he had restless ambition, and perhaps felt that New England was too limited and uncertain a field for his aspirations. From his feverish dreams of advancement, however, he finally awoke. But it was the chilling pressure of disappointment that awoke him. And when meditating on the defeat of his most cherished schemes, a gush of tenderness and even deep religious feeling overwhelmed him. Not much can be said of his exploits in the field, but as a counselor and home director, in planning, ordering and providing, his services were of inestimable value. He returned to England in the fall of 1641, and there died in 1661.

A military company was organized in Lynn as early as 1630. Richard Wright was appointed captain; Daniel Howe, lieutenant; and Richard Walker, ensign. They were provided with two iron cannon. In 1631 there was a report that some Indians intended an attack on Lynn, and Walker, with a suitable number, was detailed for the night guard. He at one time, while on duty, had an arrow, shot from among some bushes, pass through his coat and "buff waistcoat," and afterwards another arrow was shot through his clothes. It being quite dark, after a random discharge or two of their muskets, the guard retired. The next morning the cannon was brought up and discharged in the woods, and nothing more came of the attack. After that the people of Lynn suffered little or no molestation.

At the breaking out of the Pequot war, in 1636, Captain Nathaniel Turner, of Lynn, commanded one of the companies detailed to serve in the first campaign. The expedition did efficient service at Block Island, New London and thereabout. The next year, 1637, a second expedition was undertaken, and the town furnished twenty-one men. In one respect Lynn was a loser by this war, for Captain Turner became so enamored of the country through which he marched that he permanently pitched his tent there, becoming, as Trumbull says, one of the principal settlers of New Haven. But his fate was mysterious and melancholy. He was one of the five men of "chief

note and worth" who sailed for England in 1647, in the little vessel commanded by Captain Lambertson, which was never heard of after; unless the "phantom ship" which appeared in the Sound after a great thunder storm the next year, and which beholders declared was an exact image, is taken as her representative.

Captain Turner received his commission as "Captaine of the military company att Saugus," in March, 1633, from the General Court. He became a near neighbor of his superior officer, John Humfrey, and the two no doubt often conferred together on military affairs. Humfrey's action, as already intimated, was in the Council, while Turner's was more in the field, and one of the first orders the latter received was the rather ignoble one to march to Nahant on a wolf-hunt. What luck he had in destroying his four-footed foes does not appear; but when he was called to meet more worthy enemies, he was brave and triumphant. His moving from Lynn at that formation period in her history was a great loss to the place, probably quite as great as that of the departure of his neighbor Humfrey.

Among the Lynn soldiers in the Pequot war was Christopher Lindsey. He was a laboring man, and kept the cattle of Mr. Dexter, at Nahant. The elevation on the peninsula, called Lindsey's Hill, received its name from him. He was wounded in the war, and in 1655 petitioned the court for an allowance, saying that he was "disabled from service for twenty weekes, for which he never had any satisfaction." He was allowed three pounds. His only daughter, Naomi, married Thomas Maule, of Salem, the famous Quaker, whose doctrinal book, together with its supplementary "Persecutors Mauled," created quite a sensation. In it he remarks they five times imprisoned him, thrice took away his goods and thrice cruelly whipped him.

It was in 1638 that the Ancient and Honorable Artillery was organized. Six Lynn men were among the first members, namely, William Ballard, Joseph Hewes, Daniel Howe, Edward Tomlins, Nathaniel Turner, Richard Walker. Daniel Howe was chosen lieutenant. A word in relation to one or two of these early members of that ancient organization may not be inappropriate. In relation to Mr. TOMLINS, it appears pretty certain that he was one in whom great trust was reposed in civil matters, as well as military. Yet it is evident that he had decided opinions, which were not always expressed in ways the most wise or gentle. On the 3d of September, 1634, the court ordered that he, "or any other put in his place by the Commissioners of War, with the help of an assistant, shall have power to presse men and carts, for ordinary wages, to helpe towards makeing of such carriages and wheelles as are wanting for the ordinances." His brother, Timothy Tomlins, was the same year appointed overseer of the "powder and shott and all other amunicon" of the plantation. In 1643, being then a member of the House of Representatives, he

was "ordred and appoynted, by both Houses of the Courte, to go uppon a messuage to ye Narragansett sachems," and dismissed from the "howse for ye present to prepare himself for ye jurney." He went in company with the celebrated Indian negotiator, General Humphrey Atherton. And it is represented that one of their first acts was to catechise the benighted Narragansetts on the Ten Commandments. It is probable that he had not much of an ear for music other than martial, for, in 1641, he was arraigned for expressing opinions against music in the churches. He, however, retracted, and was discharged.

NATHANIEL TURNER, who also joined the Ancient and Honorables at the time of their organization, has already been spoken of. Thesword which he wielded against the Indians is still preserved by the Historical Society of Hartford, Conn. A picture of it may be seen in *Harper's Magazine*, volume xvii. page 3. The same weapon also did service, in other hands, in the old French War and in the Revolution.

RICHARD WALKER has also been mentioned as ensign of the first military company of Lynn, formed in 1630. And the duties of the soldiers of those days, in time of peace even, must have been burdensome, for it was ordered, in 1631, "that every Captaine shall train his companie on saterday in every weeke." In May, 1679, a new troop was formed in Lynn, consisting of forty-eight men. They petitioned the General Court that Captain Richard Walker might be appointed commander. Ralph King, who was a son-in-law of the veteran, was made lieutenant. If this is the same Richard Walker, he must then have been eighty-six years old, for he was born in 1593. He appears, however, to have been blest with a most vigorous constitution, for he lived to the great age of ninety-five years. And he is probably the same hero to whom Johnson, of Woburn, refers in the following lines, touching an encounter with some Indians :

"He fought the Eastern Indians there,
Whose poisoned arrows filled the air,
And two of which these savage foes
Lodg'd safe in Captain Walker's clothes."

But the captain of the new troop may have been his son Richard, who was born in 1611, though he even had attained the age of sixty-eight.

The venerable organization now known as "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery," but which in its charter is called "The Military Company of the Massachusetts," at its formation, in 1638, was designed for discipline in military tactics. For many years it, no doubt, served an excellent purpose, but of late years it has come to be regarded as rather a holiday institution. Lynn has furnished a fair share of members, and a list is deserving of space here:

1638. William Dallard.
1638. Joseph Howes.
1638. Daniel Howe (Lieut).
1638. Edward Tomlins.
1638. Nathaniel Turner.
1638. Richard Walker.

1639. Samuel Bennett.
1640. John Hunfrey.
1640. Thomas Marshall.
1641. Robert Bridges.
1641. John Hunfrey, Jr.
1641. Adam Otley.

1642. John Wood.
1643. Benjamin Smith.
1645. Clement Coldam.
1648. John Cole.
1652. Samuel Hutchinson.
1694. Thomas Baker.
1717. Benjamin Gray.

1821. Robert Robinson.
1822. Daniel N. Breed.
1822. George Johnson.
1822. Ebenezer Neal.
1851. Roland G. Usher.
1860. Richard S. Fay, Jr.

Of the first six, those who joined at the time of the organization, enough has perhaps been said. But some of those who subsequently joined are worthy of brief notice.

SAMUEL BENNETT, who became a member in 1639, was one of the first settlers, and located in what is now the westerly part of Saugus. He owned considerable woodland. "Bennett's Swamp," so called to this day, in old Dungeon Pasture, was owned by him. His residence was not far from the ironworks, and in that vicinity he also had lands. He had a good deal of independence of character, not to say wilfulness. At the Quarterly Court, in 1645, he was presented "for saying, in a scornful manner, he neither cared for the Town nor any order the Town could make." In 1671 he sued John Gifford, former agent of the ironworks, and attached property to the amount of four hundred pounds, for labor performed for the company. On the 27th of June, the following testimony was given: "John Paule, aged about forty-five years, sworne, saith, that living with Mr. Samuel Bennett, upon or about the time that the ironworks were seased by Capt. Savage, in the year 53 as I take it, for I lived ther several years, and my constant employment was to repaire carts, coale carts, mine carts, and other working materials for his teemes, for he kept 4 or 5 teemes, and sometimes 6 teemes, and he had the most teemes the last yeare of the Iron Works, when they were seased, and my master Bennett did yearly yearne a vast sum from the said Iron Works, for he commonly yearned forty or fifty shillings a daye for the former time, and the year 53, as aforesaid, for he had five or six teemes goeing generally every faire day." In 1644 he was presented by the grand jury as "a common sleeper in time of exercise," and fined two shillings and sixpence. There was a law forbidding the sale of commodities at too great a profit. And for a breach of this law he appears to have once or twice suffered prosecution. On the colony records, under date of May 15, 1657, may be found this entry: "In answer to the petition of Samuel Bennett, humbly craving the remittment or abatement of a fine imposed on him by the County Court, for selling goods at excessive prizes, the court having perused, and by theire committee examined, the papers in the case presented, together with the allegations and pleas of the petitioner and others, by him produced, understanding by what appeared, the petitioner received of George Wallis about forty pounds or upwards meerely for the release of the bargain made betwixt them, . . . see it not meete to graunt the petition in whole or in part." Mr. Wallis had also been fined "fivety pounds" for

"selling goods at excessive prizes," and petitioned for a remittal, and the same court judged it "meete to remit the fine all to tenn pounds," which remittal was made in consideration of his being necessitated "to be at the losse of about forty pounds or more to attayne a release of the bargain betwixt him and Samuell Bennett." It seems to have been a mere game of sharps between Bennett and Wallis, but shows the care taken by the court to prevent a circumvention of the wholesome law forbidding one to sell at an excessive profit. The maxim so prevalent in the bargainings of our day—*caveat emptor*—seems then to have been unheeded. Not much is to be found respecting Mr. Bennett in his military capacity.

JOHN HUMFREY has already been spoken of to some extent.

THOMAS MARSHALL, who was a soldier under Cromwell, and without whose assistance, John Duntton says, "if we may believe him, Oliver did hardly anything that was considerable," has been spoken of somewhat largely in another connection.

ROBERT BRIDGES, or Captain Bridges, as he was generally called, was a man of substance and marked traits of character. He was admitted a freeman in 1641, and joined the Ancient and Honorables the same year, being then captain of a militia company. He was a good deal in civil authority, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, an assistant, an acting magistrate and a member of the Quarterly Court. In 1645, accompanied by Richard Walker and Thomas Marshall, both already spoken of as Lynn members of the company, he went as commissioner to negotiate between Lord de la Tour and Monsieur d'Aulney, the governors of the French provinces on the north of New England. The embassy did good service and the court appropriately recompensed them.

That Captain Bridges possessed rigidly Puritanical characteristics is abundantly evident. He was one of the five who, in May, 1645, were appointed by the court to draft bills for "positive lawes" against lying, Sabbath-breaking, profanity, drunkenness and kindred vices. And in 1649 was one of the assistants who, with the Governor, on the 10th of May, signed a protestation against the wearing of long hair, "after the manner of ruffians and barbarious Indians."

It was Captain Bridges who, in July, 1651, granted the magistrate's warrants against Clarke, Crandall and Holmes, the Baptist missionaries from Rhode Island, concerning which affair it is proposed to say something in the sketch of Swampscott.

In the Essex Court files may be found the following record of Captain Bridges's official action in the case of Thomas Wheeler, who appears to have been a man of character and some estate: "4th mo., 1654. Thomas Wheeler bound over to the Court by the worshipful Captain Bridges, for sinful and offensive speeches made by him in comparing the Rev. Mr. Cobbet to Corah. It being proved by three witnesses, sentence of Court is, that he shall make public ac-

knowledgment upon the Lord's day, sometime within a month after the date hereof, according to this form following, and pay the three witnesses £12 2s. 6d. and fees of Court: [I, Thomas Wheeler, having spoken at a town meeting in February last, evil, sinful and offensive speeches against the Reverend Teacher, Mr. Cobbet, in comparing him unto Corah, for which I am very sorry, do acknowledge this my evil, to the glory and praise of God and to my own shame, and hope, for time to come, shall be more careful.] The constable of Lynn is to see it performed." Mr. Wheeler removed to Stonington, Ct., in 1664, and became the largest landholder in the place, was an honored member of the church, and died there in 1686, at the age of eighty-four.

It is not found that Captain Bridges made much of a mark in a military way, but as a business man he certainly, by his enterprise and prudence, added much to the reputation and prosperity of Lynn. He may almost be called the father of the iron works. It was in 1642 that he took specimens of the bog ore found here to London, and succeeded in forming a company which soon after commenced operations by setting up the bloomery and forge. And although the works proved pecuniarily disastrous, the country at large reaped great ulterior benefit through some of the skilled workmen, the best that England could afford, who removed to other places and engaged in works, which, under better management, grew to great importance.

Taking all points of character into view and making due allowance for the characteristics of the time, it must be conceded that Captain Bridges furnishes a fair specimen of the noble class of men who so faithfully labored in laying the foundations of the social fabric which has become our inheritance—men honest, religious, persevering, hopeful and brave. Yet it must be admitted that he was not of a specially genial disposition; nor could he have been very popular in some of his relations. He had hard points of character; was arbitrary, exacting, unyielding in the smaller concerns of daily intercourse, and perhaps not sufficiently regardful of the minor rights of those about him; for we all love to have our rights respected, even when they are of little value. In those days of difficulty and doubt, minds were trained to meet the trials of life with a fortitude that amounted to heroism. Indeed, it was a favorite idea that the afflictions men were called to endure were disciplinary; that souls were purified by such means. This, however, was probably quite as much theoretical as otherwise, for the best of us would prefer to secure by observation, rather than experience, the good that might be derived from pain and suffering.

JOHN WOOD, who joined the company in 1642, was one of the earliest comers. He settled in that part of Lynn since known as Woodend, the local name being derived from him. He is supposed to have been father of William Wood, the author of "New

England's Prospect," published in London in 1634, a book giving such lively and graphic descriptions of the Bay settlements that it has ever been held in high repute. Little or nothing seems to be known of Mr. Wood's military accomplishments. Perhaps he joined the artillery as a sort of apprentice at martial tactics.

CLEMENT COLDAM, made a member in 1645, appeared here as early as 1630. And his recollection of matters pertaining to our very early days seems to have been much relied on in after-years, his testimony having great weight in several important lawsuits. Not much is known of his military achievements. A record says that on April 14, 1691, "Clement Coldam and Joseph Hart were chosen cannoners, to order and look after the great guns." If that means him, he must have been a very old man—about ninety—but he had a son Clement, who was supposed to have removed to Gloucester many years before.

THOMAS BAKER had experience in the field during the great King Philip War, 1675, being one of the Lynn company. He was in the great swamp fight at South Kingston, R. I., in which Ephraim Newhall was killed.

This member of the artillery, who is usually called Captain Thomas Baker, appears to have been a grandson of Edward Baker, who came to Lynn as early as 1630, and from whom "Baker's Hill," in Saugus, received its name, he having settled near it. From him a line of respectable descendants has reached down to the present time. Daniel C. Baker, our third mayor, was of the lineage. And in several other places descendants have become conspicuous.

The life of this Captain Thomas Baker was so illustrative of the vicissitudes to which the people of that period were exposed, and withal so tinged with romance, that space may be allowed for a glimpse or two. He was taken captive by the Indians at Deerfield on the terrible night of February 29, 1704, and carried to Canada. He, however, the next year, succeeded in effecting his escape. In or about the year 1715 he married Madam Le Beau, whose name figures somewhat in the history of that period. She was a daughter of Richard Otis, of Dover, N. H., who, with one son and one daughter, was killed by the Indians on the night of June 27, 1689, at the time they destroyed the place. She was then an infant of three months, and was, with her mother, carried captive to Canada and sold to the French. The priests took her, baptized her, and gave her the name of Christine. They educated her in the Romish faith, and she passed some time in a nunnery, not, however, taking the veil. At the age of sixteen she was married to a Frenchman, thus becoming Madam Le Beau, and became the mother of two or three children. Her husband died about 1713. And it was very soon after that her future husband, Captain Baker, appears to have fallen in with her. He was attached to the commission detailed by Governor Dudley, under John Stoddard and John Williams, for the purpose of

negotiating with the Marquis de Vaudreuil for the release of prisoners and to settle certain other matters, and went to Canada. From Stoddard's journal it appears that there was much trouble in procuring her release, and when it was obtained, her children were not allowed to go with her. Her mother was also opposed to her leaving Canada.

After her return, Christine married Captain Baker, and they went to reside at Brookfield, where they remained till 1733. They had several children, and among their descendants is Hon. John Wentworth, late member of Congress from Illinois. She became a Protestant after marrying Captain Baker, and substituted the name Margaret for Christine, though later in life she seems to have again adopted the latter. In 1727, her former confessor, Father Siguenot, wrote her a gracious letter, expressing a high opinion of her and warning her against swerving from the faith in which she had been educated. He mentions the happy death of a daughter of hers who had married and lived in Quebec, and also speaks of her mother, then living, and the wife of a Frenchman. This letter was shown to Governor Burnet, and he wrote to her a forcible reply to the arguments it contained in favor of Romanism. And there are, or recently were, three copies of the letter and reply in the Boston Athenæum. The mother of Christine had children by her French husband, and Philip, Christine's half-brother, visited her at Brookfield.

All the children of Captain Baker and Christine, seven or eight in number, excepting the first, who was a daughter, bearing her mother's name, were born in Brookfield. There is no reason to doubt that the connection was a happy one. They held a very respectable position, and he was the first representative from Brookfield. He was indeed once tried before the Superior Court, in 1727, for blasphemy, but the jury acquitted him. The offense consisted in his remarking, while discoursing on God's providence in allowing Joseph Jennings, of Brookfield, to be made a justice of the peace, "If I had been with the Almighty I would have taught him better."

In 1733 Captain Baker sold his farm in Brookfield. But this proved an unfortunate step, for the purchaser failed before making payment, and their circumstances became greatly reduced. They were a short time at Mendon, and also at Newport, R. I., but finally removed to Dover, N. H. Poor Christine, in 1735, petitioned the authorities of New Hampshire for leave to "keep a house of public entertainment" on the "County Rhoad from Dover meeting-house to Cocheco Boome." To this petition she signs her name "Christine baker," and mentions that she made a journey to Canada in hope of getting her children, "but all in vain." A license was granted, and it seems probable that she kept the house a number of years. She died, at a great age, February 23, 1773, and an obituary notice appeared in the *Boston Evening Post*.

There seems, at first sight, to be a little confusion of dates in the foregoing, or possibly some mistake in personal identity, if the dates in the following deposition are correct. The deposition is in favor of a fellow-soldier, and bears the date June 8, 1730:

"The deposition of Thomas Baker, of Lynn, in the county of Essex, aged about 77 years, Testifieth and saith. That I, being well acquainted with one Andrew Townsend of Lynn aforesaid for more than 55 years since, and do certainly know and very well remember that the said Andrew Townsend was a soldier in the Expedition to the Narragansett under the Command of Capt. Gardner, and that he was in the Narragansett fight and in the fight Rec'd a wound, in or about the year 1675."

The deponent styles himself of Lynn, but it rather appears that he was then of Brookfield. Perhaps, however, he was proud to still call himself of Lynn, or merely meant that he was of Lynn at the time of the "fight." It is evident that he was somewhat of a rover.

The King Philip War, that last great struggle of the red men, commenced in 1675. It was a period when all the energy and all the patriotism were put to the test—a period, as it appeared to many, of life or death. And our people, though not apparently exposed to immediate danger, responded with a promptness worthy of all praise. The then captain of the military company of Lynn was Thomas Marshall, who had been a resident here for some forty years, though in the mean time he had been back to England, where he gained, by his bravery in the parliamentary army, a commission as captain from Oliver Cromwell. He was a man of some eccentricities, but yet must have had the confidence of the people. He kept the tavern near Saugus River for many years, and appears to have been in some respects a model landlord. He is spoken of in other connections.

It would not be easy to ascertain the exact number of men furnished nor the amounts raised in response to the public calls in this great struggle; but Lynn did her full share.

Our limits will not allow of much detail regarding the different wars that have, from time to time, spread their alarms through the land—the French and Indian Wars, the Revolution and the subsequent contests down to the great Rebellion. Nor is the little that could be given necessary, as the public records and local histories abundantly supply all needs in that direction; to say nothing of the numerous warlike events incidentally spoken of in other parts of this sketch, as the participants came under notice. A few facts, however, should be stated.

During the French and Indian War, 1754–63, some two thousand French Catholic neutrals were sent to Massachusetts to be quartered in different places. Lynn's share was fourteen. Their provisions were supplied by Thomas Lewis, and among his items of charge were four hundred and thirty-two quarts of milk at six pence a gallon. A company marched from Lynn for Canada, May 23, 1758, and two were killed.

Then we come down to the Revolution. Several Lynn men were at the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, the opening battle of the war, and four were killed,—namely, Abednego Ramsdell, William Flint, Thomas Hadley and Daniel Townsend. On the 23d of April Lynn chose a Committee of Safety, consisting of Rev. John Treadwell, minister of the First Parish, Rev. Joseph Roby, minister of the Third Parish and Deacon Daniel Mansfield; others were afterwards added, among them Dr. John Flagg. An alarm company was formed, and three night watches established. The memorable battle of Bunker Hill was fought June 17, 1775. The Lynn regiment was under command of Colonel John Mansfield. It mustered, but did not reach the ground in time to take part in the conflict. For his "remissness and backwardness in the execution of duty," the colonel was ordered before a court-martial, consisting of twelve field-officers, presided over by Gen. Greene, found guilty and ordered to be cashiered. The patriotic people of Lynn were greatly mortified at this untoward occurrence, which, however, had rather the effect to stimulate their zeal and determination. Lynn furnished for the war two colonels, three captains, five lieutenants, five sergeants, six corporals and about a hundred and sixty privates, which, considering the then small population, was doing remarkably well. She was poor, and her business prostrated during the war; nevertheless, in 1776, she voted fifteen pounds each to the company of soldiers furnished for the expedition to Canada, and ten pounds for every enlisting volunteer. She also, in 1780, granted as much money as would purchase two thousand seven hundred silver dollars to pay the soldiers. This was liberal, considering the losses by the depressed condition of the currency. Within two years she had granted for war purposes seventy thousand pounds, old tenor. Mr. Lewis remarks, "A soldier of the Revolution says that, in 1781, he sold one thousand seven hundred and eighty dollars of paper money for thirty dollars in silver." By this, something may be seen of the town's liberality. In the procession at the celebration of the Fourth of July, at Lynn, in 1828, were over forty who had served in various capacities and for various terms in the armies of the Revolution; among them four pensioners. The government at that day was not so able to grant pensions as it at present is, and hence comparatively few were on the lists. That was the last procession in which most of them ever appeared—excepting the great procession which knows no counter-march, in which we are all moving on, and from which every one of them soon dropped out.

Concerning several of the more prominent Lynn soldiers who served in the Revolution, it would be agreeable to say something; but the allotted space is so limited that it is necessary to be chary of its use. So deserving a commander as Colonel Ezra Newhall, however, should not be passed over in entire silence.

He was a great-great-grandson of Thomas Newhall, the first white person born in Lynn, and was captain of the Lynn Minute Men at the opening of the war; but, in consequence of the delay of the troops from Salem, was not present at the battle of Lexington. Nor was he present at the battle of Bunker Hill, as he was attached to Colonel Mansfield's regiment, as senior captain, and by the "remissness" of that officer was kept from joining the gathering squadrons. In earlier life Colonel Ezra was an officer in the French War under Colonel Ruggles. Subsequently to the battle of Bunker Hill he was major, then lieutenant-colonel in Colonel Putnam's Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, and so continued to the end of the war. He served in the campaign that sealed the fate of Burgoyne, was at Valley Forge and at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. After the war he was appointed by President Washington collector of internal revenue, and retained the office till his death, on the 5th of April, 1798, at the age of sixty-six years. There is abundant evidence that while in the army he was very popular with his companions-in-arms. While the regiment was encamped at Winter Hill some dissatisfaction was manifested concerning the rank of the captains and other officers, as they stood on the brigade major's books. The captains, therefore, on the 27th of August, 1775, held a meeting and voted to "settle the rank of officers by lot, and abide thereby," at the same time voting that Captain Ezra Newhall should rank as first captain. Indeed, he seems always to have been spoken of as a brave and prudent officer, and a man much beloved. He lived in the house still standing on Boston Street, at the southwest corner of the recently opened Wyman Street. After the Revolution he removed to Salem, purchased an estate on Essex Street, and there died at the time above stated. The *Salem Gazette*, in an obituary notice, said: "He served his country in the late war with fidelity and honor; and in civil and domestic life the character of an honest man, faithful friend, tender husband and kind parent was conspicuous in him. Society suffers a real loss by his death."

The warlike events of later years are, or should be, so familiar to every reader that any attempt at details which space would allow would be far from satisfactory, and we must content ourselves with little more than bare allusions.

The War of 1812 was essentially a naval conflict, but there was much suffering and business depression, and above all, sharp political dissension. At times there were sudden alarms in the seaboard settlements arising from threatened descents and bombardments from the enemy's ships in the bay. The gallant contest between the English frigate "Shannon" and the American frigate "Chesapeake," on the 1st of June, 1813, was witnessed by crowds of the people of Lynn, who not only climbed the hills, but clung to the house-tops. And when the American flag was seen to strike,

many a sorrowful eye was turned away. Watch stations were established upon several heights, and two or three alarms occurred which hastily called out the soldiery and excited the people, but no serious conflict took place.

Soon after the close of the first quarter of the present century the military interest began to fall into popular disrepute. It had, indeed, from the frequency of exercise required and other exactions, become quite burdensome. The opposition developed especially in the shape of ridicule. And had it not been for the saving efforts of the uniformed or, as they were called, the volunteer companies, it is hard to tell where the matter would have ended. There were at this time three handsomely uniformed and well-drilled companies,—namely, the Lynn Artillery, organized in 1808; the Light Infantry, organized in 1812; and the Rifle Company, organized in 1818.

Sometimes totally unfit persons were designedly elected as officers, and the district "companies of the line" at times amounted to little more than tattered and jeering assemblages. One man who was elected an officer in a West Lynn company is well remembered. He was a fellow of good information and bright wit, but extremely low habits. For a supply of liquor he could be induced to play in any rôle. On a certain parade day he appeared mounted on a gaunt roadster wrapped in a long cloak decorated profusely with conspicuous and ridiculous badges. And so he capered around as long as he could retain his seat. Yet the fires of patriotism had by no means been extinguished, for every one saw the necessity of a properly organized militia. The disaffection was only towards the existing requirements. And the result of the popular manifestations was a radical change in the laws. And from that time to this the laws have been modified as circumstances required.

The Seminole or, as it was often called, the Florida War, commenced in 1835 and continued nearly eight years. It cost the United States some ten million dollars and several thousand lives. There were romantic as well as bloody features pertaining to this war. Its precipitating cause seems to have been some indignities offered the wife of Osceola, a chief of the Seminoles. He was the son of an English trader who married the daughter of a chief, and was of a most determined and persistent character. So prolonged was the war that the people became very impatient, and with their complaints and censures mingled ridicule, notwithstanding some of the best and bravest army officers were detailed for the service. A sharpshooting poet in 1839 thus delivered himself:

"Ever since the creation,
By the best calculation,
The Florida War has been raging;
And 'tis our expectation
That the last conflagration
Will find us the same contest waging!"

Perhaps the incident in the Seminole War that

most nearly touched the people of Lynn was the loss of Robert R. Mudge, a young officer, promising and much beloved. He was a son of Benjamin Mudge, a native of Lynn and for many years one of her most prominent citizens. Lieutenant Mudge graduated at the West Point Military Academy in 1833, and in 1835 was ordered to Florida to take part in the Seminole War as lieutenant under Major Dade. He was killed at Withlacoochie, together with the whole company of one hundred and seventeen, with the exception of three.

The Mexican War commenced in 1846. Lynn furnished twenty volunteers, no special call being made.

In 1832 the threats of revolt in South Carolina and her apparent determination to break the integrity of the Union, the zeal and oratorical vigor of her statesmen, the drilling of her troops, all tended to create serious apprehension in every quarter. And had it not been for the unflinching determination of President Jackson, his warnings and declarations, especially as embodied in his famous proclamation, there is little doubt that a rebellion would then have been precipitated. But that extremity was reserved for the next generation. And it came.

The history of the great Rebellion, the first overt act of which was the bombardment of Fort Sumter on the 12th of April, 1861, is so familiar that we need only refer to a few facts specially pertaining to Lynn. In five hours after President Lincoln's first requisition for troops arrived Lynn had two full companies armed and ready for duty. And early the next day, April 16th, they departed to meet the foe. The two companies formed a part of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, and were Company D, the Lynn Light Infantry, commanded by Captain George T. Newhall, and Company F, commanded by Captain James Hudson, Jr. The regimental officers belonging to Lynn were Timothy Munroe, colonel; Edward W. Hinks, lieutenant-colonel; Ephraim A. Ingalls, quartermaster; Roland G. Usher, paymaster; Bowman B. Breed, surgeon; Warren Tapley, assistant surgeon; Horace E. Munroe, quartermaster sergeant. Many volunteers stood ready and would have gone had there been time for equipment. Company D marched off with sixty privates, and Company F with seventy-six. The zeal thus early kindled did not abate during the whole war. Every call for troops was quickly and fully responded to, and everything done that could add to the comfort of the brave ones upon the field. Lynn furnished three thousand two hundred and seventy-four soldiers, which was two hundred and thirty more than her full quota. Enthusiastic war meetings were from time to time held. And the principal victories were celebrated by the ringing of bells, by bonfires and other joyful demonstrations. Many of her

gallant sons fell on the field; others lost their lives by diseases contracted during the campaigns, and still others have passed away in the common course of nature since the alarms of war have ceased. Many peacefully lie in the Soldiers' Lot in the beautiful Pine Grove Cemetery, while others rest in more secluded sepulchres, or with their fathers in the older burial-places, their graves being strewn on every returning "Memorial Day" with fresh flowers by surviving comrades and loving kindred. By far the greater number, however, still sleep upon the battlefield. A stately Soldiers' Monument was erected in City Hall Square in 1873. It is an allegorical and classic work of art in bronze, cast at Munich, in Bavaria, and cost \$30,000.

The Grand Army of the Republic in Lynn.—Gen. Lander Encampment, Post 5, is said to be the largest in the country. But its ranks are thinning out as member after member is drafted into that army which marches on with ceaseless step, and knows no counter-march.

As population increases, the laws governing our State military affairs are constantly undergoing changes, and it would be useless to attempt here anything like a historical account of the alterations even during the last forty years. The organizations have come to be essentially voluntary rather than compulsory. And the people have never been backward in sanctioning the most liberal provision for the discipline and comfort of her soldiery.

Our present military organizations are the Light Infantry (Company D) and the Wooldredge Cadets (Company I), both in high repute. There is also the Lynn City Guards Veteran Association.

It is quite within the recollection of the writer that the newspaper reader often saw at the close of an obituary notice the phrase "He was a soldier of the Revolution." But it is never seen at this day. It is said that the last person to whom a pension was paid on account of the Revolutionary War died at Woodstock, N. H., early in 1887, at the age of ninety-seven. She was a widow by the name of Abigail S. Tilton. Is it not a solemn thought that all of the brave ones who fought for our liberties at that trying period have lain down to that prolonged rest from which they will be aroused only by the sound of the trumpet that summons them and all of us for final review and inspection? And is it not, too, a solemn thought that the remnant of the Grand Army of our day, who took the field for the maintenance of those liberties, are fast joining the throng of their martial fathers? A few years more, and the last soldier will have marched away, and the "Grand Army of the Republic" survive in memory only as a vestige of the heroism of the past.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LYNN—(Continued).

BURIAL-PLACES.

The Old Burying-Ground, with Epitaphs and Notices of Some Who Lie There—Other Burial-Places and Cemeteries—Memorial Day—Ancient Funeral Customs.

"The cold dark grave—there is no care,
No pain nor gloom,
Within the tomb;
The wicked cease from troubling there."

"It is wise for us to recur to the history of our ancestors. Those who do not look upon themselves as a link connecting the past with the future, in the transmission of life from their ancestors to their posterity—do not perform their duty to the world. To be faithful to ourselves, we must keep our ancestors and posterity within reach and grasp of our thoughts and affections—living in the memory and retrospection of the past, and hoping with affection and care for those who are to come after us. We are true to ourselves only when we act with becoming pride for the blood we inherit, and which we are to transmit to those who shall soon fill our places." So wrote Daniel Webster, and who will not subscribe to its truthfulness and wisdom? No apology is needed for the introduction of an extended notice of the burial-places of Lynn, for such consecrated grounds always possess a touching interest—to the old, because there lie the departed kindred and friends of earlier years; to the young, because there they see, fast gathering around, the loved ones from the broken household and the charmed circle of glad companionship. In these often-shunned retreats lie those who have made the history of the place; and who could be more worthy than they of grateful remembrance?

One of the first objects in commencing a settlement was to select a suitable place for the burial of the dead, as all realize that such a place will surely be needed, whatever other seeming necessities may be dispensed with. True, the dead would rest just as quietly by the stony wayside or in the weedy bog, as in a flowery bed or beneath a marble monument; but to the sorrowing kindred there is something repugnant in thinking of them as resting in a dreary, uncared-for spot. The Indians, even, had great regard for the remains of their departed ancestors; and woe betide the daring enemy who would desecrate the rude necropolis upon the sunny hillside.

But yet with what different feelings do the living think of the last resting-place they are destined to occupy. Some would lie in a sequestered spot, where the soothing dirge of sighing trees is ever heard; some would lie on the ocean shore, where the spent waves murmur a ceaseless lament; some would lie in the art-adorned cemetery, whither the steps of pensive wanderers may tend at thoughtful hours; some would

lie in the centre of the busy life they loved so well, but which no longer can disturb or charm; and some would have their mortal remains dissolved in the crucible of cremation. Says John Anster:

"If I might choose where my tired limbs shall lie
When my task here is done, the oak's green crest
Shall rise above my grave—a little mound
Raised in some cheerful village cemetery.
And I could wish that with unceasing sound
A lonely mountain rill was murmuring by
In music through the long soft twilight hour,
And let the hand of her whom I love best
Plant round the bright, green grave those fragrant flowers
In whose deep bells the wild bee loves to rest.
And should the robin from some neighboring tree
Pour his enchanted song—Oh! softly tread,
For sure if aught of earth can soothe the dead,
He still must love that pensive melody."

And then our own Lewis pleadingly enjoins:

"O, bury me not in the dark old woods,
Where the sunbeams never shine;
Where mingles the mist of the mountain floods
With the dew of the dismal pine!
But bury me deep by the bright blue sea,
I have loved in life so well;
Where the winds may come to my spirit free,
And the sound of the ocean shell."

"O, bury me not in the churchyard old,
In the aisle of the doleful tomb!
Where my bones may be thrust, ere their life is cold,
To the damp of a drearier gloom!
But bury me deep by the bright blue sea,
Where the friends whom I love have been;
Where the sun may shine on the grass turf free,
And the rains keep it ever green!"

And thus sings Beattie:

"Let vanity adorn the marble tomb
With trophies, rhymes, and scutcheons of renown:
Mine be the breezy hill that skirts the down;
Where a green grassy turf is all I crave
With here and there a violet bestrown,
Fast by a brook or fountain's murmuring wave;
And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave."

The early settlers, with most unaccountable irreverence, had little regard for the resting-places of their dead, often allowing rank weeds and brambles to flourish, and wandering animals to roam at will over the reserved acres. Whittier alludes to this in these touching lines:

"Our vales are sweet with fern and rose,
Our hills are maple-crowned;
But not from them our fathers chose
The village burying-ground."

"The dreariest spot in all the land
To death they set apart;
With scanty grace from Nature's hand,
And none from that of art."

But these later generations of their children have in a measure atoned for their strange remissness by consecrating beautiful cemeteries, in which sometimes appear monuments so costly and decorative that the mind is liable to be led from meditation on the virtues of those they commemorate to admiration of them as works of art or disapprobation of them as monuments of ostentation and extravagance.

THE OLD BURYING-GROUND of Lynn is in the westerly part of the city. It is not known with certainty when the first interments were made there. The stones are no certain index, for the oldest one bears the date 1698, and multitudes must have been buried there before that time. There rest the early fathers and mothers of the place, and many whose talents and virtuous deeds made them conspicuous in their own day and generation.

The first burial in this ancient place, so far as is certainly known, was in 1637, when the remains of John Bancroft, ancestor of the distinguished historian and statesman, George Bancroft, were laid there. And it was on the 1st of April, 1687, that the remains of Thomas Newhall, the first white person born in Lynn, was buried there. He had died at the age of fifty-seven years. The oldest stone bears this inscription: "Here lyeth ye body of Iohn Clifford. Died Iune ye 17, 1698, in ye 68 year of his age." The figure nine, by some sacrilegious intruder, was, eighty years ago, altered in a rough way, so as to resemble a two, and that has led some to the erroneous belief that there was a burial here as early as 1628.

For some two centuries no complete record of interments here seems to have been kept, but since the law so required, the town and city clerks have been faithful in recording.

Mr. John T. Moulton, a worthy native, a few years since had all the inscriptions copied and published in the Peabody Institute Collections,—a labor of love for which he is deserving of the highest commendation.

A few of the epitaphs in this ancient gathering-place of the dead will be given; but it will be borne in mind that it very often happens that the name of one of the most worthy and useful is not so perpetuated, while that of another, whose memory elicits no sentiment of reverence, is blazoned on a pompous monument. It should be borne in mind, too, that many, inspired by ardent love for their native place, were overtaken by the fell destroyer when far away, never again to meet those of their generation till the sea gives up her dead.

Churchyard lore is not usually very refined in diction, however tender in sentiment, and the simple, unlettered record is sometimes more touching than the studied and stately. But a countless multitude, of whose names even there is no record, are there at rest, among them, perhaps, "some mute, inglorious Milton," or some heroic Washington. Certainly a host of the godly men and women of the early days are sleeping there, to be aroused only at the last trumpet's sound; and theirs must be the brightest dreams, should dreams come in that night of centuries.

"Sure the last end
Of the good man is peace. How calm his exit!
Night dews fall not more gently on the ground
Nor weary, worn-out winds expire so soft."

The few epitaphs for which space can be afforded in this connection will, for convenience, be arranged alphabetically.

"In memory of Rev. Thomas F. Alexander, pastor of the Second Christian Church in Lynn, who died April 2, 1838, aged 23 years.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.—Ps. 116, 15.

"O Church! to whom this youth was dear,
The angel of thy mercy here,
Behold the path he trod.
A milky-way through midnight skies;
Behold the grave in which he lies;
Even from this day thy Pastor cries
Prepare to meet thy God."

Few ever had the capacity to so win the esteem of the young people of his generation as did this youthful clergyman. He possessed uncommon talents and an uncommonly felicitous way of expressing his views and convictions. He mingled freely with those of all denominations, was neither bigoted nor heterodox, and his early death was deeply felt as a serious loss to the community.

"In memory of Mr. Zachariah Atwill, who died November 6, 1836. *Æt.* 81.

"Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

Mr. Atwill was a Revolutionary soldier. At one time he lived in the ancient house that stood on the centre of the Common, a little west of the pond, but now stands on the easterly side of Whiting Street and which is the oldest building in Lynn of which the date of erection is positively known. It was built in 1682 for the residence of the parish sexton. Mr. Atwill kept the almshouse for many years before its removal, in 1819, from the corner of Essex and Chestnut Streets to Tower Hill. A son of his, Zachariah, Jr., was a sea captain, and, it is said, crossed the Atlantic some fifty times without the loss of a seaman.

"Here lies ye body of Mr. Thomas Baker, who died October ye 3d 1734, aged 81 years."

Mr. Baker was drafted November 13, 1675, to serve in King Philip's War, and was in the Narragansett fight. In 1694 he was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, and is spoken of more at large in other pages of this sketch.

"In memory of Amos Ballard (son of Mr. John Ballard, of Boston), who was deprived of his life by the accidental discharge of a musket in a canoe in Lynn River, on the 25th of August, 1798. *Ætatis* 77.

"The grave hath eloquence, its lectures teach
In silence louder than divines can preach;
Hear what it says, ye sons of folly, hear;
It speaks to you; lend an attentive ear."

"In memory of Mr. Josiah Breed, who died December 12, 1790, in the 59th year of his age.

"Death is a debt to nature due;
Which I have paid, and so must you."

"Here lies buried ye body of Doct^r Henry Burchsted, a Silesian, who died Sept^r xx, Anno Christi, MDCCXXI. *Ætatis* Sue LXIII.

"Silesia to New England sent this man,
To do their all that any healer can,

But he who conquered all diseases must
Find one who throws him down into the dust
A chymist near to an adeptist come,
Leaves here, thrown by his caput mortuum
Reader, physicians die as others do ;
I prepare, for thou to this art hastening too."

"My widow'd mother,
My only earthly friend,
Erected this monument
To tell each traveller,
Who looks this way,
That underneath this stone
Reste the ashes of her only son,
Josiah Burrage, who died Dec. 13th, 1797,
Aged 21 years.

Oft do we see the tender bud of hope,
Opening its beauties to the morning light,
When lo! a frost cuts down the tender plant,
And levels all our prospects with the dust."

"Here lies buried the body of the Honorable John Burrill, Esq.,
who died Decem^r 10th Anno Christi, MDCCXXI. *Ætatis* LXIV.

"Alas! our patron's dead! the country—court—
The church—in tears, all echo the report ;
Grieved that no piety, no maddening sense,
No counsel, gravity, no eloquence,
No generous temper, gravitating to
Those honors, which they did upon him throw,
Could stay his fate, or their dear Burrill save
From a contagious sickness and the grave,
The adjacent towns this loss reluctant bear,
But widowed Lynn sustains the greatest share :
Yet joys in being guardian of his dust
Until the resurrection of the just."

The residence of Mr. Burrill was on the western slope of Tower Hill, and there he died, leaving no children. The "contagious sickness" which proved fatal was small-pox. He was well known throughout the province, was much in public life, and sustained a high reputation as a legislator. He was ten years Speaker of the House, and greatly respected for his ability and urbanity in conducting public business.

"In memory of Mr. Thomas Cheever, a soldier of the Revolution, who died Jan. 28, 1823, *Æt.* 90.

"Receive, O earth, his faded form,
In thy cold bosom let it lie,
Safe let it rest from every storm,
Soon must it rise, no more to die."

"The Rev. Joshua W. Downing, A. M. Died July 15, 1839, aged 26."

Mr. Downing was one of Lynn's most promising young men. He was a son of Elijah Downing, a cabinet-maker, who lived on North Common Street, corner of Park. He graduated at Brown University, and at first intended to pursue the profession of law, but becoming converted, he joined the Methodist Conference, and soon became one of the most acceptable preachers in the denomination, inasmuch that at the time of his decease he was in charge of one of the oldest and most opulent churches of the order in New England,—the Bromfield Street Church, in Boston.

"This monument is inscribed to the memory of John Flagg, Esq., in whom remarkable temperance, uniform prudence, unaffected modesty, affectionate humanity and diffusive benevolence shone conspicuous among the virtues which graced his character, endeared him to his family and friends, and secured him the respect and love of all who had the happiness to know him.

"As a physician, his skill was eminent, and his practice extensive and successful.

"To Death, whose triumph he had so often delayed and repelled, but could not entirely prevent, he at last himself submitted on the 27th of May, 1793, in the 50th year of his age.

"Heav'n now repays his virtues and his deeds,
And endless life the stroke of death succeeds."

Dr. Flagg graduated at Cambridge in 1761, and eight years after settled as a physician in Lynn, where he soon, by his integrity, affability and skill, won the esteem and confidence of all. He was active and patriotic during the trying Revolutionary period, was a member of the Committee of Safety in 1775, and commissioned as a colonel. Dr. James Gardner, for many years a public-spirited and highly-respected practitioner here, married his only daughter. Dr. Flagg lived at the eastern end of Marion Street, in the same house in which the famous merchant, William Gray, was born some twenty years before.

"George Gray, the Lynn Hermit, a native of Scotland, died at Lynn, Feb. 28, 1848, aged 78 years."

This eccentric individual lived alone for many years in what was, at the time of his appearance, a retired and forlorn retreat, little better than a brambly bog, though near a public road. Further notice of him appears elsewhere.

"This monument is erected to the memory of Mr. Samuel Hart, son of Mr. Joseph & Eunice Hart. Oct. July 18, 1802, *Æt.* 24.

"Farewell to friends, to science & to time,
God bids me leave you all, though in my prime,
Parents, mourn not, though I'm the fourth young son
That God hath called, he still doth leave you one,
Grieve not for me, but for the living grieve,
'Tis they who die, it is the dead who live."

The writer of this sketch well remembers hearing in early childhood, a sister of the deceased often speak in the most affectionate terms of his lovely character, especially of his amiability. He seems to have been ambitious of leaving the toilsome occupation of farmer, and preparing for usefulness in some learned profession, and was a student—in Harvard College, it is believed—at the time of his death. The family greatly mourned his loss, and the whole neighborhood partook in the sorrow. The epitaph refers to three brothers who had gone before him, leaving him the last but one of all the sons of the stricken parents. The epitaphs of these three follow, and they are all uncommonly impressive in sentiment and tenderly expressed :

"Sacred to the memory of Joseph & Burrill Hart, Oct. Nov. 15th & Dec. 8th, 1786, *Æt.* 18 & 11 years, Sons of Joseph and Eunice Hart.

"These lovely youths resigned their breath,
Prepared to live & ripe for death ;
You blooming youths who view this stone,
Learn early death may be your own.
The Lord, who hath all sov'reign power,
Cut short the lovely opening flower.
The sister's joy, the parent's hope,
Submitted to death's relentless stroke."

* * * * *

"Sacred to the memory of Joseph Burrill Hart, son of Mr. Joseph & Mrs. Eunice Hart, who died Nov. 19, 1796, Aged 7 years.

"His opening mind a thousand charms reveal'd,
Proof of those thousands which were still conceal'd,
The loveliest flow'r in nature's garden plac'd,
Permitted just to bloom and pluck'd in haste,
Angels beheld him ripe for joys to come,
And call'd by God's command their brother home."

Joseph Hart, the afflicted father of these promising youths, was a farmer, and lived in the ancient house that stood on Boston Street at the corner of North Federal. He owned all the land on the west side of the street up to Walnut, and raised corn, potatoes and the usual products for family consumption, together with large quantities of flax, which was wrought into a durable though not elegant kind of cloth. Mrs. Eunice Hart, mother of the deceased youths, was a granddaughter of Hon. Ebenezer Burrill, who occupied the extensive farm at Swampscott, a portion of which was lately owned by the Hon. E. R. Mudge, deceased. The ancient farm-house in which Mr. Burrill lived is still standing near the elegant stone villa of Mr. Mudge.

"To the memory of Deacon Ezra Hitchings, who was born April 15, 1765, and died Nov. 26, 1829. This stone is erected by the members of the Second Congregational Church in Lynn, of which, from its formation, he was an able and efficient officer, as a testimonial of the profound respect and love for his integrity and benevolence, his piety as a Christian and his worth as a man.

"The memory of the just is blessed."

The Second Congregational Church of Lynn was the first Unitarian, and to the present day remains the only society of that denomination here. Major Hitchings, to use the military title by which he was popularly known, was a native of that part of Lynn which is now Saugus. His wife, who was a woman of much force of character, was a sister of Colonel James Robinson, a soldier of the Revolution, and first postmaster of Lynn. They had no children of their own, but adopted one or two, whom they reared with the watchful care of true parents. Mr. Hitchings kept a West India goods store on Boston Street, corner of North Federal, and did a fair village business, though it yielded nothing beyond a comfortable maintenance.

"Sacred to the memory of Benjamin Massey, who was born Nov. 19, 1786, and died Dec. 10, 1831.

"Reader, a moment pause before this stone;
It tells a husband, father, Christian gone;
These sacred names he bore; but oh, how well
Must faithful memory, not the marble, tell;
Enough, if in this hard white stone you see
His strong, firm will—his spotless purity."

The loss of Mr. Massey to the community was seriously felt. He was an active, useful citizen, his services being in constant demand wherever strict personal integrity and prudence were required. He took an important part in the management of public affairs, and filled several of the higher offices of public trust. At the organization, in 1828, of the Lynn Mutual Fire Insurance Company, that still remarkably successful institution, he was chosen secretary, and held the office till his death. He was an industrious

blacksmith, his shop and dwelling being on Western Avenue, a few rods west of Federal Street.

"Alonzo Lewis, died January 21, 1861, aged sixty-six years and five months.

"Frances, his wife, died May 27, 1839.

"All angels now, and little loss while here."

This is the resting-place of Mr. Lewis, the poet and historian. In the neat little burial inclosure are two or three chaste marble stones, unpretentious but strikingly appropriate. As Mr. Lewis is spoken of somewhat at large in another place, nothing further need be said here. The other inscriptions in the inclosure, however, should be given,—

"Frances Maria.	William Lewis,
Aurelius.	Born 1590.
Lynaworth.	Died 1671.
Ina.	Amey, his wife.
Alonzo Lewis, Jr.	Isaac Lewis, Jr.,
Died March 7, 1852.	Born 1683.
Irene Lewis,	Died 1763.
Died March 26, 1853.	Hannah, his wife.
Mary Lewis,	Nathan Lewis,
Died Jan. 28, 1878.	Born 1721.
	Died 1804.
	Mary, his wife.
	Zachariah Lewis,
	Born 1765.
	Died 1810.
	Mary, his wife."

(Five Generations.)

"Here lies buried y^e body of Esau Joseph Newhall, aged 47 years. Departed this life January y^e 29, 1705."

This Mr. Newhall was a man of some note and much respected. In 1696 the town granted him liberty to "Sett up a pewe in y^e east end of y^e meeting-house Between y^e east dowre & the staires." He was, at the time of his death, a member of the General Court, and perished in a great snow-storm while on his way from Boston. It was a violent storm, continuing two days—the 29th and 30th of January. He was a son of Thomas Newhall, the first white person born in Lynn, and the father of eleven children, all of whom survived him. Many descendants of his are yet remaining in Lynn.

"Here lies buried the body of Mr Zacheus Norwood, who departed this life Feb. the 8th, 1756, aged 40 years."

"Here lies buried the body of Doc^t Jonathan Norwood, who departed this life March 16th, 1782, in y^e 31st year of his age."

These two stones are in memory of father and son. Zacheus, the father, was keeper of the old Anchor Tavern, which, as "Norwood's Tavern," augmented in fame to the close of provincial days. He is spoken of elsewhere in these pages. Dr. Jonathan, the son, was a well-educated physician, and lived on the north side of the Common, between Mall and Park Streets. He graduated at Harvard in 1771. His death, March 16, 1782, was occasioned by injuries received by a fall from his horse.

"In memory of Mr. Isaac Orgin, who died May 29th, 1831, Aet. 70.

"Afflictions sore long time I bore,
Physicians strove in vain,
Till God did please to give me ease,
And take away my pain."

Mr. Orgin was one of the youthful patriots who took the field in the Revolution, and is said to have been some time a drummer.

"Here lies buried the body of Mr. William Perkins, a gentleman of liberal education. He was bred at Harvard College, and commenced Master of Arts in y^e year 1761. He was justly admired for his uncommon abilities, natural and acquired; his literature, exemplary piety, modesty, meekness, and many other humane and Christian virtues which rendered him lovely in every relation of life. He died of a fever Oct^r y^e 9, 1765, and in the 28th year of his age."

"Mary Pitcher.
1738-1813."

This simple inscription on a neat headstone perpetuates the name of one who attained a world-wide reputation as "Moll Pitcher, the fortune-teller of Lynn." A somewhat extended notice of her may be found elsewhere in these pages.

"The First Church of Christ in Lynn erected this monument to the memory of their faithful and much esteemed brother, Deacon Nathaniel Sargent. He died September 23, 1798, aged 38 years.

"I am the resurrection and the life with the Redeemer."

"The Tomb of Rev. Jeremiah Shepard. The memory of the just is blessed. Mrs. Mary Shepard died March 28, 1710, Aet. 53. A prudent wife is from the Lord. Prov. xxxi. 10 & 28: the Mother of 9 children: 5 died, Jeremiah, 1700, Aet. 23: Mehetabel, 1688: Margaret, 1683: Thomas, 1700, Aet. 29: Francis, 1692.

"Rev. Jeremiah Shepard died June 2, 1720, Aet. 72.

"Elijah's mantle drops, the prophet dies,
His earthly mansion quits, and mounts the skies.
— So Shepard's gone.

His precious dust, death's prey, indeed is here,
But 's nobler breath 'mong seraphs does appear;
He joins the adoring crowds about the throne,
He 's conquered all, and now he wears the crown."

A notice of this venerable minister appears in another connection.

"How uncertain are human enjoyments!

"From gratitude, respect and endearing recollection, this stone is erected in remembrance of Mrs. Jane & Sally Tufts, consort & daughter of Mr. David Tufts, who died Nov. 15th & 16th, 1795, aged 28 years, the infant 1 day.

"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Tufts, & dau^r, wife and dau^r of Mr. David Tufts, who obt. Aug. 20th & 22d, 1801. She aged 32 years, the child Aet 5 hours.

"Why do we mourn departed friends
Or shake at death's alarms?
'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends
To call them to his arms."

"In memory of Mr. David Tufts, a soldier of the Revolution, who died July 6, 1823, Aet. 60.

"When coldness wraps this suffering clay,
Ah, whither strays the immortal mind?
It cannot die, it cannot stay,
But leaves its darkened dust behind."

This Mr. David Tufts, whose singularly severe and affecting visitations are here commemorated, lived in a comfortable two-story frame dwelling which stood on what is now Western Avenue, at the northeast corner of Federal Street, the site being now occupied by huge brick business buildings, and his land extended nearly to Centre Street. His barn was opposite the west wing of Lynn Hotel. As stated upon the stone, he was a soldier of the Revolution, and must have been in service while a mere boy. He drew a pension during the latter part of his life, for though

in the way of gaining a comfortable livelihood by farming and expressing, in a small way, he was yet obliged to exercise industry and economy. He kept his sword hanging above the head of his bed as a memento of his early heroism. His last wife was Eunice, a daughter of Joseph Hart, of Boston Street, and she survived him more than forty years. He left three sons, one of whom was Deacon Richard Tufts, so long conspicuous for his rigid principles as a temperance reformer, and so highly respected for his unswerving moral integrity. He was a deacon of the First Congregational Church for many years, and died an octogenarian. Col. Gardiner Tufts, whose efficient services in the interest of the Massachusetts soldiers, during the Civil War and subsequently, were highly appreciated, and who is yet doing efficient service under State appointment, was a son of the deacon.

"John E. Weston, Minister of the Gospel, died July 24, 1831, Aet. 35.

"He was ordained Oct. 1827, Pastor of the 2^d Baptist Church in Cambridge, and at the time of his death was pastor elect of the Baptist Church, Nashua, N. H. It was while on a journey to Nashua to preach on the ensuing Sabbath that he was drowned in Sandy Pond in Wilmington. This sudden and afflictive event occurred in consequence of a deep bank near the edge of the pond, from which, unperceived by him, he was precipitated with his carriage and sank in death.

"Thus died a most excellent husband and
Father, a devoted and humble Christian, an
able and energetic minister, beloved by all,
and bearing the noble features of that Saviour
whom he delighted to honor."

In this venerable resting-place of the dead repose the remains of three early ministers of the First Church—Whiting, Shepard and Henschman—as well as the countless host of other worthies—fathers and mothers of past generations—some of whom have elsewhere come under notice.

"Life's labor done, securely laid
In this their last retreat,
Unheeded o'er their silent dust
The storms of life shall beat.

"The storm which wrecks the wintry sky
No more disturbs their deep repose
Than summer evening's gentlest sigh,
Which shuts the rose."

The other burial-places of Lynn are as follows, arranged according to the dates of consecration:

THE FRIENDS' BURIAL-PLACE.—This seems to have been set apart for its sacred purposes early in the last century, probably in or about the year 1723, as is found that Richard Estes conveyed to the Friends Society an eligible lot of land at the corner of the present Broad and Silsbee Streets, "in consideration of the love and good will" he bore "to y^e people of God called Quakers, in Lyn," by a deed dated the "seventeenth day of the tenth month, called December, in y^e ninth year of the reign of King George, in the year of our Lord, according to the English account, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two." The land was given "unto y^e people aforementioned to bury their dead in, and to erect a meeting-house

for to worship God in: I say those in true fellowship of the gospel unity with the monthly meeting, and those are to see to y^e Christian burying as we have been in y^e practice of." In 1826 the remains of a hundred and nine persons were removed from the old Friends' Burying-ground in Boston, and deposited in this at Lynn, the reason being that the society at Boston had become virtually extinct and their ground disused. Considerable feeling, however, was manifested by some, and Joseph Hussey refused to permit the removal of the remains of his two sisters to Lynn, preferring to have them deposited in King's Chapel ground. This burial-place is conveniently and pleasantly situated, near the house of worship, and has a number of neat memorial stones, without costly or gairish display. And in it rest a goodly number of Lynn's most prudent and worthy sons and daughters. Adjoining this ground is another, opened in 1825, as a free burial-place; the reason for the proceeding being that the society refused to permit the interment of a child in their ground without a compliance with their regulations.

THE EASTERN BURIAL-PLACE, on Union Street, was opened in 1812, is neatly kept, and contains the dust of many worthy ones.

PINE GROVE CEMETERY was consecrated on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 24, 1850. The weather was warm, but the sky was clear, and a great concourse attended. The exercises, conducted amid such picturesque and inspiring surroundings, were extremely impressive. The address was delivered by Rev. Charles C. Shackford, minister of the Unitarian Society. Several other clergymen took part in the exercises. An original ode, by G. W. Putnam, and original hymns, by Mr. Joseph W. Nye, Miss Anna H. Phillips and Miss Annie Johnson, were sung. This beautiful burial-place is surpassed by very few in the country for its picturesque natural features, its stately trees, fine shrubbery and flower-studded inclosures, as well as for its graceful and noble monuments. The first burial took place on Sunday, October 13, 1850; and the total number of interments up to January 1, 1886, was nine thousand six hundred, four hundred and sixty-five having taking place during 1885. As to the pecuniary receipts and disbursements, it may in brief be stated that for the year 1885 the City Council appropriated \$8000; to that was added, from sale of lots, \$5176.50; from interments, \$1480.50; from care of lots, \$2673.59; and from various other sources sufficient to make a total of \$19,509.86. The expenditures for labor, grading and the numerous other needful purposes were \$19,310.99.

ST. MARY'S (ROMAN CATHOLIC) CEMETERY, which comprises eight acres, is situated on Lynnfield Street, near the suburban village of Wyoma. It was consecrated on Thursday, November 4, 1858, by Bishop Fitzpatrick, assisted by six other clergymen. A violent storm prevailed on the day of consecration, and the

services, so far as they properly could be, were held in the church, where the rite of confirmation was administered to some two hundred persons.

ST. JOSEPH'S (ROMAN CATHOLIC) CEMETERY, on Boston Street, in the northeastern outskirts, was consecrated by Archbishop Williams, in the afternoon of Thursday, October 16, 1879. A number of clergymen from neighboring places were present. Eighteen burials had taken place there before the day of consecration. In the forenoon of the day of the ceremony the rite of confirmation was administered in the parish church, by the archbishop, to about a hundred and twenty-five children.

ALMSHOUSE GROUND.—A small lot was set apart on the Almshouse grounds for the burial of deceased inmates. But no burials are now made there.

At the present time the burials are chiefly made in the three cemeteries, the whole number in 1886 having been as follows: In Pine Grove Cemetery, 375; in St. Mary's, 207; in St. Joseph's, 46; in the Eastern ground, 58; in the Old, or Western ground, 3; in the Friends', 5—making a total of 694. But the number of deaths during the year was 836, the remains of 142 being taken out of town for interment. In 1885 the number of deaths was 828, of which 148 were by consumption, 21 by diphtheria, 14 by typhoid fever, 70 by pneumonia, 34 by cholera infantum, 9 by scarlet fever. Of children under five years, 278.

It may be added that the old burying-ground at Lynnfield was opened about the year 1720, and that at Saugus about 1732, both of those towns being then a part of Lynn.

The interesting ceremony of strewing with flowers the graves of soldiers who fell in the Civil War has been devoutly observed in Lynn. Once a year—on the 30th of May, which has been established as a legal holiday and called Memorial Day—under the auspices of the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic, the surviving comrades proceed in procession, with appropriate music, to the various burial-places, and there, upon the graves of the departed companions-in-arms, reverentially deposit their floral offerings. The custom began here in 1868, in accordance with the manifesto of General Logan, commander-in-chief of the association, issued at Washington. The occasion calls out crowds of people, old and young. A patriotic address by a comrade, delivered in some convenient place, follows the ceremony.

Did our limits allow, it would not be impertinent to say a few words touching what may be called modern extravagances at funerals. The expenditures for casket, floral decorations and carriages have become really burdensome to persons of limited means. Many seem to think it mean not to follow the fashion in these matters, and mean also to question any charge of those who furnish essentials or decorations. Can ostentatious display relieve a truly grieving heart? Can gairish pomp and glitter at the grave give joy to the departed? It would, indeed, be heath-

enish to avoid a proper manifestation of respect and affection for deceased friends; but is it not sometimes the case that respect and affection are marked by over-wrought display? In early New England times the dead were committed to their last resting-places with very little ceremony beyond the procession of mourning friends; the coffin was rude; and seldom was a prayer offered, an omission which it seems hard to account for, excepting on the ground of anxiety to avoid anything that approached the Romish custom of praying for the dead. Lechford, writing in 1641, says, "At burials nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave and there stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present." As to prayers at funerals, Drake, in his "History of Boston," in speaking of the funeral of the wife of Judge Byfield, who was a daughter of Governor Leverett, and died December 21, 1730, remarks: "At her funeral a prayer was made, which was the first introduction of the practice in the town." And a Boston paper, speaking of the same funeral, says: "Before carrying out the corpse, a funeral prayer was made by one of the pastors of the old church, which, though a custom in country towns, is a singular instance in this place." So much for the religious exercises at burials. And now a word touching some peculiar extravagances at times indulged in.

Before the beginning of the last century some strange customs began to appear, and expenditures were made for purposes much more reprehensible than any extravagance of the present day. Indeed, funerals were sometimes made seasons of absolute jollification. Spirituous liquors were provided in abundance, and scarfs, gloves and rings presented. The General Court, in 1724, prohibited the giving of scarfs on such occasions, "because a burdensome custom." At the funeral of Rev. Mr. Cobbet, who preached in Lynn nineteen years (1637-56), were expended one barrel of wine, £6 8s.; two barrels of cider, 11s.; 82 pounds of sugar, £2 1s.; half a cord of wood, 4s.; four dozen pairs of gloves, "for men and women," £5 4s.; with "some spice and ginger for the cider." It was not Lynn, however, that had the honor of providing thus liberally for the obsequies of Mr. Cobbet, for he had left here a number of years before, and settled in Ipswich. But in 1711 Lynn paid for half a barrel of cider for the Widow Dispa's funeral. It was generous of the town to see that even a poor widow's remains should not be laid away without some inducement for neighbors to attend the last rites, if no feeling of bereavement existed. And there is a temptation to add the account of expenditures at the funeral of Rev. Mr. Brown, of Reading, in 1733, partly for the purpose of showing the cost of some things required in those days on such mournful occasions:

20

	£	s.	d.
"To Thomas Eaton, for provisions	2	1	0
Nathaniel Eaton for fetching up the wine	0	15	0
Lt. Nathaniel Parker for 5 qts. Rhom, [rum]	0	8	0
Samuel Pool for digging Mr. Brown's grave	0	8	0
Landlord Wesson, for Rhom, [rum]	0	10	6
Wm. Cowdry, for making the coffin	0	15	0
Andrew Tyler, of Boston, 6 gold rings for funeral	10	18	0
Benj. Fitch, of Boston, Gloves, etc	17	0	0
Mrs. Martha Brown, for wine furnished	5	0	0
Eben Storer, of Boston, sundries	8	0	0
Total	45	15	6.

The old burying-grounds embody a history of the early settlements. The "cemeteries" of modern time exhibit the taste and wealth of later days. But it would be unkind to assume that either is not the bourn of true human sympathy and affection. The remains of high or low, rich or poor, wherever and whenever committed to the keeping of mother earth, occasion pangs of sorrow in some surviving breast; there are none so poor or miserable as to be void of this. To the indigent mourner there is substantial consolation in the thought that at the grave all earthly distinctions end; but far greater consolation in the conviction that for a virtuous life passed here a great reward awaits upon the other side of the dark vale. To the true duty-doer, as he draws near the bourn that cannot be repassed, the words of the great poet of our own Essex come as a refreshing breath from that other land,—

"O stream of life, whose swifter flow
Is of the end forewarning.
Methinks thy sundown afterglow
Seems less of night than morning."

There is surely no place better fitted for sombre reflection than that where lie the gathered dead of generations. But why sombre?

"All that tread
The globe are but a handful to the tribes
That slumber in its bosom."

And among them, in peaceful rest, are the good and great, the beautiful and buoyant. What is there doleful in such company? Meditations of the most cheerful kind may well be entertained. And soothing would it be to many a tired spirit could it occasionally respond to the poet's sentiment and say:

"At musing hour of twilight gray,
When silence reigns around,
I love to walk the churchyard way—
To me 'tis holy ground.
To me congenial is the place,
Where yew and cypress grow—
I love the moss-grown stone to trace,
That tells who lies below."

Yes, indeed, to a mind so touched, many a rough passage of life would be made smooth, for step by step more fully would be perceived the utter hollowness of all mere earthly promises, and the emptiness of earth's bubbles, wealth, honor and fame. The pursuit of wealth especially, which is with us so marked a feature, would soon appear like senseless phantom-

chasing. Pausing at the merely rich man's grave,
the racy lines of Swift might well obtrude:

"The sexton shall green sods on thee bestow;
Alas, the sexton is thy banker now!
A dismal banker must that banker be,
Who gives no bills but of mortality."

And again:

"He that could once have half a kingdom bought,
In half a minute is not worth a groat.
His coffers from the coffin could not save,
Nor all his interest keep him from the grave."

CHAPTER XIX.

LYNN—(Continued).

OLD FAMILIES—PERSONAL NOTICES—POETS AND PROSE WRITERS.

*Lists of Settlers—Notices of Remarkable Individuals, Eccentric and Otherwise
—Lynn Writers in Poetical, Historical and other Departments.*

"These flowery fields they loved to tread,
These rocky heights to scale,
The dolls and tangled breaks to thread,
And snuff the fragrant gale."

REALIZING that the study of kinship, the tracing out of lines of relationship, is peculiarly fascinating and quite as profitable, perhaps, as many of the studies to which attention is usually directed, there have been introduced here and there in the different divisions of this sketch notices, more or less extended, of representative individuals who have appeared in the different periods of our history; enough to render all the assistance that could in that way be afforded to those who would trace out their genealogical lines. Such studies frequently prove of unexpected value, by unearthing facts greatly beneficial to one or another. Very few of the old New England families can be brought to mind of which may not now be found representatives whose virtues or achievements adorn the parent name. "The records of families," remarks a writer quoted by President Wilder, "constitute the frame-work of history, and are auxiliaries to science, religion and especially to civilization. The ties of kindred are the golden links in the chain which ties families, states and nations together in one great bond of humanity. Everything, therefore, which pertains to the history of our families should be carefully recorded and preserved for the benefit of those who are to follow us. He who collects and preserves his own family history is not only a benefactor in his way, but will deserve and receive the grateful thanks of all future generations. He confers a priceless boon upon those whose names and achievements are thus rescued from oblivion, and preserves the experience and wisdom of ages for the emulation and admiration of posterity." Yet there are multitudes of unreflecting people who never think of these things, and other

multitudes who are so engrossed with money-making plans that they can see no good in them. Why, a while ago the writer had occasion to ask a man something about his grandfather, and got the abrupt reply, "But I don't even know who my grandfather was, and don't care; there's no money in it!"

And now as to Lynn: Though not able to boast of any very eminent persons at present within her borders, excepting in the mere business relations of life, in which she stands remarkably well, and excepting those who are "great in their own eyes," she yet can point to many living descendants of her earlier families who have made a mark in their generation. Let us give an example or two: GEORGE BANCROFT, the eminent historian, is a direct descendant from John Bancroft, one of Lynn's early settlers. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York, so prominent in the literary world, is a direct descendant from Ebenezer Burrill, who, July 29, 1725, married Mary Mansfield, and lived in the house that stood on Boston Street near the northeast corner of North Federal. Mr. Curtis's mother was a daughter of Hon. James Burrill, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island and United States Senator, who died on Christmas Day, 1820, and whose father, also named James, was a son of Ebenezer, and born in the old Boston Street mansion. HORACE GRAY, a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and late chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, is a grandson of William Gray, who was born in the two-story gambrel-roof house, the most easterly on the south side of Marion Street, formerly known as the Dr. Flagg house. The bold and chivalrous JOHN J. INGALLS, now a member of the United States Senate from Kansas, and one of the "best dressed" members of that body, is a lineal descendant from Edmund Ingalls, one of the first five settlers of Lynn. The catalogue need not be further extended, though many other honorable names press upon the memory. And then, if deceased ones should be brought to notice, the list could not easily be limited. There was TIMOTHY PICKERING, the friend of Washington, the sagacious and prudent counselor and co-worker on the foundation of the republic; his grandmother was a Burrill, of the same lineage from which Mr. Curtis sprang. THEODORE PARKER, the learned theologian and accomplished scholar, was a direct descendant from the sober old Lynn settler, Thomas Parker. The two Bishops HAVEN were lineal descendants from Richard Haven, whose house was on Boston Street, corner of North Federal, near that of the Burrills, the ancestral home of Curtis and Pickering just named. Then there was Rev. SAMUEL KERTLAND, who, by request of the Provincial Congress, induced the Onondaga and some other Indians of the Six Nations to espouse the American cause in the dark, opening days of the Revolution; he was a direct descendant from Philip Kertland, the first Lynn shoemaker. Then there was NATHANIEL P. WILLIS,

or, as he preferred to write it, when that style was fashionable, N. Parker Willis, the poet, a descendant of Thomas Willis, who was among the first Lynn settlers, locating at what we now call Tower Hill. He was a co-representative with Captain Nathaniel Turner and Edward Tomlins in the first General Court, 1634. And, being a man of consequence, he had allotted him, in the land division of 1638, "upland and meadow, 500 acres, as it is estimated," while many of his neighbors received not above sixty. He does not appear to have spent the remainder of his days here, and it is not probable that descendants of his remain. It is at least hoped that the line was not tainted by "Old Willis," who, many years ago, kept the famous dance-house at North Bend, though he had the distinction of being a soldier of the Revolution. But this trail cannot be further pursued.

The narration of prominent events as they occurred in one's own neighborhood is seldom without absorbing interest. But when the actors in those events are introduced, the interest is greatly enhanced. It is the fashion with local historians and quasi historians to give chapters of biography; and those chapters are always interesting, at least to residents. But in view of the fact that, as before remarked, many sketches are scattered about elsewhere in these pages, a different plan must be pursued here. A few of those who have not been spoken of in other connections, but are thought entitled to special remembrance, will here receive attention. It will, of course, be borne in mind that it is not the purpose even to name all who have contributed to the prosperity of Lynn, for that would include a large portion of her population. Genealogies of a number of the old families have been published in one shape and another, and the "History of Lynn" contains many pages of such matter.

The following are the names of some of the settlers who appeared here before the year 1700, and who planted families which are still well represented among us, though they were not of the first comers:

Allen, 1636.	Kates, 1683 (?).	Oliver, 1692 (?).
Alley, 1640.	Farrington, 1635.	Parker, 1635.
Attwill, 1606.	Fuller, 1614.	Phillips, 1650.
Bachelor, 1632.	Graves, 1630.	Pool, 1639.
Baker, 1630.	Hart, 1640.	Ramsdell, 1630.
Bassett, 1640.	Hawkes, 1630.	Rhodes, 1640.
Bennett, 1630.	Hood, 1640.	Richards, 1630.
Berry, 1650 (?).	Hudson, 1630.	Richardson, 1679 (?).
Breed, 1630.	Ingalls, 1629.	Sibley, 1651.
Brown, 1630.	Ireson, 1635.	Smith, 1630.
Burrill, 1630.	Johnson, 1637.	Stacey, 1641.
Chadwell, 1630.	King, 1647.	Tarbox, 1640.
Clark, 1640.	Lewis, 1630.	Townsend, 1636.
Collins, 1635.	Mansfield, 1640.	Waite, 1650.
Davis, 1635.	Newhall, 1630.	

ALLEY.—John B. Alley, the first member of Congress from Lynn (1858), descended from the 1640 settler of the name.

BAKER.—Daniel C. Baker, the third mayor, was a descendant of the 1630 settler.

BASSETT.—William Bassett, the first city clerk, came from the family planted here in 1640. His pedigree may be found further on.

BREED.—Andrews Breed, our fifth mayor, and Hiram N. Breed, our ninth, descended from the 1630 settler.

BURRILL.—The Burrill who came in 1630 became the head of what was once called "the royal family of Lynn."

DAVIS.—The Davis named in the list was the ancestor of Edward S. Davis, our eighth mayor.

FULLER.—Joseph Fuller, the first president of the first Lynn bank; and Maria Augusta Fuller, the poetess, were descendants of the 1644 settler.

GRAVES.—From Mr. Graves, the 1630 settler, the section known as Gravesend (now called Glenmere) took its name.

HART.—George D. Hart, our twentieth mayor, descended from the early settler of the name.

HAWKES.—An account of the Hawkes family, planted here in 1630, will appear on a subsequent page.

HOOD.—George Hood, the first mayor of Lynn, was a representative of the old Hood family.

JOHNSON.—William F. Johnson, our seventh mayor, is of the old 1637 line.

LEWIS.—Jacob M. Lewis, Lynn's fourteenth mayor, and likewise Alonzo Lewis, the poet and historian, are descendants from the settler of 1639.

MANSFIELD.—Andrew Mansfield, who came in 1640, was, in 1660, made the first town clerk. To him we are also indebted for the preservation of a record of the land allotments of 1638, which, as he certifies, he copied "out of the Town Book of Records of Lynn," March 10, 1660. Several of his descendants became prominent, two or three in the military line.

NEWHALL.—The Newhall family, planted here in 1630, and of which the first white child born within our borders was a member, has, during our whole history, till within a year or two, maintained its rank as first in numbers, if for nothing else. The name is not now the most numerous, as, according to recent directories, it is slightly led by that of Smith. They are both old Lynn names, but it is evident that but comparatively few of the present Smiths are of old Lynn stock.

RICHARDS.—Richard Richards, who died December 19, 1851, was a descendant of the 1630 settler. He has been ranked as the most inventive genius, in a mechanical way, ever born here, some of his inventions proving of great value in the local business.

A brief notice of the **TARBOX** family will appear a little farther on.

In the sketch of Lynnfield a somewhat extended notice of the **TOWNSEND** family will be given.

A brief list of some of the subsequent families, that is, those which appeared after the year 1700, and made favorable marks which have from generation to generation been continued, follows: Bubier, Buff-

um, Chase, Curtin, Kimball, Moulton, Mudge, Munroe, Parrott, Pratt, Spinney, Stone, Tufts, Usher, Walden, Woodbury.

This short list contains the names of five mayors, to wit: Bubier, Buffum, Mudge, Usher and Walden. And all the families have presented substantial and useful citizens.

It may be observed that several names, conspicuous in former years, do not appear in these lists. In some instances they are of those spoken of in other connections, in other instances of those who left few or no descendants, and in still other instances of those who did little or nothing to promote the prosperity or enhance the fame of this their chosen home, preferring rather to direct their life's labor to mere selfish ends,—a career that too many of us of the present day are prone to imitate.

HAWKES FAMILY.—This family has ever maintained a respectable rank among the old Lynn families. Adam Hawkes, the founder, was one of the seventeen hundred Puritans who sailed with Endicott from Southampton and landed at Salem in June, 1630. He received large grants in the division of the common lands, and during his busy life acquired other tracts. He was an excellent specimen of the hardy, industrious and thrifty pioneer.

The doings of many of the early comers and their successors are not matters of tradition, but of history and record so clear that one can read their lives as if they were contemporaries. Of this first Adam Hawkes, for instance, we know the little knoll where he built his house, we know of the burning of that house, of the flight through the snow with his wife and infant children; we know when his second house was erected—a house which sheltered some of his descendants for more than two hundred years. In 1872 the old house was taken down, and on one of the bricks of the chimney was found the date, 1601, evidently written in the soft clay with the finger, when the brick was made in England. These bricks, which were in the first house, were relaid in the chimney of the fourth, on the same farm, by Richard Hawkes, of the sixth generation from the original owner. It is a matter of history that some of the ships of Winthrop's fleet were ballasted with bricks, and it has always been known in this family that the bricks in the first chimney came from England. The farm borders upon Saugus River, and the bricks must have been carried up that stream in boats, as there was no road. Another relic of the original chimney, which has ornamented its successors, but which is now regarded as an heirloom, is an iron fireback, some two feet square, and weighing about one hundred pounds, on which is moulded what has been supposed to be the British arms, but which has since been thought to be a coat of arms—perhaps that of the Hawkes family. The "supporters," though not distinct, seem to be similar to those in the British arms, but instead of the crown, this is surmounted by what appears to

be the visors and bars of a helmet and lion. This casting was evidently made to lay in masonry, as the edge is depressed and rough. The fashion of ornamenting the chimney-back above the fire with the family arms or something national was common in early colonial times, probably borrowed from home.

John Hawkes, a son of Adam, the first comer, was a man of considerable local note in his time. His descendants can trace their ancestry to one of the group who signed the immortal compact in the cabin of the "Mayflower." His wife was Rebecca, daughter of Moses Maverick, the founder and for many years the only magistrate of Marblehead. The wife of Mr. Maverick was a daughter of Isaac Allerton, who was one of the "Mayflower" passengers, was Lieutenant-Governor of Plymouth Colony, and for a long time colonial agent. Isaac Allerton and Moses Maverick were conspicuous in the early days, and their blood mingled with that of the successors of Thomas Hawkes, who was burned at the stake in the reign of "Bloody Queen Mary," for his faithfulness to his religious principles.

On the 28th and 29th days of July, 1880, there took place a notable reunion on the grounds of Louis P. Hawkes, who occupies the very place where the father of the family established his abode in 1630. Some three hundred were present, from all parts of the country—representatives from all classes of society, the learned, the diplomatic, the mercantile, the laboring. The Hon. Nathan M. Hawkes, of Lynn, acted as master of ceremonies, and all the proceedings began, continued and ended in the most satisfactory manner. The literary exercises were of a high order, eminently appropriate and interesting. There were devotional exercises, poems, addresses, genealogical sketchings, music, and, for the younger portion, lighter diversions of various kinds. The principal address was by Senator Hawkes, the master of ceremonies, and its terse periods were enriched by historic allusions and family incidents, such as proved of absorbing interest to all present. The sentiments expressed in the closing passages must have found a response in the minds of the elder ones present; in the minds of all not cankered by worldly ambition, nor closed to the beautiful in nature and the conception of life's higher duties:

"This day is a mile-stone that marks our march of a quarter of a thousand years of American life. Individuals and generations lay down the burdens, the failures and the triumphs of life; others stand ready to go on with the duties that citizenship and family command. Let us signalize this occasion as a family by new reverence for the memory of our ancestors, and by new resolves to make our name a still better name in the future than in the past. Let us sanctify the present by making it worthy of the past, ever hopeful of the unseen, wonderful future.

"Within five miles of the ebb and flow of the Atlantic, whence civilization took its westward course, this sylvan retreat has hitherto escaped the rush and crush of busy mercantile pursuits; the snort of the locomotive is unheard; the primitive solitude is undisturbed, save by the peaceful pursuits of agriculture.

"The oratories of the Jews were beneath the shadow of olive trees; the ancient Druids of Gaul, Britain and Germany were accustomed to perform their mystic rites and sacrifices in the recesses of the forest; and our Pilgrim Fathers worshipped God under a like canopy.

"We meet to-day under the shade of the walnut. May this spot be spared from the sordid pursuits of business; may this grove be unexposed by the demands of utility for another period of two hundred and fifty years, that our successors may gather here in 'Nature's noblest sanctuary;' and may our kin in all coming time resort to this Mecca of the Hawkes family in America."

The family name, like all the surnames of colonial days, was spelled in a way to suit the user; but there were not so many variations as in most of the familiar names. In England we find it spelled Hawkes, and that has generally been followed here. Some branches of the family in America, however, spell it Hawks. This saves a letter, but does not make the word handsomer. No full genealogy of the family has yet been arranged. The materials, however, are ample, and space may be allowed for the tracing of one line as a sample. For this purpose we will take our well-known fellow-citizen, Hon. Nathan M. Hawkes, who was master of ceremonies, as before mentioned, on the occasion of the great family gathering.

1. Adam Hawkes arrived in 1630, died 1671.
2. John Hawkes, son of Adam, married Rebecca Maverick.
3. Moses¹, son of John, born 1659, married Margaret Cogswell.
4. Moses², son of Moses¹, born 1699, married Susannah Townsend.
5. Nathan¹, son of Moses², born 1745, married Sarah Hitchings.
6. Nathan², son of Nathan¹, born 1775, married Elizabeth Tarbell.
7. Nathan D., son of Nathan², born 1811, married Tacy P. Hawkes.
8. Nathan M., son of Nathan D., born 1843, married Mary Buffum.

JOHNSON FAMILY.—The Johnson family has been among the most prominent and respectable of the Lynn families almost ever since the settlement commenced, and it would be agreeable to give the genealogy somewhat at large, were it practicable. As the next best thing, however, it may be well to trace the line of a single individual, as a family representative, from the first settler. Others, by their relationship to him, may trace their own lines.

For this purpose, then, let us take the line down to the late Otis Johnson, who died at his well-known residence on Federal Street, February 17, 1870, at the age of sixty-eight years.

Richard Johnson¹, the first of the family in Lynn, was born in England in 1612. He came to America with Sir Richard Saltonstall, in 1630, and after residing for seven years in Watertown and for a short period in Salem, settled in Lynn in 1637, being made a freeman the same year. He was a thrifty farmer, and owned a considerable tract of land at the eastern end of the Common, including the site of the present City Hall. His children were Samuel, Elizabeth, Abigail and Daniel.

Samuel¹ was known by the title of Lieutenant, and was a cornet in the King Philip War, 1676. For his

services he received, in 1685, a grant of land from the General Court. He died in 1723, at the age of eighty-two, and was buried in the old ground, where his grave-stone may still be seen. He married Mary Collins January 22, 1664, and had nine children.

Richard², the sixth child of Samuel¹, was born November 8, 1674; on July 3, 1705, he married Elizabeth Newhall, and died September 26, 1754. He was town clerk for several years onward from 1722, was for three years a representative in the General Court and a deacon in the old church at the time of his decease. His sons were Samuel, known as Captain, Joseph and Benjamin.

Samuel², Captain, the eldest son of Richard², was born March 17, 1708, and married Ruth Holten, of Lynn, in or about 1731. His will was probated January 7, 1772.

Richard³, the eldest son of Captain Samuel, was born September 25, 1731, married Lydia Batchelor March 21, 1756, and died September 27, 1765, from a fever resulting from haymaking on the marsh. He had sons,—Samuel, Enoch, Rufus, Timothy.

Enoch, son of Richard³, was born January 16, 1761, married Elizabeth Newhall June 8, 1790, and died March 17, 1815. He was a deputy sheriff. Samuel, his son, was born April 30, 1793, married at Nassau, N. P., and long resided there, dying July 11, 1841. George, his son, was born June 7, 1796, and died October 17, 1849. He was a shoe manufacturer, and married Eliza, a daughter of Dr. Aaron Lummus.

Otis, the youngest son of Enoch, was born January 26, 1802, and died at his residence on Federal Street, Lynn, on the 17th of February, 1870, at the age of sixty-eight years, as before stated. He was married in Savannah, Ga., March 18, 1824, to Miss Virginia Taylor. They had nine children, only three of whom are now (1887) living—namely, Enoch Stafford, Maria Lillibridge and Elliott Clarke. The eldest son of Mr. Johnson was William Otis, who died August 17, 1873, aged forty-eight. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and in due time became established as a physician of more than ordinary reputation, having studied under the venerable Dr. Jacob Bigelow. His literary talents were also of a high order, his articles in the *North American Review* attracting marked attention.

BASSETT FAMILY.—William Bassett, the first of the name here, was a farmer and settled on Nahant Street on land still owned by his descendants. He married Sarah, daughter of Hugh Burt, who died in 1661. He was an ensign in the company of Captain Gardner, of Salem, in the Indian War, and was at the "swamp fight." For his services the General Court made him a grant of land. Captain William Bassett, supposed to be the same individual was one of a council of war, with Major Benjamin Church, at Scarborough, Me., November 11, 1689. His name often appears in the oldest town records of

Lynn, where, in 1691, he is called Quartermaster Bassett. He died March 31, 1703. His daughter Elizabeth was the wife of John Proctor, of Danvers, who was executed for witchcraft. She, too, was condemned, but pardoned. The wife of his son William was likewise imprisoned seven months for witchcraft. She had a child, when taken to prison, less than two years old; and the next child she had, after her release, she named Deliverance. The following gives the line of descent down to the children of the late William Bassett, our first city clerk, who was cashier of the First National Bank, and had been for many years at the time of his sudden decease, June 21, 1871:

(2) William Bassett, son of William, the first Bassett here, married Sarah Hood, October 25, 1675, and had children,—Sarah, born 1676, who married Joseph Griffin, for her first husband, and a Newbold for her second; William, born 1678, who married Rebecca Berry in 1703 (his father's lands were divided between him and his brother John); Mary, born 1680, who married a Hill; John, born 1682, who married Abigail Berry, of Boston; Hannah, born 1685, who married John Estes, of Salem; Ruth, born 1689, who married Abraham Allen, of Marblehead; Joseph, born 1692, lost at sea; Deliverance, born 1695, who, in 1719, married Samuel Breed; Abigail, who, in 1728, married Samuel Alley.

(3) William Bassett, son of (2) William, had children,—Rebecca, born 1709; Miriam, born 1712, who in 1732, married David Northey, of Salem; Joseph, born 1715, who inherited his father's lands and married Eunice Hacker; Elizabeth, who, in 1729, married Benjamin Hood.

(4) Joseph Bassett, son of (3) William, had children,—William, born 1738, who died young; Isaac, born 1741, who, in 1769, married Mary, daughter of Joshua Collins, was a farmer and shoemaker, and inherited one-half of the lands of his father, and died in 1829; Nehemiah, born in 1749, who married Abigail Fern; Rebecca, born 1754, who married James Breed; Sarah, born 1757, who married Abraham Breed; Eunice, born 1759; Hannah, born 1763, who married William Breed, of Nahant.

(5) Isaac Bassett, son of (4) Joseph, had children,—Elizabeth; William, who died young; Eunice; William again, who also died young; Isaac, who married Ruth Breed; Eunice again, who married Ezra Collins; Hannah, who married Samuel Neal.

(6) Isaac Bassett, son of (5) Isaac, resided on Nahant Street, on the site occupied by his forefathers, and was long held in repute as a citizen of energy, enterprise and wealth. He died May 24, 1867; had children,—William, born March 4, 1803, died June 21, 1871; Jeremiah, who died young; Elizabeth, who died young; Elizabeth again, who married Samuel Boyce; Mary; Jeremiah again, who also died young; Eunice, who married W. S. Boyce; Lydia, who married James B. Kite, of Philadelphia; Han-

nah; Joseph, who died young; Anna Green, who died April 17, 1863.

(7) William Bassett, son of (6) Isaac, died June 21, 1871, aged sixty-eight. He was the first city clerk of Lynn, and a man much respected; was prominent in the early anti-slavery movements, and a co-worker with those leading spirits, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, both of whom were present at his funeral. His children were Susanna Smith, who married Cyrus M. Stimson; Eliza; Mary Ann, who married Thomas Herbert; William Herschell, who died young; Joseph, who also died young; Sarah, who married William W. Kellogg; William, who died young; William, again, born September 30, 1839; Edmund Quincy, who died young.

(8) William Bassett, son of (7) William, now head of the banking firm, Bassett, Whitney & Co., of Boston, had children,—William; Ruth; Edith, who died young.

Note.—The ancient spelling of the name was with one "t;" but in later years the final letter was doubled; recently, however, a desire has been manifested to return to the old orthography.

TARBOX FAMILY.—John Tarbox, the first settler of the name here, came as early as 1640. He was a farmer, and among his landed possessions had seven acres of upland on Water Hill, where he appears to have lived, having an orchard near his house. And upon the premises, before the coming of the whites, there was probably an Indian settlement or encampment, as about there were found numerous arrow-heads and other relics. He was evidently a respected settler, active and thrifty. Though farming was his principal occupation, he turned his attention to other pursuits, and was a small proprietor in the iron works. He died May 26, 1674. His will is dated November 25, 1673, and to his son John says,—"I bequeath my house and housing, with orchard and all my land and meddow, with a greene rugg and a great iron kettell, and a round joynd table." He also says,—“I bequeath unto every one of my sonn, John Tarbox, his children, and my son Samuel's children, one ewe sheep apeece.” The wife of his son John was a daughter of Richard Haven, who lived on Boston Street, corner of North Federal, the site on which George O. Tarbox recently erected a dwelling-house and store. Mr. Haven was ancestor of the two Methodist Bishops, Gilbert and Erastus Otis, and George O. Tarbox, just named, was a lineal descendant from the early settler, John.

With a daughter of Mr. Tarbox the course of true love does not seem to have run with uninterrupted smoothness, for it is found that on the 11th of September, 1649, Matthew Stanley was tried for winning her affections without the consent of her parents, convicted and fined £5, with 2s. 6d. fees, together with an allowance of 6s. to the parents of the young lady for their three days' attendance.

The son, Samuel, married Rebecca, a daughter of Joseph Armitage, landlord of the famous Anchor

Tavern. He had eighteen children, and died September 12, 1715, aged ninety-three years. He was one of the fifteen Lynn men impressed by order of court, November 13, 1674, for service in the King Philip War. A detachment had previously been sent on the same service. In 1685 he joined in "the humble petition of several inhabitants of Lynn, who were sold, impressed and sent forth for the service of the country, that was with the Indians in the long march in the Nipmugg country, and the fight at the fort Narragansett," which petition was signed by twenty-five inhabitants of the town.

It can hardly be said that the Tarbox family became very conspicuous beyond our own borders, though of late years some shining lights of the name, and presumably of the lineage, have here and there appeared. Nor has the family with us been conspicuous for numbers, notwithstanding the good example set by Samuel, who, as just stated, was the happy father of eighteen children. Still, there always have been and yet are a fair number with us. The name of Mr. George O. Tarbox, before mentioned, has been favorably greeted throughout the land for his late effective manifesto touching the "boycott" ordered upon him by the Knights of Labor.

But this class of personal notices cannot be extended here. And the reader may, if he please, consider the foregoing merely as examples that might be greatly multiplied.

And now, with notices of a few eccentric, or rather, perhaps, we should say, abnormal, characters, of which class Lynn has always had an abundant assortment, this division of our sketch will close. Some of those referred to have made an enduring mark and done much to spread abroad the name of the place, but to what advantage or disadvantage there will be different estimates. There is, however, a sort of worldly benefit in being talked about, even if what is said is not quite so favorable. The term "eccentric" is not intended to be applied in an offensive sense, and it is feared that some reader may not see the strict applicability of its use in every instance. In the first notice, especially, it may be deemed hardly appropriate, as matrimonial misunderstandings are in these days so common as to seem "natural" rather than "eccentric." The notices are not given merely to amuse, but for use by way of example or warning, as the case may be.

MONTOWAMPATE, alias SAGAMORE JAMES.—It is fitting to begin with a sketch of the Indian Sagamore James, who ruled over a considerable part of the seaboard line of Essex County at the time of the arrival of the whites, though he was then quite a young man, having been born in 1609. His Indian name was Montowampate, but the settlers called him Sagamore James. He was a son of Nanapashemet, whose jurisdiction extended over a large part of the territory between the Charles and Piscataqua Rivers. On the death of Nanapashemet his "kingdom" was divided,

the portion including Lynn falling to Montowampate, his second son.

The young Sagamore fixed his residence on the delightful elevation still known as Sagamore Hill, lying between Beach and Nahant Streets, and overlooking the beach, Nahant and a considerable portion of the bay. It is now (1887) a thickly-settled part of the city, though still retaining some of its picturesque features. Its proximity to the sea was, perhaps, the chief reason why this place was chosen for the "royal residence," though the lovely natural surroundings may have added their attractions. Not much is known of Montowampate, nor indeed individually of any of the Indians found hereabout, though from the narratives of the old writers glimpses of character sometimes occur. Dudley says Montowampate was "of a far worse disposition" than his brother Wonohaquaham, or Sagamore John, as the English called him, who, he says, was "a handsome young man" . . . "affecting English apparel and houses and speaking well of our God."

The Lynn Sagamore seems to have had a high appreciation of his own dignity, and not a very lively sense of the courtesies due to the gentler sex. This is shown by a matrimonial imbroglio, which Thomas Morton thus recounts in his book entitled "The New English Canaan," published in 1632:

"The Sachem or Sagamore of Sagus, made choice, when he came to man's estate, of a lady of noble descent, daughter of Papasquineo, the Sachem or Sagamore of the territories near Merrimack river; a man of the best note in all those parts, and, as my countryman, Mr. Wood, declares, in his 'Prospect,' a great nigromancer. This lady the young sachem, with the consent and good liking of her father, married, and takes for his wife. Great entertainment hee and his received in those parts at her father's hands, where they were feasted in the best manner that might be expected, according to the custome of their nation, with revelling, and such other solemnities as is usual amongst them. The solemnity being ended, Papasquineo caused a selected number of his men to walke on his daughter home into those parts that did properly belong to her lord and husband, where the attendants had entertainment by the sachem of Sagus and his countrymen. The solemnity being ended, the attendants were gratified.

"Not long after, the new married lady had a great desire to see her father and her native country, from whence she came. Her lord was willing to pleasure her, and not deny her request, amongst them thought to be reasonable, commanded a select number of his own men to conduct his lady to her father, where with great respect they brought her; and having feasted there a while, returned to their own country againe, leaving the lady to continue there at her owne pleasure amongst her friends and old acquaintances, where she passed away the time for a while, and in the end desired to returne to her lord againe. Her father, the old Papasquineo, having notice of her intent, sent some of his men on ambassage to the young sachem, his sonne-in-law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing to absent herself from his company any longer; and therefore, as the messengers had in charge, desired the young lord to send a convoy for her; but he, standing upon termes of honor, and the maintaining of his reputation, returned to his father-in-law this answer: 'That when she departed from him, hee caused his men to walke upon her to her father's territories as it did become him; but now she had an intent to returne, it did become her father to send her back with a convoy of his own people; and that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men so servile as to fetch her againe.'

"The old sachem Papasquineo, having this message returned, was enraged to think that his young son-in-law did not esteem him at a higher rate than to capitulate with him about the matter, and returned him this sharp reply: 'That his daughter's blood and birth deserved

more respect than to be alighted, and therefore, if he would have her company, he were best to send or come for her.'

"The young sachem, not willing to undervalue himself, and being a man of a stout spirit, did not stick to say, 'That he should either send her by his own convey or keep her; for he was determined not to stoop so lowe.'

"So much these two sachems stood upon tearmes of reputation with each other, the one would not send for her, lest it should be any diminishing of honor on his part that should seeme to comply, that the lady, when I came out of the country, remained still with her father; which is a thing worth the noting, that salvage people should seek to maintain their reputation so much as they doe."

She was, however, finally restored to his arms, but how the reconciliation was effected does not appear. She soon after became a widow, as the death of Montowampate took place in 1633. Her marital life certainly had its troubles, for besides what has been spoken of, she was taken captive by the Tarratines and held a prisoner for two months. After the death of her husband she returned to her father.

The resolute Montowampate is said to have visited England in 1631, with a letter of introduction from Governor Winthrop to Emanuel Downing, the eminent London lawyer, and while there to have received the honors of an Indian king. His errand was to procure redress for a fraud committed by an Englishman named Watts in a beaver-skin transaction.

On the 4th of September, 1632, the court ordered that "Richard Hopkins shalbe severely whipt & branded with a hott iron on one of his cheekes for selling peeces & powder & shott to the Indians. Hereupon it was propounded if this offence should not be punished hereafter by death." One of the purchasers of the proscribed articles, it appears by Mr. Lewis, was the mettlesome Montowampate.

But this youthful Sagamore of Lynn soon ended his career. Winthrop, in his journal under date December 5, 1633, says,—“John Sagamore [elder brother of Montowampate] died of the small pox, and almost all of his people.” . . . “James Sagamore [Montowampate], of Sagus, died also and most of his folks.”

MARY PITCHER.—The stranger on arriving in Lynn, and leaving the railroad train at the Central Square Station, may observe towering up, a furlong or so off, in a northeasterly direction, a huge porphyry cliff, which he may be told is “High Rock.” It is not now, however, so readily discerned from the Square as it was a few years since, for large business buildings, recently erected, intervene. Seventy-five years ago there was but little population in the vicinity, and the whole of “Rocks Pasture,” near the southern border of which rises High Rock, was lonely and wild enough, with its rocky outcroppings and stunted growth of red cedar. The highway, indeed, wound along the southerly bound, but it was rough and little traveled. In pleasant weather, however, charming views could be obtained of diversified landscape and the ever-changing sea.

Upon the southern declivity, and fronting towards the sea, was a plain little cottage, seated a short dis-

tance in from the road, with a small, unkempt garden in front, and broken rocks, thistles and nettles in the rear. And that lonely cottage was the home of “Moll Pitcher,” the celebrated fortune-teller of Lynn, for many years. It was here that she entertained the numerous visitors of all classes and from all places, who anxiously sought her aid to unveil the mysteries of the life before them, never doubting that—

“She could tell by tea-ground mark,
Fortune bright or fortune dark;
And could give, O wondrous dame,
Loving swain's or maiden's name,
Showing by her mystic art
Whether true or false of heart;
And, by turning cards, could show
Life's whole span, its weal or wo.”

This remarkable woman was born in 1738, of reputable parents, in Marblehead. Her father was a master mariner, and connected with some of the best families in Essex County. And her own reputation seems to have remained unsullied, unless her occult pretensions are to be taken as a stain. Her maiden-name was Mary Diamond, and Mr. Lewis says of her,—

“She was of the medium height and size for a woman, with a good form and agreeable manners. Her head, phrenologically considered, was somewhat capacious, her forehead broad and full, her hair dark brown, her nose inclining to long, and her face pale and thin. There was nothing gross or sensual in her appearance; her countenance was rather intellectual; and she had that contour of face and expression which, without being positively beautiful, is, nevertheless, decidedly interesting; a thoughtful, pensive and sometimes downcast look, almost approaching to melancholy; an eye, when it looked at you, of calm and keen penetration; and an expression of intelligent discernment, half mingled with a glance of shrewdness. She took a poor man for a husband, and then adopted, what she doubtless thought, the harmless employment of fortune-telling, in order to support her children. In this she was probably more successful than she herself had anticipated; and she became celebrated, not only throughout America, but throughout the world, for her skill. There was no port on either continent, where floated the flag of an American ship, that had not heard the fame of Moll Pitcher. . . . Many persons came from places far remote to consult her on affairs of love or loss of property, or to obtain her surmises respecting the vicissitudes of their future fortune. Every youth who was not assured of the reciprocal affection of his fair one, and every maid who was desirous of anticipating the hour of her highest felicity, repaired at evening to her humble dwelling. . . . That she made no pretension to anything supernatural is evident from her own admission, when some one offered her a large sum if she would tell him what ticket in the lottery would draw the highest prize. ‘Do you think,’ said she, ‘if I knew, I would not buy it myself?’ Several of the best authenticated anecdotes which are related of her seem to imply that she possessed, in some degree, the faculty which is now termed clairvoyance. Indeed, there seems to be no other conclusion, unless we suppose that persons of general veracity have told us absolute falsehoods. The possession of this faculty, with her keen perception and shrewd judgment, in connection with the ordinary art which she admitted to have used, to detect the character and business of her visitors, will perhaps account for all that is extraordinary in her intelligence. In so many thousand instances also, of the exercise of her faculty, there is certainly no need of calling in supernatural aid to account for her sometimes judging right; and these favorable instances were certain to be related to her advantage, and insured her abundance of credibility.”

It is stated that the celebrated “Lord Timothy Dexter,” of Newburyport, was accustomed to visit her, and place implicit confidence in her utterances. But whether his strange commercial speculations, which appear to have been uniformly successful, were

attributable to her promptings, cannot be known. She was married on the 2d of October, 1760, to Robert Pitcher, a shoemaker, and became the mother of one son and three daughters. And there, in the lonely home, already described, she died on the 9th of April, 1813, aged seventy-five years. Her remains were interred in the old burying-ground, near the western end of the common. The memory of such a person is not likely to be much honored by those of her own generation, and her resting-place has remained unheeded and almost unknown till the present time (1887)—nearly three-quarters of a century—when two worthy citizens—Isaac O. Guild and John T. Moulton—have erected a neat head-stone to mark the spot, which was some years since pointed out by an aged man who was present at the burial. And to that spot, in future years, many a sentimental maiden and swain will doubtless repair—a class who always had her warmest sympathies.

Mrs. Pitcher was connected with the Silsbee family of Lynn in this way: Lydia, a great-granddaughter of Henry Silsbee, the first of the name in Lynn, in 1735, married Aholiab Diamond, a son of Captain John Diamond, of Marblehead, and had two sons, Samuel and Richard, and one daughter, Mary. This daughter Mary was married, October 2, 1760, to Robert Pitcher, of Lynn, as before stated, thus becoming "Moll Pitcher." Descendants of hers still remain among us. Henry Silsbee, the old settler just named, probably located on Fayette Street not far from the corner of Essex, in which vicinity he owned considerable land. He was designated as a "shoemaker," though probably quite as much of a farmer. The family has always been respectable, but not numerous, and several eminent individuals have appeared in the line, Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, United States Senator, among them. Silsbee Street perpetuates the name.

GEORGE GRAY.—Near the close of the last century there suddenly appeared in Lynn a man seemingly of an age somewhere between thirty and forty years. He was physically well-conditioned, but in disposition unaccountably reserved. It was soon known that he had come to make this his permanent home, for he made himself possessor of a limited tract of wild land in a lonely and dismal neighborhood, and there erected a rude habitation which, for forty years, continued to be his hermitage, for there he lived "solitary and alone" during that long period.

This man was George Gray, the Lynn hermit. And the hermitage was on Boston Street, nearly opposite the entrance to Pine Grove Cemetery. He was by birth a Scotchman, and died on the 28th of February, 1848, at the age of seventy-eight years. Till population began to increase around him, which it did, much to his annoyance, his home was secluded enough for the most determined misanthrope. A high, woody hill rose in the rear; a tangled swamp on either hand, with a weedy brook winding through; while in front, beyond a little area of brambles and rank vego-

tation, wound the street just named. He persistently, and often with a good deal of asperity, refused to communicate to the many curious inquirers any knowledge of his personal history or the causes which induced the adoption of his comfortless and unnatural mode of life. And that very secrecy gave rise to numberless romantic surmises. Some believed that an unfortunate affair of the heart estranged him from social intercourse; others hinted that some great crime rendered his flight and concealment necessary. But he had the shrewdness to avoid entangling himself by contradicting or admitting the truth of any report.

One of the latest circumstantial surmises related to his connection with the fate of the French Dauphin, Charles Louis, son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. It gained currency by an article in *Putnam's Magazine*, a monthly periodical of high standing; the theory being that the Dauphin was taken from the custody of Simon, the inhuman rufian in whose keeping he had been placed, brought to the wilds of America and given in charge of a woman of the St. Regis tribe, who reared him with affection, though never claiming that he was her own child, and probably never dreaming that he was not some poor, friendless waif. It was further suggested that Rev. Eleazer Williams, a missionary of the Episcopal Church, laboring with the St. Regis Indians, was the identical Dauphin. Then gained currency the belief that Mr. Gray was one of those who brought the Dauphin to America, it being declared that he was certainly in France, a red republican, at that period. It is not certain, exactly, what threads were supposed to be found connecting Gray with the transaction, unless it was that Mr. Williams—who no doubt really believed himself to be the Dauphin—came to Lynn, and, finding that Gray was dead, became very anxious to procure a specimen of his hand-writing, for which purpose he called on the writer. But these surmises and rumors need not longer occupy our attention.

At times the hermit was by no means averse to discussing affairs with his neighbors, though very seldom could one receive a welcome to his premises, and never would an invitation to enter his dwelling be extended. His calls were generally made at night. The writer was occasionally favored with one, and usually found him so forgetful of the passing time that it was necessary to remind him of the lateness of the hour by a hint like that of extinguishing the lights, nothing short of some such rudeness being effectual. He was a reflecting man, and of considerable literary and scientific attainment; but the current story of his carrying a Hebrew Bible about in his pocket was, no doubt, a fiction. He took great pleasure in attending lectures, and in studying works on the abstruse sciences. But his fondness for the mechanic arts was, perhaps, his most marked trait; and he became very skillful in some branches connected with machinery.

Strangers would sometimes vex him with untimely visits, and by unpalatable remarks induce sudden exhibitions of temper; but if one assumed to be an adept in any branch of mechanics, he was pretty sure of a courteous hearing. He claimed several useful inventions, and spent considerable money in establishing his claims against those who infringed his patents.

In religion he was probably a materialist most of life. Perhaps a dozen years before his death he remarked that it was "ridiculous for any one to contend that intelligence was not the result of physical organization." But it was understood that he subsequently abandoned his old views, and died in the Calvinistic faith. He was eccentric in his habits, and had little regard for personal appearance, oftentimes—especially during the last few years of his life—appearing in a grim and filthy condition. He was remarkable, even in old age, for power of physical endurance. Many a time has he walked to Boston, on a winter evening, attended a lecture, and walked home after it had closed, making a distance, in all, of full twenty miles, most likely with no thicker covering to his head than a dilapidated straw hat, and upon his feet coarse shoes and no stockings. He suffered much from disease during his last few years. And there, in his forlorn habitation, without the sympathy of friends or the common endearments of home, in solitude and distress, his last days were passed.

Mr. Gray, at the time of his decease, possessed property to the amount of about four thousand dollars. He died intestate, and his debts were not large; a considerable portion, therefore, went into the treasury of the commonwealth. His savings do not appear, however, to have accumulated from a miserly disposition, but rather from habits of industry and a naturally frugal turn, for the administrator remarked that from the appearance of things he could hardly have taken sufficient interest in his pecuniary affairs to have known what he did possess. In some instances the evidences of his money deposits were found thrown among waste paper.

The death of the hermit was noticed in the newspapers throughout the country, and several persons appeared, claiming to be heirs; but they failed to substantiate their claims.

HIRAM MARBLE.—This somewhat singular individual appeared in Lynn in 1852, being then of the age of forty-seven. He brought with him his wife, a son of the age of twenty, and a young daughter. He immediately petitioned the city to sell him the famous Dungeon Rock, a greenstone cliff a mile or two back in the woods, and very difficult of access, on account of steep and tangled ascents, swamps and quagmires. He succeeded in purchasing, at a low price, the rock and about five acres of the surrounding woodland. In that lonely place he erected a rude habitation, and soon set to work building a road down towards the town. This was a severe piece of labor,

for gnarled old trees, huge boulders and ledge-croppings were to be removed. But he persevered heroically till a passable way was obtained. How a man, evidently not very strong or in vigorous health, could undertake such a piece of work was astonishing. But the crowbar, pick and shovel were courageously wielded, and resounding blasts awoke the echoes during the hot days of summer, he feigning to regard it as light labor, saying that he had been seized by a weakening complaint, and found himself unable to pursue the hard work he had commenced on the rock, and so had changed to the light work of road-building.

The hard work commenced on the rock was to excavate, in search of treasure, gold and jewels, imagined to have been deposited somewhere down in its unknown depths. He had come, as he alleged, by spiritual direction, and had full faith in the assurance of the spirits, that they would watch his progress, give directions and lead him to final success. By no means deficient in intelligence, he yet was a credulous enthusiast. In person he was of medium height, had a bright, quick eye, and wore a flowing beard of sandy hue, which did not always bear evidence of having recently had the discipline of a comb. He was communicative, and in his conversation ran a pleasant vein of jocularly; was usually ready to converse on his plans, fears and hopes; and with great good nature, sometimes with an apparently keen relish, alluded to the jeers and taunts of those who were disposed to rank him as a lunatic. The writer had occasional conversations with him, and was sometimes struck by the freedom with which he discussed the pros and cons of spiritualism; nevertheless, his faith and perseverance were refreshing. He asserted that he had been a confirmed infidel, a believer in nothing beyond the visible and temporal, till he received communications that could have come from none but intelligent, invisible beings, unrestrained by any physical obstacle.

For about fifteen years Mr. Marble continued his herculean labors at Dungeon Rock, in bodily weakness much of the time, but buoyed up by the strong hope and, as he believed, supernatural assurance that his labor would not be in vain. But it was in vain, and he died there, worn out and diseased, on the 10th of November, 1868, aged sixty-five years. He remained a spiritualist to the last, and the mediums of the vicinity were invited to be present at the funeral services, which were held at the Rock on the forenoon of Wednesday, November 11th. He was a native of Charlton, in Worcester County, and thither his remains were taken for burial.

Edwin Marble, who at the time of his father's death had attained the age of thirty-six years, and had continued to participate in the arduous toil of excavation, now succeeded to the direction of the work, subject, of course, as he declared, to the engineering of the spirits. His health, however, had

already become undermined, and he was soon obliged to suspend active operations. He died on the 16th of January, 1880, aged forty-eight, and was buried near the foot of the rock, on the southwestern slope, it having been his expressed desire to be interred near the scene of his hopeful, though fruitless, labors. A considerable number of friends, perhaps fifty, most of them of the spiritualistic faith, were present at the burial service, which was simple and affecting; and held there, in the deep forest, amid the winter scenery, was peculiarly touching. The hymn "In the Sweet By and By" was sung at the close. He was a man of good character and good disposition, and a firm believer in spiritual manifestations.

Thus died these two worthy men—father and son—their deaths no doubt hastened, if not occasioned, by their operations in the dark, damp cavern their own hands had formed in the bowels of the mysterious Dungeon Rock, that unwholesome work-place, through the rugged seams of which the water dripped, and where the stifled air reverberated with sounds that might well be taken for supernatural indications. Their labors were in vain. No treasure was reached; but it need not be concluded that they suffered pangs of disappointment, for, cheered on day by day, as they believed, by guiding and unerring spirits, they were hopeful to the last.

After this brief notice of the Messrs. Marble, it would seem almost necessary to add something regarding the supposed deposit of treasure which had induced them, as well as others before them, to waste labor, strength and means at Dungeon Rock. The floating and incoherent traditions on the subject were gathered up by Mr. Lewis and published in the first edition of his history. And, perhaps, it would be most satisfactory to give his account in its original shape:

"This year (1658) there was a great earthquake in New England, connected with which is the following story: Some time previous, on a pleasant evening, a little after sunset, a small vessel was seen to anchor near the mouth of Saugus River. A boat was presently lowered from her side, into which four men descended, and moved up the river a considerable distance, when they landed, and proceeded directly into the woods. They had been noticed by only a few individuals; but in those early times, when the people were surrounded by dangers, and susceptible of alarm, such an incident was well calculated to awaken suspicion, and in the course of the evening the intelligence was conveyed to many houses. In the morning, the people naturally directed their eyes towards the shore, in search of the strange vessel; but she was gone, and no trace could be found either of her or her singular crew. It was afterward ascertained that, on that morning, one of the men at the Iron Works, on going into the foundry, discovered a paper, on which was written, that if a quantity of shackles, handcuffs, hatchets and other articles of

iron manufacture were made and deposited, with secrecy, in a certain place in the woods, which was particularly designated, an amount of silver, to their full value, would be found in their place. The articles were made in a few days, and placed in conformity with the directions. On the next morning they were gone, and the money was found according to the promise; but though a watch had been kept, no vessel was seen. Some months afterwards the four men returned, and selected one of the most secluded and romantic spots in the woods of Saugus for their abode. The place of their retreat was a deep, narrow valley, shut in on two sides by high hills and craggy, precipitous rocks, and shrouded on the others by thick pines, hemlocks and cedars, between which there was only one small spot to which the rays of the sun, at noon, could penetrate. On climbing up the rude and almost perpendicular steps of the rock on the eastern side, the eye could command a full view of the bay on the south, and a prospect of a considerable portion of the surrounding country. The place of their retreat has ever since been called the Pirates' Glen, and they could not have selected a spot on the coast, for many miles, more favorable for the purposes both of concealment and observation. Even at this day, when the neighborhood has become thickly peopled, it is still a lonely and desolate place, and probably not one in a hundred of the inhabitants has ever descended into its silent and gloomy recess. There the pirates built a small hut, made a garden, and dug a well, the appearance of which is still visible. It has been supposed that they buried money; but though people have dug there, and in several other places, none has ever been found. After residing there some time, their retreat became known, and one of the king's cruisers appeared on the coast. They were traced to the glen, and three of them were taken and carried to England, where it is probable they were executed. The other, whose name was Thomas Veal, escaped to a rock in the woods, about two miles to the north, in which was a spacious cavern, where the pirates had previously deposited some of their plunder. There the fugitive fixed his residence, and practiced the trade of a shoemaker, occasionally coming down to the village to obtain articles of sustenance. He continued his residence till the great earthquake this year, when the top of the rock was loosened, and crushed down into the mouth of the cavern, inclosing the unfortunate inmate in its unyielding prison. It has ever since been called the Pirate's Dungeon."

Now, it was this Thomas Veal, who is alleged to have escaped from the Glen and concealed himself in the Dungeon Rock, or Pirate's Dungeon, as Mr. Lewis chooses to call it, who, together with a piratical companion, spiritually appeared to the Marbles, time after time, usually in jolly mood, and assured them of the rich spoils of gold and jewels still in their keeping, and seemed very willing to surrender them

whenever they could be reached by drills and gunpowder. And Veal, moreover, added some touching revelations concerning a Spanish princess and another bright maiden who had been held captive there, and were, with their grim warder, shut in forever by the awful earthquake. Is it, then, to be wondered at that the Marbles, firmly believing all this, and much more, should have pursued their exhausting labors with high hopes? It is not necessary to go into a disquisition as to the authenticity of the traditions here recounted, or an examination of the supposed spiritual revelations. The intelligent reader will perceive the utter absurdity of some and the improbability of others. But yet it can hardly be said that there is no foundation in truth; and none of us would willingly have one of our long-cherished legends entirely fade away.

There is scarcely a place on the whole New England coast that has not traditions about buried treasures of gold and silver, and where unsuccessful attempts have not from time to time been made for their recovery.

It is undoubtedly true that the old buccaneers, who were desperadoes from every nation and kindred, did for years, about the close of the seventeenth century, pursue their nefarious trade of indiscriminate piracy. And, much to their discredit, the colonists were sometimes charged with connivance at the traffic. Those sanguinary sea-rovers were accustomed to rendezvous in the West Indies, and thence fall upon the richly-laden Spanish galleons as they pursued their way homeward with the wealth of the mines of Mexico and Peru. But their depredations were not confined to these; every other craft of value that they met fell a prey, excepting in the few cases of successful resistance. Then there were the noted pirates, Kidd and Bellamy, who were known to be more or less on the coast. And if all the accounts of the treasures they buried are true, they must have secreted enough to load half the British navy.

Whether there was any connection between the earlier sea-robbers and those who made famous the Glen and Pirate's Dungeon at Lynn, may not now be known, but damaging fancies will arise in suspicious minds.

The following lines from a weird old chant, reciting the ceremony at the burial of money by pirates, are very striking:

I saw them bury their golden store at the root of the pirate tree;
Bold Blackbeard cried, "Who 'll guard this wealth?" and O, 'twas
merry to see
How even the wretch who fears not hell, turns pale at the thought of
death!
But one bold knave stood boldly out, and offered himself for scath—
"I'll watch it," quoth he, "for these forty years I've wandered o'er land
and sea,
And I'm tired of doing the devil's work—so bury me under the tree;
And better I'll rest as I guard this wealth, than you, in the realms
below,
Where the soul cannot burst amid endless groans—where the pirate's
soul must go."

So they shot him dead with a charmed ball, and they laid a broad flat
stone
Deep in the earth above the gold, and they stood the corpse thereon.
Now we betide the daring fool who seeketh that gold to win.
Let mortals beware of the noble wretch who standeth that grave within.

There is enough of this old piratical literature to form the basis of a countless number of dime novels, and Lynn would naturally be expected to have her share.

LYNN WRITERS.—It was a favorite idea of the author of this sketch to prepare extended notices of different Lynn writers, living and dead, who have from time to time, by their works, contributed to the edification or entertainment of their fellow-mortals, giving specimens of the productions. Among the multitude of writers who have lived and still live here, a score at least are deserving of most honorable mention; some having reveled in the delightful fields of poetry, some in the more sombre walks of history, some in the elevating regions of science and some in the dreamy walks of romance. Such a task would be a delicate one, and in several respects difficult; for, to say nothing of incompetency on the part of the writer, it would be hard to determine what names should be selected from the long catalogue. It might appear invidious to choose only those who were natives; and then, as to those who were not natives, puzzling doubts might arise as to where the line should be drawn. Lynn has been the temporary abiding-place of quite a number of the greater lights of literature and science,—of Longfellow, the poet; of Prescott, the historian; of Agassiz, the scientist, for example. But would it not be rather assuming to claim them as Lynn authors? Their reputation, however, being world-wide, may, perhaps, be said to belong as much to Lynn as any other place. Then there are others who, though natives, turned their backs upon their good mother in early life and afterwards became eminent as writers, but never manifested any love for their deserted parent. Are they deserving of specially honorable mention? Brief notices of a number of our writers, however, are given elsewhere, and need not be repeated here. Poets and philosophers may not be the most useful citizens in the worldling's estimation, but the lights they shed illumine many a dark passage and cheer many a dismal hour in the tramp of life. Our reverence for departed worth, it is hoped, will not be measured by the length of notice; for sometimes the better one is known, the less need there is for extended details. And in no case is it our desire to pose as critic.

WILLIAM WOOD, one of the earliest who settled within our borders, should be first named, for as early as 1634, in his "New England's Prospect," he outlined her physical features and drew terse word-pictures of some of her pleasant and impressive localities. But as he is several times brought into view in other parts of this sketch, nothing further is demanded here.

Most of the old parish ministers, from Rev. Mr. Whiting, who commenced his labors here in 1636, down to Rev. Parsons Cooke, the last, whose ministry here ended by his death, were learned men and skilled in the use of the pen. Their published writings were chiefly on theological topics, and often tinged by the acrimony of the times. Their discourses on special occasions were sometimes published, and the few copies preserved in the antiquarian collections are even now sought for with avidity, as developing the peculiar religious views and tendencies of the times, as much as for the genius and learning they display. Since Mr. Cooke's day the controversial hatchet has not been fiercely wielded by any of the settled pastors. Indeed, the differing sentiments of most Christian bodies seem to have become more and more assimilated. But it is hoped that the apparent drawing together is to be attributed to the awakening of true Christian love, rather than to indifference as to any religion. But in the company of the clerical worthies we may not long linger. Their fame is not local.

REV. ENOCH MUDGE, 1776-1850.—This good man was a minister of the Methodist connection for a great number of years, having been licensed at the early age of seventeen. His poetical effusions were many, and appeared in various periodical publications. His longest production was "Lynn, a Poem." It was written in 1820, comprised some six hundred and fifty lines and was published in pamphlet form in 1826. In the opening lines the muse takes a view from High Rock, his eye ranging over the wonderful panorama of the sublime and beautiful in nature, occasionally pausing in view of some interesting fabric, and all the way scattering didactic reflections and useful hints. It was about this time that the famous sea serpent was first seen in these waters. And in view of the fact that he has this year, 1887, again made this coast his sporting-place, and seemingly retains his early love for our bay, the following quotation will not be deemed inappropriate:

"Hard by the shore is seen, day after day,
Surprising sight! the Serpens Marinus;
A sight no wondrous strange upon our coasts,
That multitudes collect to feast their eyes;
He with serpentine movements swiftly glides,
Though huge in bulk, and leaves his lengthened wake
Far in the smooth green sea, then darts his head
Aloft in air, and seems with careless ease
To gaze around; anon impetuous starts,
Plunging his head, and ploughs the liquid way;
Sudden he stops and rests when on the waves,
As if to give the observer leave to count
The large protuberances upon his back,
And mark with leisure eye his wondrous frame.
Each eye beholds the varying scene diverse;
Some see, or think they see, the serpent's eyes,
His mane and slender neck, and whiten'd breast;
Some see his back all clad in rusty scales,
His flippers, or his smooth and velvet skin;
His girth and length as various they describe,
From fifty to thrice fifty feet in length,
From fifteen inches through to triple that.
He is a monstrous something, all agree,
But know not what—Sea-Serpent is the name

By which this nondescript is known by us.
The literati term him Halseydous,
By Ramus and Pontoppidan described,
And seen by many in the Greenland seas."

These lines are not given for the brilliancy of their poetic conception or felicity of expression, but they are fairly descriptive. Some of his shorter poems, however, were pronounced by intelligent critics worthy of a place among the selected specimens of our acknowledged poets.

Mr. Mudge was father of Hon. Enoch Redington Mudge, the generous donor of the beautiful St. Stephen's Memorial Church, erected in Lynn in 1881.

ISAAC NEWHALL, 1782-1858.—Mr. Newhall was known in the literary world only by his letters on Junius, a series addressed to Hon. John Pickering, in which he endeavored to show that Earl Temple was the author of those celebrated papers. The letters were published in a duodecimo volume in 1831, and showed the author to be well versed in British politics, with good knowledge of her history and literature. The chief business of his life was that of a retail trader, at one time in Macon, Ga., and afterwards in Salem, Mass. But he spent the evening of his days in quiet and comfort at the old homestead on the eastern side of Mall Street, Lynn—the same house in which he was born on the 24th of August, 1782, and in which he died on the 6th of July, 1858.

ENOCH CURTIN, 1794-1842.—Mr. Curtin, for some years, was a poetic and prose writer of much local repute and of real ability. But his education was limited, and his ambition to shine as a literary light so small that his name has never become known to the extent it deserved to be, and might have been. His poetic efforts were chiefly confined to the production of odes and verses for special occasions, public celebrations and so forth. And his prose articles were largely on local and every-day topics—political, sanitary, gossiping. No collection of his writings ever appeared in book-form. His residence was in the easterly part of the town—Woodend, so called.

ALONZO LEWIS, 1794-1861.—It must be conceded that Mr. Lewis stands at the head of the writers Lynn has thus far produced. He published volumes of poetry and local history, besides contributing, during many years, articles on almost every current topic, for the newspapers and other periodicals. A more extended notice of him appears elsewhere in these pages.

MARIA AUGUSTA FULLER, 1806-81.—Miss Fuller was chiefly known by her poems, though her prose writings were by no means without merit. No collection of her effusions were ever presented to the public in book-form, or, we feel quite sure, her fame would have become far from local. Her father, Joseph Fuller, was the first president of the first bank in Lynn, and was our first State Senator. The house in

which he resided is still standing, at the junction of Union and Broad Streets. Miss Fuller died at the early age of twenty-four years.

SOLOMON MOULTON, 1808-27. — Of this young man—for he died at the early age of nineteen years—a word should be said, for while we realize the utter futility of any attempt to rear upon the uncertain foundation of what “might have been” any ideal fame, it is yet natural to augur whither steps already taken may fairly lead. Young Moulton certainly made some poetic contributions to the newspapers that gave great promise for the future, besides containing in themselves passages of striking thought, touching pathos and felicitous expression. It will be remembered that it was from the columns of newspapers that our cherished poets—as Bryant, Willis, Longfellow and Whittier—first beamed. Mr. Lewis knew Moulton well, and often spoke highly of his poetic ability. He was born in the house on Boston Street, southeast corner of Moulton, but was adopted by an uncle and lived most of his days in Market Street. No collection of his writings was ever published; indeed, he never wrote enough to make a book of much size.

The writers of whom we have thus far spoken—Wood, Mudge, Newhall, Curtin, Lewis, Fuller, Moulton—have long since departed; yet, though their tongues are mute and their pens have dropped, with them we may still commune through their works.

“They are silent; silent forever! Cold, cold are their breasts of clay! Oh! from the rock on the hill, from the top of the windy steep, speak, ye ghosts of the dead!”

Among her living writers Lynn can boast of several who are worthy of far more extended notice than can be allowed in this connection. Brief recognition, however, is better than entire silence. Fugitive pieces without number have appeared in the publications of the day, many of them worthy of being preserved in durable form. And it is hoped that at some future time a discriminating gatherer may arise to rescue them from oblivion. He may not receive the deserved pecuniary reward, but his labor of love would be highly appreciated. In the present enumeration it seems highly proper that mention be first made of such as have, in one way and another, contributed to the elucidation of our history. Of these should be named:

RICHARD I. ATTWILL, who has contributed for the newspapers transcripts of interesting documents which he has here and there discovered, accompanied by apt explanations and annotations from his own pen.

GEORGE E. EMERY has furnished articles which, by his well-trained descriptive powers and lively sense of fitness, have done their share to quicken the taste for historic reading.

CLARENCE W. HOBBS, by his “Lynn and Surroundings,” published at the close of 1886, has added a work of much interest. Its mechanical execution is attractive, and the matter worthy of its neat in-

vestment. It is well illustrated, and the name indicates its general character.

DAVID N. JOHNSON has done work worthy of praise in his “Sketches of Lynn, or the Changes of Fifty Years,” published in 1880. He has also written articles for the publications of the day, and hymns and odes for special occasions.

JOHN T. MOULTON has done a great deal of pen work, for which he will receive the thanks of future generations. Among other things, he has had all the inscriptions in the old burying-ground copied and printed in durable form, with an introduction. He is one of the most intelligent and accurate genealogists among us. The Moulton family has not been destitute of poetic representatives; and he, true to the family tendency, has produced some metrical pieces of animating sentiment and easy flow.

HOWARD MUDGE NEWHALL is yet a young man, but has already written numerous articles of real value on the business of Lynn, its history and present condition. His illustrated article in *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1885, entitled “A Pair of Shoes,” attracted marked attention. He has an eminently practical turn of mind, skill in the arrangement of topics, and clearness of expression.

It may not be overstepping the bounds of modesty for the writer of the sketch now in hand to mention that he has prepared for publication many pages pertaining to the history of Lynn, its sombre and authentic side, as well as its romantic and legendary.

EDWIN THOMPSON has, from time to time, contributed to the newspapers articles on local historical matters that have always been received with favor.

CYRUS M. TRACY has for many years been an acceptable writer as a journalist, essayist and historiographer. Nor has he neglected science and the muse. His historical sketches of several places in Essex County were published in the ponderous volume of C. F. Jewett & Co., in 1878. His “Studies of the Essex Flora” were published in 1858, in pamphlet form. He delivered the poem at the dedication of the City Hall, November 30, 1867, and the oration at the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town.

GARDINER TUFTS, in 1883, contributed a series of articles to the *Lynn Transcript* entitled “The Old Choirs of Lynn,” which, in fact, embodied the musical history of the place for a long and interesting period. They were worthy of the high commendation they received. In the course of the series appeared biographical notices, anecdotes and terse descriptive passages.

For a long series of years, too, our tuneful fellow-citizens, J. WARREN NEWHALL and JOSEPH W. NYE, have, as occasion prompted, celebrated in verse marked passages in our history, past and present. It is hard to say what Lynn, for almost a generation, would have done without their felicitous contributions for celebrations, dedications and similar occasions.

As we proceed, still other names press upon the recollection. And some of those who do not come within the categories named certainly deserve honorable mention; among them JAMES BERRY BENSEL, who very recently forever laid aside his pen. He was regarded by competent critics as a poetical writer of more than ordinary promise. And there seems reason to believe that had he lived he would have taken high rank as a poet.

EDWARD P. USHER has acquired note as a legal writer, and as a versifier his skill has long been recognized. He delivered the poem at the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument September 17, 1873.

FRANK R. WHITTEN, who is still a young man, has shown marked ability in the line of literary criticism, as well as in other departments. Favorable mention, too, should be made of EUGENE BARRY, JOSIAH F. KIMBALL and THOMAS F. PORTER.

There are likewise other worthy pen-charmers, whose names would be introduced here were they not presented in other connections in these pages; and some, too, there undoubtedly are whose names have eluded busy memory's pursuit.

It must be admitted that few places can boast of a larger relative number of writers than good old Lynn. And it seems as if, among us all, something considerable might be accomplished. The old pen-wielders are passing off, but much is reasonably to be expected from some of those now taking their places. The writer, indeed, dares predict that certain of our younger brethren and sisters of the pen will yet attain most enviable renown. But he does not dare record the names of those on whom the prediction rests, as his opinion may not be verified; and were it or were it not verified, his temerity would probably be met by the retributive scorn of those not named as within the horoscopic view.

Macpherson, in his preface to the poems of Ossian, says: "The making of poetry, like any other handicraft, may be learned by industry." But the writer can hardly subscribe, unconditionally, to that, having in view quite a number who have striven for many a day, with unflinching industry, to gain a seat on Parnassus, and have never been able to reach that alluring height—at least in the opinion of their envious critics. However, they undoubtedly received pleasure in picnicking by the way, and were constantly stimulated by hope and expectation. The pleasures of literature, derived from its own dear self, one would think might be sufficient for all the care bestowed on its cultivation. Says Voltaire, "Literature nourishes the soul, rectifies it, consoles it." Such, indeed, is its legitimate effect; but in stalk the hankerings after fame and the jealousies which writers, the more eminent as well as the more conceited, too often allow to diffuse their subtle poison. Dean Swift, in his pungent way, puts it thus:

"What poet would not grieve to see
His brother write as well as he?"

But, rather than they should excel,
Would wish his rivals all in —?"

It cannot be denied that much of the versification of the present day, notwithstanding its "mellifluous flow," falls far below the standard of the French writer just quoted, who, in his axiomatic way, remarks: "Verses that do not teach men new and affecting truths little deserve to be read." One may easily perceive that in much of the poetry of our days many hollow and many turbid places are bridged over and concealed by mellifluous versification. But, in the authoritative words of Percival:

"'Tis not the chime and flow of words that move
In measured file and metrical array;
'Tis not the union of returning sounds,
Nor all the pleasing artifice of rhyme,
And quantity, and accent that can give
This all-pervading spirit to the ear,
Or blend it with the movings of the soul.
'Tis not the noisy babbling who displays,
In studied phrase and ornate epithet
And rounded period, poor and rapid thoughts,
Which peep from out the cumbrous ornaments
That overload their littleness."

An attempt to play the critic is very far from the design of the writer, as, of course, a critic should always be better informed than he on whom he sheds his perfume. Is there any limit short of the extent of the human mind, to the knowledge and ability of even the magazine or newspaper reviewer of this enlightened day? Where, then, is the poor writer in one special department? There is an anecdote told of Rev. Mr. Parker, the first minister of Newbury, to this effect: President Chauncey and some scholastic brethren undertook to deal with him for something he had written, which they considered too liberal toward the Episcopacy. They addressed him in English, and he replied in Latin; into that language they followed him; he then charged in Greek and in Greek they rejoined; to Hebrew he then resorted, and there again they met him. Finally, he made a stand in Arabic, when, not being able to follow him, they gave up the contest. He then intimated that, as they were not his peers in knowledge, it was presumption in them to undertake to criticise him. This was an old-fashioned contest. But your modern critic, being at the head of the class in all human knowledge, heeds no obstacle. And the reflex brilliancy of the friendly commentator often has, as we all know, something to do with shaping his periods. Indeed, he sometimes sees

"In Homer more than Homer knew."

But, unhappily for the yet unrecognized aspirant, little of the reflected light shines on him.

Our busy community has no catalogue of exclusively literary persons to exhibit. Her writers have been those who exercised the pen at intervals unoccupied by the daily round in some vocation more sure of securing a livelihood. As a general thing, the physically infirm are more inclined to intellec-

tual pursuits than the strong and healthy, for the invalid is at a disadvantage where strength of arm and bodily endurance are required; and hence it is that some of our best writings come from the retired room of the invalid. Bodily infirmity has often done much in making the scholar, by disabling from physical activity. But the bodily health of the good people of Lynn is not intended to be urged as a reason for any deficiency in mental attainment. Sick or well, let us remember that though finely-turned periods always possess a certain charm, they are of little worth to the thoughtful if deficient in backing.

As has been seen, there is hardly a period in Lynn's history when she has not had a bright company of sons and daughters curveting, pen in hand, over the fields of poetry, sentiment and philosophy, and gathering in a goodly store for the relief of the jaded minds of those fellow-mortals destined to the more ignoble pursuits of life. By their refreshing and stimulating contributions, they have performed a good part in keeping alive the vivacious tone that has always characterized our industrious home. And may the prospects of a now promising future never be darkened!

CHAPTER XX.

LYNN—(Continued).

TAVERNS—MODES OF TRAVEL.

Character of the Old Houses of Entertainment, and Scenes Enacted in Them—Biographical Sketches of some Famous Landlords—Incidents of Travel—Salem and Boston Turnpike—The Old Stage Lines—Opening of the Eastern Railroad—Hotels of Later Times.

"Around the glowing evening fire,
The farmer, woodman, village squire,
With pointed finger, loosened tongue,
Shows right for every human wrong.
In kindling mood they sit and sip
The nectar called New England flip,
That late invented beverage,
Rare product of a guzzling age,
America's first evil gift
To help the world in toping thrift,
More sapid than old England's beer,
More potent in its vulgar cheer."

—NORTON.

NEXT to the church and the school, the attention of our fathers was directed to the establishment and regulation of the ordinary, the inn, the tavern, or the house of entertainment, as such places seem to have been indiscriminately called. The accommodation of travelers was, of course, the ostensible purpose; but other considerations had weight. In the old country the settlers had been accustomed to visit such resorts,

" . . . where nut-brown draughts inspired,
Where gray-beard mirth and smiling toil retired;
Where village statesmen talked with looks profound,"

and where neighborhood scandal and tainted gossip no doubt went round. What wonder, then, that the settlers here, the socially high and low, the good and bad, should, in the absence of other convenient meeting-places, have felt the need of something of the kind. There were no newspapers to float off from the press on the morning and evening wind, no news-rooms, no mail, no telegraphs, no telephones. Hither, then, all classes naturally resorted

"To take a smack of politics and ale."

There was, in the more legitimate way, to wit, the accommodation of travelers, a real necessity for houses of entertainment. But it was soon perceptible that such establishments required careful watching, lest their charges should become oppressive and their influence deleterious in a moral way. The General Court, therefore, found it necessary frequently to interpose for their management.

It is true, however, that before population had so far increased as to warrant the establishment of separate ordinaries, every house was, to some extent, a house of entertainment, and every householder a host. This was the natural prompting of the hospitable settler.

At first, ordinaries were established without license; but the court soon took them in hand and regulated their management. As early as 1634 it was "ordered that noe person that keeps an ordinary shall take above six pence a meale for a person and not above one penny for an ale quarte of beare, out of meale tyme, under the penalty of ten shillings for every offence, either of dyot or beare." It was likewise ordered that "victualers or keepers of an ordinary, shall not suffer any tobacco to be taken in their howses, under the penalty of v shillings for every offence, to be paid by the vituler, and xii pence by the party who takes it." And the court, in their horror of tobacco, went much further, forbidding its use anywhere in public, and even invaded the domestic sanctuary, ordering that "noe person shall take tobacco publicly, under the penalty of 2s. and 6d.; nor privately, in his owne howse, or in the howse of another, before strangers, and that two or more shall not take it together anywhere, vnder the aforesaid penalty for every offence." What would those worthy old legislators think could they enter one of our offensive modern railroad attachments, the smoking-car? As late as 1639 it was lawful for any person to entertain strangers with "lodging and dyot, at reasonable rates," on special occasions, such as an inflow of strangers.

And at the same court it was enacted that "every towne shall have liberty, from time to time, to choose a fitt man to sell wine, the same to bee allowed by license . . . and that it shalbee lawfull for such persons allowed to retaile wine, to let wine bee drunke in his house; provided, that if any person shalbee made drunke in any such house, or any imoderate

drinking suffered there, the master of the family shall pay for every such offence five pounds." At the same time it was "further declared and ordered, that such as are allowed to keepe comon ordinaries and inns shall provide stables and hay for horses, and inclosures for pasturing, where neede is; and it is further declared, that if any shall take excessive prices for their wines or dyeting, they shalbee deeply fined for the same." So began the licensing system and the temperance legislation of Massachusetts; and how do we stand, after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years?

The first tavern in Lynn was opened by JOSEPH ARMITAGE, though at what precise date does not satisfactorily appear. But in 1643 he seems to have been in the business long enough to run himself ashore; for in that year his wife, Jane, presented a dolorous petition, reciting that her husband's labors and endeavors had "beene blasted and his ames and ends frustrated," that they were poor and had a family to maintain; that some of his creditors had, of their "clemencie and gentle goodness," lent a helping hand, with more of such pathetic pleading, and praying that she might be allowed to "continue in the custodie of the said ordinary." The petition was signed by about all of the best and most prominent men of the town, among them the two ministers, Samuel Whiting and Thomas Cobbet, and Robert Bridges, the acting magistrate. It was successful, the concise entry on the court records being "Goody Armitage is allowed to keepe the ordinary, but not to draw wine."

There is ground for suspicion that some of the causes of Mr. Armitage's misfortunes lay in the disregard of his license obligations; for, in addition to the refusal of the court to allow his wife to sell spirits, it is found that he was once fined for not informing the constable of a person being found drunk in his company. He petitioned to have the fine remitted, but the court replied that they saw "no cawse to abate the petitioner any part of that fine."

Mr. Armitage, however, seems to have partially, at least, recovered from his depressed condition, for in 1646 the court say: "In answer to y^e petition of Joseph Armitage, it is ordred, that whoever y^e towne of Linn shall choose at a legall towne meeting to draw wine, he shall have liberty to draw wine there till y^e next siting of this Cort, and y^e same to be presented hereunto." And subsequently comes this entry: "Joseph Armitage is agreed with for this yeare for liberty to sell wine for twenty nobles." The price of his license, then, was about \$32.20 of our present money.

The ordinary of Mr. Armitage soon became known as the Anchor Tavern, and under that name commenced a famous career. It was picturesquely situated on a slight elevation west of Saugus River, almost within a stone's throw of that eccentrically winding stream, and commanded a romantic view of forest and

marsh land, with the ocean upon the south. It was on the road leading from Salem to Boston and about midway between those settlements. For more than a century and a half it enjoyed a reputation attained by few establishments of the kind in the colony. Its name, however, was changed from time to time, as political revolution or caprice of landlord suggested.

Being on one of the chief highways, it was of course a stopping-place for the refreshment of travelers of high and low degree, of official dignitaries and rustic tramps, and one can readily conceive that strangely-assorted groups must have sometimes assembled there.

Mr. Armitage was among the very early settlers of Lynn, having appeared here in 1630, and been admitted as a freeman in 1637. He was a tailor by trade, but in those primitive times it was necessary for most men to turn their attention to different pursuits as the seasons varied. He was undoubtedly energetic and industrious, but those good traits do not appear to have saved him from disasters attributable to other traits less valuable, for it is evident that he was of a speculative turn, and unduly credulous when promising schemes were presented. And then, again, he appears to have been fond of lawsuits. Now these two pernicious characteristics—fondness for speculation and fondness for law-suits—are enough to ruin any man, and in all but a few exceptional cases they do. It may also be fairly assumed that he had sufficient of a retaliatory spirit to defiantly meet the aggressive approaches of his neighbors. At one time he procured a warrant against a number of persons, to whose interference he probably attributed difficulties regarding his license; but they, in returning the compliment, had him presented "for procuring a warrant for seaventy persons to appear forthwith before the Governor," a proceeding which, the court say, "we conceive to be of dangerous consequence." Notwithstanding these propensities, however, it may be said that he was, on the whole, a useful as well as enterprising settler.

Mr. Armitage ceased to be landlord of the Anchor in or about 1652. And his harassed and laborious life was ended in reduced circumstances, though perhaps not in absolute penury. In 1669 he petitioned for the payment of some small scores that Governors Endicott and Bradstreet and other officials had run up at his tavern during their journeyings. His petition was presented to the court at Salem, the charges having stood some twenty years, and reads as follows:

"To the Honored Court now sitting at Sallom. The humble petition of Joseph Armitage Humbly sheweth that in the time that I kept Ordinary ther was ann expences at my Hows by some of the Honored magistrates & Depetys of this County as appears by ther bills charged oupon Auditor Generall, which I never Received. Therfor your Humble petitioner doth Humbly request this Court that they would give me an Order to the County Treasurer for my pay & so your poor petitioner shall ever pray for your prosperity.

"JOSEPH ARMITAGE."

One or two of the charges, with the vouchers, may be given as samples:

"the governors Expenses from the Court of election, 1651, till the end of October, 1651; to bear & cacks [beer and cakes] 6d.; bear and cacks to himself and som other gentlemen, 1s. 2d.; bear and cacks with Mr. Downing, 1s. 6d.; bear & a cack, 6d.—3s. 8d.

"to the Sargents from the end of the Court of election, 1651, till the end of October, 1651, bear & cacks, 1s. 2d.; for vitalls, beere & logon, 5s.; to Benjamin Scarlet, the governors man, 8d.; bear & vitells, 2s.; to the Sargents, 1s. 9d.; beere and cacks, 1s.; to a man that Caried a letter to warne a Court about the duckman, 1s. 6d.; to the Sargents, 1s. 2d.—14s. 3d.

"Mr. Auditor, I pray you give a note to Mr. Treasurer, for payment of 17s. 11d. according to these two bills of Joseph Armitage.

"Dated the 7th of the 11th mo. 1651. Jo. ENDECOTT."

"due to Goodman Armitage, for beere & wyne att severall times as I came by in the space of about 3 yeares, 4s. 3d. May 15th, '40. More for my man & horse, as hee returned home the last yeare when I was a Commissioner, hee being deteyned a sabbath day, 6s. 8d.

"SIMON BRADSTREET."

What does our present good Secretary of War think of the expenses and fare of his worthy ancestor as he took his official journeys? Even President Cleveland, with all his democratic proclivities, would hardly hold to such economy.

After leaving the Anchor, Mr. Armitage lived in comparative retirement till his death, in 1680, at the age of eighty years. In the administration account filed in July, occur these items: "For coffin, vaile and digging the grave, 14s. In wine and sider, for his buriall, £2."

The immediate successor of Mr. Armitage as landlord of the Anchor Tavern was JOHN HATHORNE, who certainly does not appear to have been a very meritorious character. At all events he became involved in one or two questionable transactions. It must have been about the time that he took the tavern that he was proceeded against on a charge of slander, forgery and perjury, and was convicted. He became somewhat humbled by his sentence, and petitioned for the remission or mitigation of the penalty, and the court in its clemency ordered that in lieu of the prescribed punishment he should "pay double damages, which is twenty pounds, to the party wronged and ten pounds to the commonwealth, to be forthwith levied; and to be disfranchised. If he doth not submit to the sentence, then the law that provides against forgery is to take place in every particular."

Mr. Hathorne kept the Anchor but a short time, and nothing appears to indicate that the house did not continue as prosperous as in the days of his predecessor. But little concerning him appears on the records, though the matters alluded to gave rise to grave questions of jurisdiction between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,—questions that agitated the community for a long time, occasioning some rasping passages between church and state dignitaries.

This brings us to one of the most remarkable periods in the history of the famous Anchor: to wit., the period during which the renowned Captain Thomas Marshall managed its affairs. He was one of the most jolly and hospitable of landlords, and during his administration no wayside inn throughout the colonies enjoyed a more enviable reputation.

Captain Marshall first appeared in Lynn in 1635, and was soon after admitted a freeman. But when the great political agitations that led to the termination of the reign and the life of Charles the First had reached the culminating point, his spirit was aroused and he returned to England, where he joined the Parliamentary forces, and from Cromwell received a captain's commission. He served faithfully and was honorably discharged, and returned hither full of martial lustre and full of pride in the feats he had accomplished, some of which his envious neighbors affected to believe were achievements of the imagination alone. Nevertheless, it is apparent that he had a very good knowledge of military tactics and skill in the disposition of affairs of the field. The simple fact of his having continued to serve as a captain under the great Parliamentary Leader so long and so satisfactorily is sufficient evidence of his skill, fidelity and efficiency. He indeed seems to have had an early inclination for the military profession, and was elected a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company—or, as it was then called, the "Military Company of the Massachusetts"—in 1640, two years after the formation of that august organization, being then about twenty-four years of age.

After Captain Marshall's return from the war, his fellow-townsmen six times elected him as their representative in the General Court, first in 1659 and last in 1668, and likewise called him to various posts of municipal honor and responsibility.

On the 18th of October, 1659, Captain Marshall was empowered by the General Court to join in marriage such persons in Lynn as had complied with the preliminary legal requirements. In 1670, however, he was discharged from "officiating in that employment," probably much to his chagrin. The cause of the revocation of his authority seems to have been that, through his "overmuch credulity," parties had imposed upon him and induced him to marry them when their intention had not been properly published or other legal requirements complied with. One or two cases were presented against him, that of Allin and Deacon being perhaps the most conspicuous. It occurred in May, 1670. Says the record: "Hope Allin (father of the bride) and John Pease (a witness) appeared in Court, and y^e said John Pease acknowledged that notwithstanding the counsell of the major general (an acting magistrate of another jurisdiction), who had declined y^e marrying of M^r. Deacon (the bridegroom) to Hope Allin's daughter, he did accompany them to Lynn to Capt. Marshall, and Hope Allin declared he did give his consent that the said M^r. Deacon should have his daughter, and told Capt. Marshall that he hoped they might be legally published before that time. The Court judged it meet to censure the said Hope Allin to pay ten pounds as a fine to the country for his irregular procedure, and John Pease forty shillings." Perhaps Mr. Allin was justly punished for his over-anxiety to get his daugh-

ter off his hands, and Mr. Pease for standing by and not disclosing the fact that another magistrate had refused to tie the knot illegally. And as to Captain Marshall, it was probably this case that induced the court to promptly annul his commission, for that appears to have been done almost immediately after the irregular transaction. At this time ministers were not authorized to perform the marriage ceremony, yet the conjugal relation was not regarded on the one hand as a mere civil contract, nor on the other, in the high-church sense, a sacrament. The idea seemed to be that it should occupy a sort of middle ground. The captain, however, did not probably pause to consider as to the right or wrong of the cases that came before him, or to theorize in any way, so long as it was in his power to consummate the happiness of loving hearts.

Captain Marshall commanded the military company of Lynn at the time the great King Philip War commenced, 1675. There was no period in our whole history when there seemed so much cause for alarm within our own precincts, which had always been singularly free from savage aggression, as now, and the bravest and most experienced of the soldiery were anxiously looked to for protection. The court received a letter from the major-general dated Lynn, and in their answer say: "Sr: Wee received your letter dated at Lynn 23th instant, and have perused the particulars inclosed, which still present us with sad tidings (the Lord have mercy on us) touching the performance of yo^r promise to Major Pike in your designe to raise what force you can to resist the enemy's headquarters at Ausebee. Wee approve of it, only wee presume your intelligence that the enemy is there is upon good grounds. Wee cannot give yow particular orders, but leave the management of this affayre to yo^r prudence and assistance of Almighty God, not doubting yo^r care in leaving sufficient strength to secure the frontier townes of Norfolke and Essex, lest the enemy should visit them when the forces are aboard. Without doubt, if their squaws and papposes, &c., be at Assabee, and God be pleased to deliver them into our hands, it would be much for our interest. As for your personall marching, it will be acceptable, if God inable to prosecute it." The action recommended in regard to the squaws and papposes does not sound very pleasantly in the ears of the sympathetic people of this day, but the peculiar dangers and threatenings of those dark times should be taken into account in estimating the character of the recommendation. Captain Marshall was at this time about sixty years of age, but it cannot be doubted that his martial spirit was at once aglow, and that he became active in the military council, if not in the field. A most creditable number of soldiers were immediately on the march from Lynn.

A sad event occurred near the tavern on a dreary night in February, 1681. Samuel Worcester, a representative to the General Court from Bradford, had walked from that town to attend an adjourned ses-

sion. When he reached Captain Marshall's ever hospitable door he was chilled and extremely weary, and sought shelter and entertainment. But from some cause he could not be accommodated. Thinking that he might find lodging with a friend farther on, he departed. In the morning he was found in a kneeling posture, in the middle of the road, dead. He was a son of Rev. William Worcester, and distinguished for his public spirit and his piety. No doubt the event caused the Captain hours of keen regret.

The worthy Captain dispensed the hospitalities of the famous Anchor for forty years. He was a model landlord, attentive to guests, well versed in the political and religious movements of the time, both here and in old England, and able to intelligently discuss all the stirring questions that then agitated the assembly in the village tap-room as well as that in the hall of legislation. And he seems to have had a good share of that sort of suave underflow, so agreeable to the temporary sojourner at the wayside inn. That he had foibles is likewise apparent; but they appear to have been rather attractive than displeasing. John Dunton, the London bookseller, who passed through Lynn in 1686, and who was an uncle to the celebrated John Wesley, thus remarks in his journal: "About two of the clock I reached Capt. Marshall's house, which is half way between Boston and Salem; here I staid to refresh nature with a pint of sack and a good fowl. Capt. Marshall is a hearty old gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's soldiers, upon which he very much values himself. He had all the history of the civil wars at his fingers' ends, and if we may believe him, Oliver did hardly anything that was considerable without his assistance; and if I'd have staid as long as he'd have talked, he'd have spoiled my ramble to Salem." This genial old landlord died on the 23d of December, 1689, at the age of seventy-three years.

It is not difficult to picture in the mind scenes such as must have again and again taken place in and about the Anchor during the administration of the worthy captain. Being deeply interested in military affairs he could highly enjoy the parades of the colonial soldiery; and when he was himself in command, it cannot be doubted that, on many occasions, the troops were summoned to perform their evolutions upon the green that sloped from his house down towards the river bank. We can almost see him there, with drawn sword and commanding voice, ordering movements such as enabled him, with Oliver's assistance, to win such victories in the civil wars. And there we see him stationing here and there behind some rock or in a forest confine mock Indian squads, to show the modes of savage warfare and teach his troops to meet the dusky warrior's strategy.

Again, on occasions when the Colonial Governor undertook his eastern tour, as was customary once a year, important was the day of his arrival at the

Anchor. Early in the morning His Excellency would appear, on horseback, with gilded trappings glistening in the sun, accompanied by his secretary—one who in this day might be called a reporter—and perhaps two or three other dignitaries, the procession flanked by half a score of halberdiers, preceded by a mounted trumpeter, and perhaps followed by a throng of amazed red men.

Arrived at the Anchor, after partaking of refreshments, always the best that the cellar or the larder afforded, the Governor, seated in the most capacious chair, announced his readiness to receive all such townsmen as desired to meet him for a free interchange of views on the condition of public affairs, especially as bearing on their own local well-being. These discussions were dignified, and, no doubt, resulted in much good to individual communities, and possibly matters of private interest were sometimes cunningly interwoven to personal advantage.

Another picture might discover an excited assembly at the Anchor, perhaps in the stirring time of the Andros administration, the discordant voices of the blustering group in the common room rising above the surly creaking of the signboard that sways in the blast without. Some are urging to immediate and determined acts of violence, clamorously declaring their readiness to join in any uprising that shall hurl every would-be oppressor from power, while the more peacefully inclined and the village sages counsel patience and moderation.

The scene may shift to a winter night, dreary without but cheerful within. Before the blazing oaken logs and upon the rude benches that line the wall are seated the worn farmer, the fisherman, the woodsman and the laborer of every degree. Unambitious and void of care, they sit drowsily gossiping, and occasionally drawing forth from its concealment the corn-cob pipe for a languid whiff, till the fire burns low and the parting mug goes round.

But a prettier picture is that presented when the bright moonbeams glisten on the crusted snow, and the capacious ox-sled, with its boxed-in freight of happy youth, drives up. Its approach had been heralded by the wave of maiden laughter that rippled over the white fields, and the captain has donned his best doublet and prepared his best cheer. The sanded parlor is radiant with tallow dips, and savory fumes float from the culinary precinct. It is a time of rare enjoyment with the gallant captain. He is young again, and cannot avoid frequently joining in the merry sports. And then, as he retires to the duties of the snug little banquet-room, behold him beckon a young man aside and slyly and half by signs intimate that up over those winding back-stairs, in the attic hall, there is a bright fire and clean floor, where a little private dance may be enjoyed.

It does not appear certain who the immediate successor of Captain Marshall, as landlord of the Anchor, was.

ZACHEUS NORWOOD, who died February 8, 1756,—if the stone in the old burying-ground bearing the name is erected to his memory,—kept it for many years, and it ceased to be called the Anchor. His wife, Susanna, died January 2, 1747, but he married again, and his widow succeeded him in the management and afterwards became the wife of Josiah Martin. The house was long famous as "Norwood's Tavern."

The matrimonial adventures of Mr. Norwood seem to have been of a varied character. In the record of intentions of marriage, as copied by Mr. John T. Moulton, is to be found these entries, Mr. Moulton remarking that a pen has been drawn across them: "June 2, 1734. This may certify that whereas the intention of marriage betwixt Zacheus Norwood and Mary Richards, both of Lynn, was posted by me the above day; that on the 3d day of June, 1734, the above said Mary Richards forbid the banns." . . . "December 3, 1734. The above-named Mary Richards came to me and told me she had re-considered her forbidding the banns of matrimony betwixt Zacheus Norwood and herself, and desired me to give him a certificate." Whatever the difficulty was, it appears to have been amicably settled, for on the 13th of the next February they were married. She died on the 6th of April, 1736. On the 27th of October, 1745, was published his intention of marriage with Susannah Dunnell, of Topsfield. They were soon after married, and she died January 2, 1747. His third wife was Lydia Burrage, whom he married April 19, 1750. It was she who survived him, kept the tavern herself for some time, and then married the wayward Josiah Martin.

In 1759 that laborious, worthy and much-suffering frontier Church of England missionary, Rev. Jacob Bailey, on the 13th of December, reached here on his way to Boston, having walked all the way from Gloucester. He found a rough company, who much disturbed his needed rest. "We had among us," he said, "a soldier belonging to Captain Hazen's company of rangers, who declared that several Frenchmen were barbarously murdered by them, after quarters were given; and the villain added, I suppose to show his importance, that he split the head of one asunder, after he had fell on his knees to implore mercy." Captain Hazen never taught his men any such savage ways, for he was one of the most humane as well as brave commanders. He was a native of Haverhill, and had a command in the Crown Point and Louisburg expeditions in 1758 and '59. It was in one of these, no doubt, that the villainous act of the boastful soldier occurred. Captain Hazen also distinguished himself under Wolfe, at Quebec, and as a commander in the Revolution. He was finally commissioned as a brigadier-general in the Continental forces. Dr. Jonathan Norwood, a graduate of Harvard, was a son of Zacheus, the keeper of the tavern.

It was somewhere about the year 1760 that there

drifted into Lynn a soldier of fortune by the name of JOSIAH MARTIN. He was supposed to be an Englishman, but little, if anything, was known of his previous life. He, however, found favor in the eyes of Widow Norwood, and she married him. He was very eccentric, and by his waywardness of temper and instability of character is believed to have led her a very uncomfortable life. He evidently knew how to behave much better than he did, for at times he would act well the rôle of a polished gentleman. At other times he would pretend to be a most humble and devout Christian. Mrs. Martin seems to have continued in the chief management of the tavern, though he was ostensibly the keeper. Many anecdotes are told of his witty sallies, and he was by no means destitute of humor. He was much given to practical jokes, as well as witticisms. Rev. Mr. Treadwell was minister of the old church at that time, and himself fond of indulging in witty sallies. Mr. Lewis says that on a certain Sunday, observing that many of his audience had their heads in a reclining posture, he paused in his sermon and exclaimed, "I should guess that as many as two-thirds of you are asleep!" Mr. Martin, raising his head, looked round and replied, "If I were to guess, I should guess there are not more than one-half!" The next day Mr. Martin was brought up for disturbing divine service, but he contended "it was not the time of divine service; the minister had ceased to preach, and it was guessing time." He was accordingly discharged. It is said that he once rode two miles to attend meeting on a warm June Sunday, in a double sleigh, with a span of horses, the dust flying and the runners grating horribly and striking fire at every step. And his wife was a forced passenger by his side, wrapped in a heavy bear-skin robe. However, she was not long subjected to his harassing impositions, for on the breaking out of the Revolution he enlisted in the Continental army, marched off, and was never heard from afterward.

John Adams, subsequently President of the United States, but then a young lawyer traveling his circuit, accompanied by his wife, mentions, under date of November 3, 1766, having "oated" at Martin's, on his way to attend the court at Salem. And returning a few days after, he again "oated" at Martin's, "where we saw," he adds, "five boxes of dollars, containing, as we were told, about eighteen thousand of them, going in a horse-cart from Salem Custom-House to Boston, in order to be shipped to England. A guard of armed men, with swords, hangers, pistols and muskets attended."

This brings us to another important period in the history of this famous tavern, to wit, the commencement of the Revolution. It was now that JACOB NEWHALL became landlord, and for many years onward it was known as Newhall's Tavern, as is shown by the newspapers and other dingy publications of the day. Mr. Newhall was a native of the town, and

a descendant from one of the first settlers, was then about thirty-five years of age, and had previously pursued the occupation of husbandman. Being an ardent son of liberty, one of his first acts was to remove the sign on which was pictured the British emblem of the lion and unicorn, that had awayed for some years from the post in front, and substitute the hopeful emblem of a rising sun. He was a most liberal provider, and unwearied in his endeavors to make his house a real "traveler's home." During the war his engagements were often taxed to their utmost to make suitable provision for the unexpected descent of a squad or even an entire company of hungry soldiers. So vigilant was he that it is said he did not for some years retire to bed, but obtained fitful rest in an arm-chair. To be ready for emergencies, he kept on hand fatted cattle that might be promptly slaughtered, and their flesh hastily cooked in the great boilers he had set. His kitchen garden comprised six acres, and under his skillful management yielded an inexhaustible store for summer use, as well as a surplus to be added to his field crops for use at other seasons. He was extremely benevolent toward his needy neighbors, and especially to the families of soldiers who had marched to the war. Even the vagrant tramp was not sent empty away. Among other notable guests during the administration of Mr. Newhall was President Washington, who paused here in October, 1788, as he was proceeding eastward. And four years before, 1784, Gen. Lafayette made a halt there.

Mr. Newhall continued landlord till 1807, a period of more than thirty years; and then, the infirmities of age having somewhat impaired his physical powers, he retired. But he still continued to labor to some extent as a farmer till near the end of his life, which took place on the 18th of June, 1816, at the age of seventy-six. One of his generous disposition could hardly be expected to accumulate much, and he appears to have died in rather reduced circumstances, though not in penury.

It is evident from contemporary accounts that this tavern was, during the Revolution, one of the most notable in these parts. Being on the great road along which flowed the travel from all places east of Boston, and having established an unimpeachable name for hospitality, it was never disregarded by the marching soldier or the traveling civilian.

Under various names and different landlords for some time after the retirement of Landlord Newhall the house continued to dispense its hospitalities. But a cloud came over its prospects. The turnpike from Salem to Boston—the portion in Lynn being what is now known as Western Avenue—was opened in 1803, and rapidly diverted the travel from the old road.

As the "Anchor" was situated just within what is now the town of Saugus, then a part of Lynn, its history will not be overlooked in the sketch of that town, and doubtless many racy and captivating details will be added to what is here given.

From quite early times there had been other houses of entertainment in different parts of the town; but none of them came to be of much account. There was "Ward's Tavern" (which possibly may have been the old "Anchor," bearing another name for a short time before Mr. Norwood assumed the keepership). It was in 1750 that a New York merchant stopped here while traveling eastward. He remarks that he put up at Mr. Ward's, in "Lyn, which is a small country town of about two hundred houses, very pleasantly situated, and affords a beautiful rural prospect." He arrived at about one o'clock and "dyn'd on fryd codd." After dinner, being refreshed by a glass of wine, he pursued his journey to Salem, "through a barren, rocky country," and the next day, after visiting Marblehead, returned to Boston, stopping again at Mr. Ward's, where he "dyned upon a fine mongrel goose."

Timothy Tomlins was licensed in 1636 to "keepe a house of intertainment." He was a farmer and a man of probity, but his house did not attain much celebrity as a stopping-place for travelers, it being somewhat remote from the great traveled road. He was among those who commenced the settlement of Southampton, L. I., in 1640, but did not remain there. He was also one of the Cambridge land proprietors. The extensive range of low forest land and tangled bog lying a short distance northwest of Dungeon Rock, in our Lynn woods, and still known as Tomlins's Swamp, was a part of his estate. He was thirteen times a representative in the General Court, and in other positions faithfully served the town. In 1634 he was appointed overseer of the "powder and shott and all other amunicon" of the plantation.

In 1664 Theophilus Bayley was licensed to keep a public-house.

In the early part of the Revolution there was a tavern kept in the old house at the corner of Federal and Marion Streets. The landlord was Increase Newhall, and it was used as an alarm station—that is, a place at which, when an alarm occurred, the enrolled men in the district instantly reported for duty. At one time, in 1776, there was a midnight alarm that the English had landed at King's Beach. There was presently great commotion throughout the town, for the meeting-house bell and the drums had spread the alarm to all quarters. At the tavern station here spoken of the men promptly rallied, but the commander was not visible. They, however, quickly marched under other orders. It proved to be a false alarm, and they all returned safe. And then, to their amusement, the pusillanimous commander emerged from an oven in which, panic-stricken, he had been concealed. It was during this alarm that Frederick Breed, who lived in the vicinity, displayed so much courage and tact in rallying the men and marching them to the supposed point of danger that he received a commission in the army, and finally rose to the rank of colonel.

We now come down to the time when the old LYNN HOTEL was erected. This establishment became quite as famous as had been the Anchor in its palmyest days.

It was in 1803 that the Turnpike leading from Salem to Boston was opened, making the shortest and most direct route for the eastern travel to reach the metropolis. Then old Boston Street, which had so long been the chief highway through Lynn, was doomed to lose its prestige, its honors and much of its thrift. When the building of the Turnpike was projected there was much croaking and head-shaking, as there always is when great improvements are proposed. One good man, for instance, testified that at some point where the route lay over the salt marshes, he had run a pole down twenty-five feet! It was an expensive road, but was soon made a very good one. By the charter it was to revert to the commonwealth when the proprietors had received the whole cost, with twelve per cent. interest. Accordingly, in 1869, legislative action being had, it became a public highway. That part lying in Lynn is now called Western Avenue, and affords a fine, level driveway of several miles, say from the hills of old Chelsea to the Floating Bridge in Lynn, with the exception of Farrington's Hill. In the old days of horse-racing, the portion lying over the marshes southwest of the hotel was the scene of some famous races. It was there that Major Standpole's "Old Blue" won his vaunted victory, trotting three miles in eight minutes and forty-two seconds. This was on the 6th of September, 1816, and is said to have been the first horse-trot in the country. Of late years equine contests of a different sort are held in the portion of the avenue lying immediately northeastward from the hotel. On every pleasant day in winter, when there is good sleighing, numerous gay turn-outs, drawn by the fleetest steeds of which the town can boast, and many from other towns, may be seen there in friendly trials of speed. And a merry time have the excited spirits, young and old.

Immediately after the opening of the Turnpike the post-office, which had been kept on Boston Street, near the corner of North Federal, was removed to the southern end of Federal Street, where it joined the turnpike, as the mails would come that way, and business began to gather in the same quarter.

LYNN HOTEL was built during the year in which the Turnpike was opened—1803. The most extensively known landlord was Andrew S. Breed, the elder. He took the house in 1813, and under his supervision it attained an enviable reputation, especially for the excellence of its table and the promptness with which the largest demands of guests would be met. He was a very stirring man and recognized by every one in the streets, as he sallied forth on his brawny roadster, in his yellow top-boots and coat of sporting cut. In addition to his large business at the hotel he did a good deal of farming, and many of us can well re-

member the jolly husking-parties which in harvest-time assembled at his bidding to divest the yellow ears of their rustling robes, and at evening received our reward in the banquet of baked beans and Indian pudding, with relays of apples and cider. He was not a man who could pass noiselessly through the world, or who could yield much to what he deemed the unreasonable demands of those about him; in short, he was of what is called an arbitrary disposition, rather boisterous in language, and strict in his requirements of those in service under him. No lazy man's excuses ever weighed with him. Mr. Breed was father of the fifth mayor of Lynn.

It was to this hotel that True Moody, the colored out-door servant, so long and so well known to travelers by his alert attentions, and so much esteemed for his obliging disposition, was attached for some forty years. In person he was stout, and possessed in a well-developed form all the physical peculiarities of the African race. His mouth was capacious and answered the novel purpose of a temporary savings-bank, for in it he was accustomed to deposit the pecuniary gratuities that were sometimes lavishly bestowed by guests, till he could find time to remove them to a more suitable place, or till he required his mouth for a more legitimate purpose. And there is an account of a wager by some young men as to the amount of silver change in his mouth at a given time. To determine the bet, he consented, with his usual good nature, to discharge the deposits into a bowl, when they were found to amount to a little more than five dollars, the whole being in small pieces. By his gains in this humble way he was enabled to secure a comfortable home and respectably support a family. By the failure of the Nuhant Bank, in 1836, he lost some hundreds of dollars. And by the Eastern Railroad, which was built soon after, diverting the travel from the hotel quarter, his income was greatly reduced. It is said that at this depressing period he was accustomed to retire to a corner of the deserted stable and weep. He died on the 17th of June, 1855, at a rather advanced age, though probably far below that of ninety-seven years, as some of the newspapers asserted. It is not likely that he or any one else knew his exact age.

The history of old Lynn Hotel, which remained so long in such high repute, is, perhaps, more full of stirring incident than that of almost any other establishment of the kind in this quarter of the country. The leading men of the nation—Presidents and Governors—traveling statesmen, scholars and men of leisure from other lands, were here entertained, as well as the roving multitude of tradesmen and others of every calling and profession. Many a great statesman, military hero and orator has addressed the assembled multitudes from the little balcony over the southern door, and the writer of this sketch, by memory's aid, plainly sees the commanding form of President Jackson firmly poised, as he addresses the

enthusiastic throng, his sententious oratory more than half drowned by the prolonged cheering. From that modest balcony, too, has many and many a time irradiated the choice eloquence of the ambitious local politician.

An idea of the extent of the travel by stage at about this time may be gathered from the fact that in 1836 twenty-three stages left Lynn Hotel for Boston daily, and there were also usually several extras. They belonged to the Salem and Eastern lines. These were the brightest days of the old stage-coach, and the gaudy ones of the Salem Line and the more lumbering ones from the east drew up at those hospitable portals at all hours, that the passengers might alight for the relief of their cramped limbs, and, perhaps, for a little convivial entertainment at the bar, the jolly drivers shouting their brief orders with diplomatic unction. Private carriages, baggage-wagons and teams of all descriptions, too, were constantly passing and pausing. And for biting and protection from inclement weather, an unbroken line of horse-sheds extended along the whole eastern side of Centre Street, from North Common to the Turnpike, and sometimes every one of them was occupied, with an overplus hitched to posts on either side of the house.

For about thirty-five years from the time the Turnpike was opened and the hotel built, incidents which had drawn the tide of travel from old Boston Street, there was a business activity and enterprise centering thereabout such as one who has known Lynn for only the last twenty years can hardly realize. The post-office was there, and so were the principal stores, the lawyers and many of the largest manufacturers. The shoe manufacturers of those days, by the way, did not congregate about a common centre, as they now do, but were planted in every neighborhood. The manner in which the business was then conducted made it just as well and more economical. The old-time shoemaker has disappeared, and shoe-making machinery taken his place, so that now, as a necessity, large numbers of workmen must assemble together in huge factories. Combinations, such as Masters' Unions and Knights of Labor assemblies, could hardly have been formed in the days when only half a dozen worked together in the little shops that, standing widely asunder, dotted our whole territory. Those were days of individual independence, individual responsibility and unfettered effort for individual advancement.

Foot-journeying was much more common in those days than in these railroad times, when it is more economical to ride. The cost of riding was then a material item, especially as there was no considerable saving of time, for a smart pedestrian would often reach Boston about as soon as a "slow coach" or sluggish horse. The turnpike on some great occasions, like, for instance, a famous military parade or an execution, swarmed with pedestrians, and there

were often good-natured trials of speed between strangers as well as friends.

It need not be said that in the early days of the Anchor, travel by horseback and sometimes even by bullback was, in a great measure, necessary, for the roads were stumpy, stony and gullied, so that wheeled vehicles, if any had them, could be but little used. When a journey could be accomplished by water, however, that mode was usually adopted, the light Indian skiff proving remarkably serviceable where the course lay near the shore. Jonathan Dickenson, of Philadelphia, in a letter to William Smith, February, 1697, says "In 14 days we have an answer from Boston, once a week from New York, once in three weeks from Maryland, and once a month from Virginia." Then came various kinds of lumbering conveyances; but it was many years before regular lines of any sort of conveyance were established. Mr. Lewis says that the "stage" which John Stavers put on to run from Portsmouth to Boston, in 1761, was the first in New England. It was a curricie, drawn by two horses, and had seats for three persons. It left Portsmouth on Monday morning, stopped the first night at Ipswich, and reached Boston the next afternoon. Returning, it left Boston on Thursday and reached Portsmouth on Friday. The fare was thirteen shillings and sixpence—somewhere between three and four dollars of our present money—besides the expenses by the way. President Quincy, who, in the early part of the present century, was wooing the fair lady of New York who afterward became his wife, thus feelingly speaks of the difficulties that beset his way: "The carriages were old and shacking, and much of the harness made of ropes. One pair of horses carried us eighteen miles. We generally reached our resting-place for the night, if no accident intervened, at ten o'clock, and, after a frugal supper, went to bed with a notice that we should be called at three next morning—which generally proved to be half-past two. Then, whether it snowed or rained, the traveler must rise and make ready by the help of a horn lantern and a farthing candle, and proceed on his way, over bad roads, sometimes with a driver showing no doubtful symptoms of drunkenness, which good-hearted passengers never failed to improve at every stopping-place, by urging upon him the comfort of another glass of toddy. Thus we traveled eighteen miles a stage, sometimes obliged to get out and help the coachman lift the coach out of a quagmire or rut, and arriving in New York after a week's hard travelling [from Boston], wondering at the ease as well as the expedition with which our journey was effected." It was to difficulties like these, too, that the Lynn shoe "bosses" were subjected in their trips southward, for at that period the customers did not often come to Lynn to make their purchases, but were sought for at their own homes. And their reflections during the perilous journeys, tinged, as they were, by business perplexities, must

have been very different from those that stimulated the ardent Quincy.

The palmy days of the stage-coach were also the palmy days of the Lynn Hotel. Both, too, were thrown into the shade at the same time and by the same means—to wit, the construction of the Eastern Railroad. A good deal of romance clusters around the old stages, and there is little wonder that even now sometimes companies of aged men, remembering the jolly rides of their youth, should wish to live over some especially happy episode. So we occasionally hear of a "tally-ho" expedition, with its old-time turn-out, its yet merry driver, trembling under the weight of years, and its resounding horn again wakening the echoes of the hills. On the 12th of June, 1878, a party of twelve gentlemen, mostly quite aged, and all lovers of old-time customs, set out from Newburyport to enjoy a ride to Boston in the old-fashioned four-horse stage-coach of their boyhood. The driver was a veteran of the road, and eighty-one years of age. The start was propitious and the ride enjoyable, till they reached Lynn, when, near the junction of Western Avenue and Washington Street, an axle broke and the stage was overturned. Two or three of the passengers were seriously injured, and the aged driver received a severe shock to his system, beside painful bruises.

It was in 1838 that Lynn was invaded by the Eastern Railroad, which soon wrought very great alterations; business centres were changed, giving rise to sectional jealousies, which festered for a number of years. The field of operation for the young aspirant for wealth seemed expanding, and there began to be high hope and expectation of renewed and augmented prosperity, though it was during one of the most protracted periods of business depression through which the country had ever passed.

As early as 1828 a proposition to construct a railroad from Boston to Salem began to be seriously considered, and a circular was sent out from the House of Representatives to various towns in the vicinity, seeking information from which a judgment could be formed as to the expediency of undertaking so formidable an enterprise, either by individuals or the State. The circular sent to Lynn was addressed to the editor of the *Mirror*, and was responded to after evidently careful investigation; and some of the statements may properly be introduced, as showing the then condition of things here, in several particulars.

"The principal manufacture of Lynn is shoes. Of these it appears that 1,038,189 pairs are annually made, which, at four shillings a pair, will amount to \$692,126. These, as they are usually packed, will fill 11,535 boxes, the transportation of which, at one shilling a box, will cost \$1922.50. It is considered that about three-fourths of the above amount returns to Lynn in sole leather and other articles for the manufacture of shoes, in English and West India goods and other merchandise, the transportation of which may be fairly estimated at \$5768. The article of flour alone, 2500 barrels, at \$6.00 a barrel, would amount to \$15,000, the transportation of which would cost \$750. The transportation of the same amount in shoes would cost only \$41.67. And many

other heavy articles will bear an equal proportion. The transportation of a barrel of flour from Boston to Lynn is 30 cents, about the same as the conveyance from Baltimore to Boston.

[Swampscott and Nahant were at that time parts of Lynn.] "There have been about 1000 tons of fresh fish and 50 tons of cured fish conveyed on the turnpike as far as Charlestown during the past year, the transportation of which, at twenty shillings a ton, amounts to \$2500. Fifty barrels of oil have also been extracted, the transportation of which, at two shillings a barrel, cost \$10.00.

"The other articles transported on the Boston route are 60 tons of hay, 70 tons of chocolate, 25 tons of grain, 50 tons of cocoa, 20 tons of rice, 30 tons of ginger, 16 tons of neat hides, 12 tons of leather, 27 tons of goat and kid skins, 85 tons of snuff, 9 tons of iron, 36 tons of coal, 30 tons of turpentine root and 200 tons of marble,—making in all 671 tons, the transportation of which, at twenty shillings a ton, amounts to \$2236.67. Besides these, a large amount of goods is annually conveyed to the dye-house and [silk] printing establishment.

"The average number of passengers is about 11 each day, for 300 days of the year, the amount of whose conveyance, at \$1.25 each, is \$4125. The amount paid by Lynn people for tolls is probably about \$2100.

"By this statement it appears that the annual expense to the town of Lynn, on the Boston route is \$10,068.33.

"The amount of property invested in baggage wagons is about \$4000."

By the foregoing it will be seen how small an amount Lynn could then promise for the support of a railroad. And several interesting facts are disclosed by individual items. What most surprises one, perhaps, is the small number of passengers—an average of *eleven* daily, and that with a thrifty population of 6000. There was comparatively little inducement for any excepting business men to visit the city. The few retail "shopping" necessities could be met at home, and the expense of the visit, both in time and money, was to be looked at. Many went to Boston but once or twice a year, and some not more than twice in a lifetime.

The few leading business men went up once a week in their own "teams," two sometimes joining, one furnishing the conveyance and the other paying the tolls and for house-baiting. Such were the terms on which two prominent townsmen—Samuel Mulliken and Jeremiah Bulfinch—on a chilly November day, set out. Mr. Bulfinch furnished the conveyance, and Mulliken was to pay the expenses. When they arrived at Charlestown in the forenoon they found that an additional toll or something of the sort, to the amount of six cents, had been recently levied. It was what neither had calculated on, and so Mr. M. contended that each should pay half; but Mr. Bulfinch declared that he would pay no part of the six cents. They were equally matched for stubbornness, and sat there arguing and disputing till the declining sun warned them that it was time to turn the horse's head homeward. And home they rode, each probably exulting in his triumph. This incident was related to the writer by one of the parties. "And," he added, his countenance radiating with the rekindled fire within, though he was then more than eighty years old, "I would have set there till this time, before I would have paid it!"

Some of the small manufacturers were accustomed to go to Boston on foot, do their buying and selling and return in the same manner.

Another thing mentioned in the answer to the circular is the amount of coal brought hither at that time—only thirty-six tons—and probably a considerable portion of even that was bituminous, or such as blacksmiths use. Anthracite was then just coming into use in New England, wood being still almost exclusively used for fuel, excepting that in a few country places peat afforded a partial supply. But enough of this.

Old Lynn Hotel has not yet closed its portals, though its business has greatly decreased. During the long period of more than eighty years, since it was erected, its hospitable doors have remained invitingly open for the traveler's entertainment. Other houses in the vicinity have in the meantime been opened and closed. Even the stately Boscobel has, within a few months, retired from the field. But there the old hotel remains, ever and anon renewing its appointments and changing its administration as years move on, becoming less and less an object of interest as those who were familiar with the forms of the elder Breed, of Deacon Field and of the vigilant "True" pass away.

A few words regarding one or two others of the earlier hotels, and matters connected with them, may be given before we pass on to other topics.

It was in 1810 that the once famous Mineral Spring Hotel was built. The situation was retired and romantic in the extreme. Almost surrounded by green hills and woods, and having at its very feet a beautiful lakelet, it was for years deemed a most charming resort. It received its name from the mineral spring which was early discovered near the border of the pond, and stood on rising land about midway between the turnpike and the old Danvers road, just upon the western border of Salem. The waters of the spring are impregnated with iron and sulphur, and were formerly much esteemed for their good effects in scorbutic and pulmonary diseases. Dr. John Caspar Richter van Crowninscheldt, who was reputed to have been educated at the University at Liepsic, and to have fled from Germany on account of a duel, and who, by the way, was an ancestor of the prominent and respectable Crowninshield family of the present day, purchased the adjacent lands and settled there about the year 1690. The celebrated Cotton Mather visited him in his picturesque retreat, partook of the waters of the spring and in one of his works extols their virtues. Earlier than this, however, the spring was known, for in 1669 a description of the boundary line between Lynn and Salem speaks of it as a "noated spring."

But the hotel here has now for many years been numbered with the things that were. In 1847 Mr. Richard S. Fay purchased the estate, together with many adjacent acres, and formed there a most attractive and salubrious summer retreat, repairing and remodeling the house and embellishing the grounds in a manner to render it a fit residence for one of wealth and refined taste.

The Mineral Spring Hotel had one or two landlords of high reputation, whose character assured the most unobjectionable and liberal management. Among them was Major Jabez W. Barton, afterwards, for many years, host at the Albion, in Boston. But there were one or two attempts to sully its fair fame; notably, in 1833, Dr. Hazeltine, a well-known and reputable physician, wrote a communication which was published in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, speaking very slightly of the waters of the spring, and in highly derogatory terms of the management of the hotel. This elicited several sharp replies, and it seemed finally satisfactorily settled that the house, with the exception of occasional disreputable episodes—such as all public-houses are liable to—had maintained a fair character. A forcible writer in one of the papers of the day said: "We know not which most to condemn, the illiberal terms in which he [Dr. Hazeltine] attempts to stigmatize one of the most respectable, quiet and unobjectionable resorts of families and parties in the summer season from Salem and Boston, or the downright ignorance which he manifests concerning the qualities of the spring water. We have said before, and we repeat it, that we know of no place, far or near, possessing so many natural attractions and offering so many real comforts and conveniences to genteel, intelligent and moral people as this summer retreat, nor one with a more upright and every way worthy gentleman at its head, than are to be found at the Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel." This was written at the time Major Barton was landlord.

Perhaps it is incumbent to say something of the great hotel and other public-houses of Nahant, especially those established while the peninsula remained a part of Lynn; but as the writer of the sketch of that town will no doubt say all that is necessary, it might prove unneeded labor.

Nor is it necessary to speak individually of the present hotels of Lynn. We have a considerable number, and they are of various grades, from those reckoned as high-class even down to those which, in by-gone days, went by the name of "salt-hay" hostelry. Our business has been more especially with the taverns of former times—the wayside monuments of the past—around which cluster so much of the true history and the romance of our early days. The generations that knew them have nearly passed away; but their fame will survive in story long after their crumbling walls have disappeared. They have ever furnished for the historian, the poet and the dreamy novelist many of their most jovial, touching and tragic incidents, and long will they continue so to do.

And as to the modes of travel, what more need be said?

"We have spanned the world with iron rails,
And the steam-king rules us now."

CHAPTER XXI.

LYNN—(Continued).

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS.

Indian Deed of Lynn—Lynn's Colonies—Slavery and its Abolition—History of Free Masonry in Lynn—Drinking Customs and Temperance Movements—Free Public Forest.

Sometimes the gleamer's quickened sight
A wealthy prize may spy,
Which in the reaper's duller light
Was passed unheeded by.

—Old Ballad.

INDIAN DEED OF LYNN.—The Indian deed of Lynn, which may be found recorded in the registry at Salem, bears the date September 4, 1686. It is really a mere release of all the remaining interest, if any existed, of the grantors, as heirs of Sagamore Wenepawwekin or George No-Nose, so called, and no doubt a precautionary measure, designed to show that the Indian title had been fairly extinguished. It was executed in the troublous times of the Andros administration, a period when real estate titles were greatly confused. Yet, though Andros had declared that an Indian signature was of no more value than the scratch of a bear's claw, he, in 1689, asked Rev. Mr. Higginson whether New England was the King's territory, and received the reply that it belonged to the colonists, because they held it by just occupation and purchase from the Indians.

The grantors affirm in the deed that their ancestor, the Chief Wenepawwekin, was the true and sole owner of the territory of Lynn, notwithstanding the possession of the English. And they also affirm that there had been no legal dispossession. There were many real and many colorable purchases and sales before this deed; for, to say nothing of the cupidity of the settlers, their red brethren, as a general thing, would sell anything for which they could find a purchaser, whether they had a title to it or not; and they would sell the same thing over and over again as long as a purchaser appeared. Gross fraud was, no doubt, in individual instances practiced, but the summary exercise of authority by the General Court probably rectified many wrongs. On the 6th of September, 1638, the General Court "agreed that the Court of Assistants should take order for the Indians, that they may have satisfaction for their right at Linn." The "right" is not specified, but seems to relate to land.

The Indians were not an agricultural nor a pastoral people, and had no conception of the value of land for the uses of civilized life. Poquannum, called Duke William by Mr. Wood, in his "New England's Prospect," and Black Will in certain depositions among the Salem court files, was Sachem of Nahant. And he could hardly have placed a speculative value on his beautiful dukedom, to have sold it to Mr. Dexter for a suit of clothes, though

possibly he indulged in a vagrant chuckle over his bargain, as it was finally determined that he had no title to the peninsula, which fact he probably knew all along.

This Poquanum, or Black Will, by the way, was quite a character in his time, and somewhat of a rover. It is supposed that he was the same Indian who appeared in a full suit of English clothes, to welcome Gosnold, in 1602. But where he obtained his outfit does not seem to be known. His sale of Nahant and the persistent claims of his grantee occasioned the town much vexation and expense. The end of this wily Indian was tragical. Some vessels had sailed eastward in search of pirates who had been committing depredations and atrocities in various places along the coast. At Scarborough, Me., they fell in with Poquanum, and straightway hanged him, because some Indians had, more than a year before, murdered one Bagnall, a pestilent fellow, whom Winthrop says "had much wronged the Indians." This was retaliating in a summary rather than a just way, it being altogether improbable that Poquanum had any hand in the murder. Indeed, Winthrop says the killing was by "Squidraysett and his Indians."

The tragic death of Poquanum occurred in January, 1633. He seems to have been intelligent, generous in disposition and friendly to the settlers. He left a son who was also named Poquanum, who lived to old age, and was well known in the colony. Gookin, in 1686, says: "He is an Indian of good repute and professeth the Christian religion." He, too, was friendly to the whites, and rendered efficient service during the great King Philip War.

Nothing further need be said regarding the Indian deed of Lynn. But the general remark may be added that there was a great deal of looseness about Indian titles in this vicinity. It can almost be said that heirship was sometimes asserted on no better ground than that the claimant had slain a former owner. Mr. Higginson, the first minister of Salem, in a letter dated in 1629, says: "The Indians are not able to make use of the one-fourth part of the land; neither have they any settled places as towns, to dwell in, nor any grounds as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place." But they soon began to learn from the settlers something of the utility of reforming their nomadic life; and then followed a conception of the value of land.

LYNN'S COLONIES.—Affairs in Lynn had hardly become established in good running order when some of the restless—or it might be more pleasing to say enterprising—spirits began to look for new fields of adventure. In less than a score of years from the commencement of the settlement many families departed and planted new towns, among which were Sandwich and Yarmouth, in Massachusetts; Southampton and Flushing, on Long Island; and Stam-

ford, in Connecticut. New Haven, too, was indebted to Lynn for one of her first and most efficient founders,—Captain Nathaniel Turner, who is spoken of in another connection in this sketch. He it was who purchased from the Indians the territory forming the now beautiful town of Stamford, on the New York and New Haven Railroad, which purchase was brought about in a rather curious way.

The captain's Lynn residence was on Nahant Street, near that of his friend and superior officer, John Humfrey. On the breaking out of the Pequot War, 1636, he took the field with the first expedition and became so pleased with the territory invaded as to determine at the close of hostilities to make a peaceful invasion and form a settlement. He obtained the tract including Stamford by fair purchase from the Indian Sagamores, the recorded agreement being in these words: "I, the said Nathaniel Turner, am to give and bring or send to the above said Sagamores, within the space of one month, twelve coats, twelve howes (hocs), twelve hatchets, twelve glasses, twelve knives, four kettles, four fathoms of white wampum."

The most important of the colonies sent out from Lynn at this period was that of Long Island. Thither went some forty families, and with them, as minister, the Rev. Abraham Pierson, a man of learning and ability. He took with him his little son, Abraham, who was born here. And that son, in 1701, became the first president of Yale College. They sailed in a vessel commanded by Captain Daniel Howe, of Lynn, who appears to have had considerable interest in the expedition. They proceeded as far west as Scout's Bay, landed and made lodgments at Flushing, Jamaica, Hempstead, Oyster Bay and thereabouts. But the Dutch soon asserted their right to the territory and assumed a decidedly hostile attitude. Kieft was then the Dutch Governor, and Captain Howe being a man of determination, things presently began to wear a threatening aspect. The settlers took down the arms of the Prince of Orange which the Dutch had erected, and in their place an Indian drew an "unhandsome face," as Winthrop graphically says, which act the Dutch took "in high displeasure." They then began to rear habitations. Naturally enough, this provoked the Dutch Governor, and to such a degree did his ire attain that he had several arrested and imprisoned. But he does not appear to have been a really ill-natured or unreasonable man, though Washington Irving does characterize him as "William the Testy."

On their promise to remove, the prisoners were readily released. They did remove some eighty miles eastward and commenced the permanent settlement of Southampton, which name was given in commemoration of the port in England from which some of them originally came.

Southampton, thus begun, still numbers among her people many who descended from that good old Lynn stock. In this colonization quite a number of the

leading residents of Lynn were concerned, though some whose names were on the roll did not emigrate. The colony grew apace, and from time to time sent off other colonies that made lodgments in various parts of the island, so that the Long Island of this day owes much to the Lynn of that day.

These colonists evidently carried with them the ideas of freedom and equality under which they had prospered here, and in their new home continued to be governed in a thoroughly democratic way, though at one time, 1644, they placed themselves professedly under the Hartford jurisdiction. "The government of the town," says an intelligent native writer, "was vested in the people. They assembled at their town-meetings, had all power and all authority. They elected town officers, constituted courts, allotted lands, made laws, tried difficult and important cases, and from their decision there was no appeal. The Town-Meeting, or General Court, as it was sometimes called, met once a month. Every freeholder was required to be present at its meetings and take a part in the burdens of government. All delinquents were fined for non-attendance at each meeting."

The Long Island enterprise thus inaugurated by the people of Lynn was really of a good deal of importance. It was with James Forrett, as agent of Lord Sterling, that the negotiations for the right to occupy the land were made. Winthrop says, "Divers of the inhabitants of Linne, finding themselves straitened, looked out for a new plantation, and going to Long Island, they agreed with the Lord Sterling's agent there, one Mr. Forrett, for a parcel of the isle near the west end, and agreed with the Indians for their right." The emigrants, however, to begin with, had a difficulty with Agent Forrett, the cause of which does not exactly appear, and he entered a strong protest against them at Boston as "intruders." Then the troubles with the Dutch came, but by persistence and fair dealing the settlers soon obtained favor and a permanent foothold.

It is not necessary to occupy space in speaking further of the colonies that early went out from Lynn. What has been said of the Long Island enterprise in a great degree characterized the others, their spirit and purposes being much the same.

SLAVERY AND ITS ABOLITION.—The beginning of slavery in Massachusetts was in 1638, when some of the captive Pequot Indians were sent to the West Indies and sold for return cargoes of cotton, tobacco and *negroes*, but in 1641 the court, in a loose and uncertain way, set its face against such servitude, enacting that "There shall never be any bond slavery, villianage or captivitie amongst us, unless it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authoritie." What is there in this to prevent negro or Indian slavery? Under the clause "such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are

sold to us," a door seems to be widely opened. Thomas Keyser, an early settler of Lynn, was a mariner, and appears unscrupulously to have engaged in the Guinea slave trade, conjointly with James Smith, of Boston, a church member. Slaves were most numerous in the province in 1745. In 1754 there were four hundred and thirty-nine slaves in Essex County, and in all Massachusetts forty-four hundred and eighty-nine. In 1774 the General Court passed a bill prohibiting the importation of slaves, but Governor Gage refused his assent.

At the commencement of the Revolution there were twenty-six slaves in Lynn, among them one belonging to Thomas Mansfield, named Pompey, a native prince born on the Gambia, and who continued to be duly honored by all the negroes hereabout, holding a holiday court once a year in a fragrant glade, surrounded by his gayly-clad subjects, who had been allowed their freedom for the day.

The State Constitution was established in 1780. The first article of the Declaration of Rights asserts that all men are born free and equal, and this was generally supposed to have reference to slavery, but it was a point on which there was by no means unanimity of opinion. In 1781, however, at a court in Worcester, an indictment was found against a white man for assaulting, beating and imprisoning a black. The case finally, in 1783, went to the Supreme Court, and there the defense was that the black was a slave, and the beating the necessary and lawful correction by the master; but the defense was declared invalid, and this decision was the death-blow to slavery in Massachusetts.

As to the later movements touching the abolition of slavery in the United States, it may be remarked that Lynn raised a strong and by no means uncertain voice in behalf of the slaves,—a cause so much derided and opposed in its incipient stages, but so much applauded when it had become popular.

The "Lynn Colored People's Friend Society" was formed in 1832, but it is thought that the members really did more for the cause by individual than combined action. Nevertheless, the organization was useful in arousing and centralizing attention. Speakers from abroad were occasionally here. The accomplished and piquant Grimkie ladies from the South gave one or two stirring addresses. In the early part of the summer of 1835 George Thompson, the prominent English abolitionist, visited Lynn, and lectured in several of the meeting-houses to large audiences. In the latter part of the summer he again came to Lynn to attend a meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, held in the First Methodist meeting-house. Some hostility was now manifested by the opponents of the movement. In the evening, while Mr. Thompson was lecturing, a great crowd collected about the house, and a stone was thrown through one of the windows, causing great disturbance within. A large number pressed into the entry and attempted

to the commencement of the present century. Tradition informs us that a number of Masonic brethren frequently met for consultation, and concluded, in the early summer of 1805, to form a lodge. These brethren resided in the western part of the town and located the lodge in the upper room of a small wooden building on Boston Street, near the corner of North Federal. The founders of the lodge were among the foremost citizens, men of character and influence, whose names to this day are revered by the fraternity. The original records show that Amariah Childs, Ezra Collins, Thomas C. Thatcher, William Frothingham, Frederick Breed, William Ballard, Francis Moore, Jr., Aaron Breed, Aaron Learned, Samuel Brimblecom, Thomas Witt, Joseph Johnson, Jonas W. Gleason, Joshua Blanchard, David Crane and Richard Johnson, being all master masons, assembled some time about the 1st of June, 1805, and agreed to form themselves into a brotherhood by the name of *Mount Carmel Lodge*; and after choosing Amariah Childs, Master; William Ballard, Senior Warden; and Francis Moore, Jr., Junior Warden, they signed a petition to the Grand Lodge for a charter, which was granted at the quarterly communication in June of the same year.

The hall of Lynn Academy, then recently erected, on South Common Street, was obtained, fitted up, all necessary regalia procured and regular meetings commenced. The first candidate proposed for initiation was Ezra Mudge, father of Ezra Warren Mudge, the sixth mayor of Lynn. The first code of by-laws was adopted November 13th, and the membership limited to fifty. The lodge so prospered that in 1807 an invitation was extended to the Grand Lodge to publicly install the officers. The use of the old parish meeting-house was procured for the purpose, and there the ceremonies took place, the Rev. Asa Eaton, D.D., rector of Christ Church, Boston, delivering the sermon. The membership was, in 1818, limited to seventy-five, by the new code of by-laws then adopted.

In 1821 the lodge erected for its use the two-story frame building which long stood in Market Square, at the corner of Elm Street, and was known as Masonic Hall. The cost was \$1,325.98. The corner-stone was laid June 25th, with Masonic ceremonies, Rev. Cheever Felch delivering the address, and the hall was dedicated November 12th.

The lodge attended, by invitation, the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1825. On St. John's day, June 24, 1826, Brother Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, delivered a learned and eloquent address before the fraternity, in the First Methodist meeting-house.

The last meeting of record, previous to surrendering the charter of Mount Carmel Lodge, appears to have been on the 16th of December, 1834. And from that time until June 11, 1845, there is no record to show that the lodge was called together.

During the decade from 1835 to 1845 there is an

unwritten history of meetings on Long Beach and High Rock held by faithful members during the stormy and troublous anti-Masonic period.

The charter of the lodge was restored on the 11th of June, 1845. A meeting was called July 19th, and officers elected, who were installed July 23d, and from that date commenced a season of prosperity which has continued without interruption to the present time. The first person to receive the degrees after the revival of the charter was Bradford Williams, the ceremony taking place September 15, 1845.

On the 17th of February, 1851, a fire destroyed much of the property of the lodge, which was at Liberty Hall, at the corner of Essex and Market Streets, where the meetings were held. After this the regular meetings of the fraternity were held at the house of their Worthy Master, W. M. Phillips, until Dec. 16th, when they met in a hall in which one or two other organizations occasionally assembled. In the winter of 1854 the hall in the Sagamore Building was fitted up and used for the regular convocations of the lodge, and if those old walls could speak, a recital of the history of the meetings of Mount Carmel Lodge would greatly interest the present members of the fraternity in our city.

On the 29th of December, 1855, the first book of records was formally closed, having served the lodge for half a century. And on September 7, 1857, a new code of by-laws was adopted, to which is appended the names of sixty-one members.

On the 8th of September, 1863, *Sutton Chapter of Royal Arch Masons* was organized.

On the 14th of October, 1864, upon invitation of the Grand Body, Mount Carmel Lodge assisted in laying the corner-stone of the new Masonic Temple, corner of Boylston and Tremont Streets, Boston.

On February 21, 1865, *Golden Fleece Lodge* was duly organized, and had for its first three officers Timothy G. Senter, W. M.; Alonzo C. Blethen, S. W.; John G. Dudley, J. W.

April 10, 1865, the ladies of Lynn presented a beautiful banner to Mount Carmel Lodge.

July 4, 1865, the Masonic fraternity joined in the celebration of the day.

November 13, 1865, an invitation was received from Mayor Peter M. Neal to take part in the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of the City Hall; but on December 11th a communication was received from the R. W. Grand Master refusing to grant a dispensation for the lodges to appear in public to take part in the ceremonies.

October 8, 1866.—A petition was received and consent given for the formation of a lodge at Saugus.

June 24, 1867.—The Masonic fraternity of Lynn participated in the dedicatory services of the new Masonic Temple in Boston.

June 28, 1872.—Died, in Lynn, Jonathan Richardson, a native of the town, aged eighty-seven years. He was one of the early members of Mount Carmel

Lodge, and tiler for more than forty years. He remained a faithful adherent to the institution when so many of the brethren withdrew, in the troublous times of anti-Masonry. His burial took place from the First Methodist meeting-house, and was attended by a large number of the fraternity.

February, 1873.—*Olivet Commandery of Knights Templars* was organized. October 22d there was a grand parade, attracting much attention.

September 8, 1873.—Invitation received from the city government of Lynn to take part in the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument. As an organization, however, the fraternity did not join in the ceremonies.

May 12, 1879.—Invitation received from Mayor George P. Sanderson to participate in the celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the settlement of Lynn. But the invitation was not accepted.

December 8, 1880.—A board of trustees elected to take charge of the hall and of the property belonging to the Masonic fraternity.

May 9, 1881.—By-laws adopted granting life membership in Mount Carmel Lodge.

October 8, 1881.—Grand Master S. E. Lawrence present for the purpose of addressing the lodges on the commutation of the Grand Lodge capitation tax.

February 22, 1882.—Members from lodges in the Fifth District hold a meeting at Masonic Hall in Lynn, for exemplification of work and the lectures connected therewith. Charles M. Avery, Grand Lecturer, present as instructor.

Mount Carmel Lodge, soon after the renewal of its charter, in 1845, began steadily to increase in numbers and strength, and, from time to time, found it necessary to seek more capacious accommodations. Some years ago the hall in Tolman's Building, Market Street, corner of Liberty, was leased and fitted up in becoming style, the dedicatory ceremonies taking place in July, 1872. But now, for a number of years, the several Masonic organizations have occupied the eligible quarters in the building of the Young Men's Christian Association, on Market Street.

For fifty-eight years Mount Carmel was the only lodge in Lynn. But there are now, 1887, the following Masonic bodies:

Organization.	Membership, 1886.
Mount Carmel Lodge 1805	103
Sutton Royal Arch Chapter 1843	130
Golden Fleece Lodge 1865	178
Olivet Commandery Knights Templar . . 1873	117

The trustees of the Masonic fraternity in Lynn, at the present time, are: William D. Pool, president; George H. Allen, treasurer; William B. Phillips, secretary; Charles E. Parsons, Charles C. Fry.

DRINKING CUSTOMS AND TEMPERANCE MOVEMENTS.—Whether our predecessors, as occupants of this soil, the Indians, were ever excessive drinkers is

not positively known. They did not have distilled liquors, but may possibly have had some sort of herba-ceous concoction that operated as a more or less inebriating stimulant. But they had nothing that in its effects would compare with the "fire water" brought by their pale-faced supplanters. Their boisterous orgies, which led our fathers to call them "devil worshippers," were of a character very different from "drunken sprees." But when they got a taste of the white man's fire water, having no restraining moral sentiment, their lust for it was unquenchable. The deplorable result need not be recounted. It has been said that the first instance of Indian intoxication in this part of North America took place in September, 1609, when the ship of the celebrated navigator, Henry Hudson, was cruising about the river that still bears his name. For the curious purpose of ascertaining the natural disposition of the natives whom they encountered, it is said the navigators resolved to make some of the principal ones intoxicated. To that end, ardent spirits, "as much as they would," were administered. Only one, however, became really drunk, though all reached the merry stage. The pranks of the drunken one greatly astonished and alarmed the others, who imagined that an evil spirit had entered into him. The next day, however, everything having calmed down, some became clamorous for a renewal of the experiment. This, as remarked, is claimed to have been the first instance of intoxication ever known among the Indians. Unhappily, it was by no means the last. Many a tract of valuable land has been bought of an Indian for a quart of rum, notwithstanding the efforts of the colonial authorities to prevent such nefarious traffic. During the colonial days there was much legislation in regard to strong liquors, both on the score of their proper use by individuals and their relation to the public by way of revenue. But we must treat of our own neighborhood.

It cannot be said that Lynn in her earlier days was remarkable for abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors. There were causes for the prevalence of the evil habit here that in some places did not exist. It was the custom of the times for all classes to use intoxicants in season and out of season. Excepting in rare instances, the ministers indulged; and the doctors. The physical injury attending the use was not so well understood; nor the moral effect. At ordinations, at weddings, at funerals, drink freely flowed; and at trainings and huskings; indeed, at all quasi social and public gatherings; to say nothing of sly indulgence at home. An illustrative anecdote is told of the eccentric Lois Hart, who lived on the north side of Boston Street, near Federal. During her last sickness the good Doctor Gardner one day remarked to her that, being so aged, she could not expect to long survive, and, in view of her approaching end, asked if he should not invite the minister to call. "Well, yes," she replied, in her rude way, "I

should like well enough to see him; and when you go up town, call into some of the grog-shops, and when you see him ask him to call." The end of the story is that he actually was found in one of the drinking groceries, and blandly received the message.

But especially as regards the youth of Lynn: The crews, usually consisting of five or six, in the shoemaker's little shops thought it necessary to have their forenoon and afternoon drams—in winter to brace up against the cold, in summer to brace up against the heat. It was customary to put boys into the shops at the age of twelve, they having obtained their education by that time, excepting, perhaps, the little they might acquire by occasionally attending an evening school. They were of just the age when character for life was forming, and it was placing them in a most perilous situation. The youngest boy in the shop was usually the one sent out for liquor, and he was entitled, on his return, to the first drink, for the service, if his breath did not betray a sly imbibition by the way.

But it is not true that people were universally blind to the evils of strong drink. From the earliest times there were some wide awake on the subject. The Lynn emigrants to Long Island, soon after getting well established at Southampton, 1655, ordained that no one should sell strong liquors within the town bounds, excepting "our neighbor, John Cooper;" and he was not to sell to any Indian, nor to any but those who would use them properly. There was Dr. James Gardner, just mentioned, who, before the present century, pointed out the evils of so prevalent indulgence, and often fearlessly warned his patients against habits which were destroying their health, as well as ruining their souls. A memorandum of his, under date May 31, 1796, is in these words: "One person died of chronic illness, said to have been occasioned by gross intemperance, or a brutal indulgence of the destroyer, rum. . . . He was able to walk to a considerable distance to procure the poison only six days before death closed the scene at one draught." Mr. Enoch Mudge, from whom many of the name now among us descended, was a rigid abstainer, never allowing spirits in his house or shop. He was grandfather of Hon. E. R. Mudge, the munificent donor of St. Stephen's Church.

When the general awakening on the subject of intemperance took place, more than half a century ago, the voice of Lynn was loudly raised against the evil. Sixty years ago, in 1826, a society was formed here for the promotion of "Industry and Temperance." It soon numbered more than four hundred members, and embraced, with few exceptions, the most conspicuous men of the town. The membership in 1836, fifty years since, was five hundred and fifty. Its president then was Thomas Bowler, for sixteen years town clerk. The society was at that time composed largely of middle-aged and elderly persons, as

in the meantime two other societies, embracing more of the younger men, had been formed, namely, the *Lynn Young Men's Temperance Society*, organized in 1833, and the *Lynn Union Temperance Society*, formed in 1835. This latter was the first organization here that proscribed wine, cider or strong beer, which theretofore had not been popularly reckoned as intoxicants. Of this society Josiah Newhall was the first president, and George W. Keene the first secretary.

Lynn soon took rank among the most zealous temperance communities. Rev. Edwin Thompson, so well known for the last forty years as a lecturer on temperance and anti-slavery, was living here, and, though young, by his winning ways and strong arguments, did much to advance the cause. Liquors soon began to be banished from the workshops and the labeled casks from the stores. It was even facetiously said of one or two zealots that they cut down their apple trees, lest the fruit should be made into cider—contrariwise from the unsophisticated old Indian who is said to have told Mrs. Whiting, on smacking his lips after swallowing the mug of cider she had given him, that he thought Adam was rightly damned for eating the apples in Eden, as he should have made them into cider.

When the shoemakers' little shops were displaced by the large factories, more stringent rules were necessarily established, and, as a matter of course, the machinery was run without the oil of the still. One of the former traps for the young was thus removed. At the present time few, if any, places in sober New England can boast of a more temperate population than Lynn. It would be useless to attempt to give details respecting the many temperance organizations, male and female, adult and juvenile. Yet the cause here, as elsewhere, requires vigilant and unremitted watchfulness.

There are now some fifteen regular temperance organizations in Lynn, besides a number of other associations that make temperance a part of their object.

FREE PUBLIC FOREST.—A voluntary association was formed in 1881, the object being, in brief, the preservation of as large a portion as may be of the extensive range of forest land yet remaining upon our northern border, to be forever devoted to the free use of the public as a woodland park. Thus far about one hundred and ten acres have been secured, chiefly by the gift of those who owned the lands. Twice a year individuals most deeply interested, with invited guests, assemble in some romantic spot, on hill-top or in glen, which, with ceremonies reminding of the old mythological days, they proceed to consecrate. Sometimes it is in memory of a revered departed one, and sometimes of a marked event. An "altar," in the shape, perhaps, of a mossy boulder, is made to bear the ceremonial fire, replenished by woodland gatherings and the oil of incense. The participants, enwreathed in sylvan spoils, gather around with songs, readings and inspiring pageantry. The occa-

sion usually calls out some poem or address well worthy of preservation. For instance, there were written for the meeting on the 30th of May, 1886, four little poems, which, though untoward circumstances prevented their being sung, were published in connection with the account of the proceedings. One of the interesting features on this particular day was the release of a "Messenger Dove." Let us quote a stanza or two from each of the little poems, as, besides their appropriateness to the occasion, they afford a taste of the qualities of some of our local versifiers:

By RUTHIE TURNER:

"Once more we meet at spring's return,
And lay aside each weight and care,
While o'er us bend the leafy trees,
And round us breathes the balmy air."

By BESSIE BLAND:

"To God's first temple we repair,
In forest aisle to rest;
Lo! from the sacred altar there,
The flame uplifts its crest!
A symbol of the life so fair,
That glows on nature's breast."

By SAMUEL W. FOSS:

"Fly to the fields, thou white-winged dove,
Tell all their leafy bowers
That summer comes on wings of love
To storm the land with flowers.

"Tell to the hearts bowed down with grief
That joy returns again;
That summer comes with flower and leaf,
And hope renews her reign."

By DARIUS BARRY:

"The trees and rocks my brothers are,
There's freedom in the air,
The violet and the mossy stone
Send up a silent prayer."

Whatever may be thought of the ceremonies of the "camp days" the object of the associates is assuredly praiseworthy. And though the work undertaken is of great and yet undefined proportions, and such as in no probability can be fully accomplished during the lifetime of the present participants, future generations will doubtless honor the effort. But setting aside all other considerations, these spring and autumn woodland gatherings are highly enjoyable, resolving themselves at suitable hours into picnic entertainments, inspiring social intercourse of a refining and educating character.

CHAPTER XXII.

LYNN - (Continued).

SHORT NOTES, CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

"Minute historical facts are to history as the nerves and sinews, the veins and arteries, are to the animated bodies; they may not separately exhibit much of use, elegant or just proportion, but taken collectively, they furnish strength, spirit and existence itself. An historian who hath neglected to study them knows but the half of his profession, and like one who is ignorant of anatomy, sinks into a mere manual operator."—LORD.

IN an historical sketch of circumscribed limits there are, of course, many topics on which it is impossible to dwell at large, but which should not be passed over in entire silence, and in some instances brief recapitulations seem necessary. In the hope, therefore, of supplying deficiencies the following summary is introduced:

1004. Various accounts, derived chiefly from ancient Scandinavian manuscripts, have led to the belief that certain adventurous navigators visited this coast and made lodgments much earlier than any permanent occupation was effected. For instance, Thorwald, the Northman, a son of Eric the Red, is claimed to have been upon the New England coast in the year 1004, and to have landed at one or two places. At one landing-place he was so charmed by the prospect that he exclaimed,—“Here it is beautiful! and here I should like to fix my dwelling!” And there, indeed, was the bluff old hero's everlasting dwelling fixed, for in a hostile encounter with a swarm of savages, that presently ensued, he received an arrow wound that speedily proved fatal. As life was fast closing he said to his people,—“I now advise you to prepare for your departure as soon as possible; but me ye shall bring to the promontory where I thought it good to dwell. It may be that it was a prophetic word which fell from my mouth, about my abiding there for a season. There ye shall bury me, and plant a cross at my head and also at my feet, and call the place Krossanes (the Cape of the Cross) in all time coming.” He died, the record adds, and they did as he had ordered. This was quite sentimental for a rough sea rover, but indicates warmth of heart and imagination. But what makes the incident interesting to the people of Lynn is the supposition long since put forth that “Krossanes” was Nahant, so long a part of our own territory. Possibly the supposition is correct, but those loose Scandinavian records are hardly to be taken as conclusive evidence, especially as they fail to fix geographical lines with any certainty.

1602. The celebrated navigator, Bartholomew Gosnold, is said to have anchored in the waters of Lynn this year. He seems, indeed, to have been the first European certainly known to have visited Essex County. He sailed from Falmouth, England, in

March, 1602, and reached Massachusetts Bay on the 14th of May. While coasting around it is highly probable that he cast anchor here, and, perhaps, landed for a prospecting tour. But he did not long remain. While Gosnold was in the vicinity he was greatly surprised by an Indian, dressed in English clothes, coming on board and saluting him in fair English. And that Indian is believed to have been Black Will, of Lynn, the Sagamore before alluded to. He was smart, and not over-scrupulous, as his selling Nahant, to which he had no title, to Mr. Dexter, for a suit of clothes, very well proves.

1614. There is little doubt that Captain John Smith, whose life was saved by the interposition of the dusky heroine, Pocahontas—if the tale is not mere romance—was here in 1614, and was struck by the grandeur of the Nahant cliffs, which he compared to the "Pieramides of Egypt." And for the benefit of the curious in such matters it may be remarked that the redoubtable captain lived at one time in Lynn Regis, from which our own Lynn took its name. He served in a counting-house there, but finally left, with ten shillings in his pocket, which he says were contributed by friends who desired to get rid of him. He went to France and served in a military capacity there and in other countries. In 1608 he was in Virginia, and became a master-spirit in its colonization. But his propensity for roving was unconquerable, and we find him, a few years later, drifting about the New England coast. It appears to have been Captain Smith who bestowed the name New England upon our territory, it having previously been known as North Virginia. Yet he was not, apparently, very favorably impressed by the character of the country or the climate, as he remarked that he was not so simple as to think that any other motive than wealth would "ever erect a commonwealth or draw company from their ease and humors at home" to occupy here.

The foregoing visits, however, were of little importance so far as any direct benefit accrued, no surviving settlement being made hereabout if, indeed, any was contemplated; so let us come to the day of permanent settlement.

1629. Five families, chief among them Edmund Ingalls and his brother Francis, arrive and commence the settlement.

1630. Thomas Newhall born, being the first person of European parentage born here. He died in March, 1687, aged fifty-seven. Wolves killed several swine belonging to the settlers, September 30th. Fifty settlers, chiefly farmers, and many of them with families, arrive and locate in different neighborhoods.

1631. Governor Winthrop passed through the settlement October 28th, and noted that the crops were plentiful.

1632. First church—fifth in the colony—formed. Stephen Bachiler, minister. The court order that "No person shall take any tobacco publicly, under

pain of punishment, also that every one shall pay one penny for every time he is convicted of taking tobacco in any place."

1633. A corn-mill, the first in the settlement, built on Strawberry Brook. Says Winthrop, under this date,—“James Sagamore, of Sagus, died, and most of his folks” (of small-pox).

1634. John Humfrey arrives and settles on Nahant Street. The settlement sends her first Representatives to the General Court. William Wood, one of the first comers, publishes "New England's Prospect."

1635. Philip Kertland, the first shoemaker, arrives.

1637. Name of the settlement changed from Saugus to Lynn. At this time there were thirty-seven plows in the colony, most of them in Lynn. Settlement of Sandwich commenced by emigrants from Lynn. The General Court forbade the making of cakes or buns, "except for burials, marriages and such like special occasions." And also ordered that corn should be received as legal tender, at five shillings a bushel.

1638. First division of lands among the inhabitants.

1639. Ferry across Saugus River established. First bridge over Saugus River at Boston Street crossing built.

1643. Iron-works near Saugus River commenced, the first in America.

1644. Hugh Bert and Samuel Bennett, of Lynn, presented to the grand jury as "common sleepers in time of exercise." Both convicted and fined.

1646. Lynn made a market town—Tuesday, the lecture day, being market day.

1656. Robert Bridges, one of the most active and enterprising of the early settlers, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and assistant, died this year. He was a large proprietor in the iron-works.

1658. Dungeon Rock alleged to have been rent by an earthquake, entombing alive Thomas Veal, the pirate, with treasure.

1666. A year of disasters. Several die of small-pox. "Divers are slain by lightning." Grasshoppers and caterpillars do much mischief.

1669. Boniface Burton died, aged one hundred and thirteen years.

1679. Rev. Samuel Whiting, for forty-three years minister of the First Parish, died December 11th, aged eighty-two years.

1680. Dr. Philip Reed, the first physician, complained to the court of Mrs. Margaret Gifford as a witch. Joseph Armitage, first keeper of the famous Anchor Tavern, which continued as a public-house for more than a hundred and fifty years, died June 27th, aged eighty. The great Newtonian comet appeared in November, occasioning much alarm.

1682. Old Tunnel meeting-house built.

1688. Excitement about Edward Randolph's petition for a grant of Nahant.

1689. Sir Edmund Andros passed through Lynn on

his way to Boston from the east, making a short stay, not deigning, however, to confer with the people as to their wrongs.

1692. Great witchcraft excitement. Six Lynn persons were arrested and imprisoned; some of them were tried, and one condemned to death, but not executed.

1694. A church-fast appointed by Rev. Mr. Shepard, July 19th, for the arrest of the "spiritual plague" of Quakerism.

1697. Great alarm on account of the small-pox. This was many years before vaccination was practiced.

1706. Second division of land among the inhabitants.

1708. A public fast held on account of the ravages of caterpillars and canker worms.

1719. Northern lights observed for the first time, December 17th. Much alarm occasioned.

1720. Rev. Jeremiah Shepard, minister of the First Parish for forty years, died June 3d, aged seventy-two.

1721. John Burrill, a member of the House of Representatives for twenty years, ten of which he was Speaker, died of small-pox, December 10th, aged sixty-three.

1723. A terrific storm with raging sea, February 24th. First mill on Saugus River, at Boston Street crossing, built.

1726. £13 15s. awarded to Nathaniel Potter for linen manufactured in Lynn.

1745. Rev. Mr. Whitefield preaches on Lynn common, creating much excitement.

1750. John Adam Dagyr, an accomplished shoemaker, arrives.

1755. Greatest earthquake ever known in New England, November 18th. It commenced a little after four in the morning, and continued about four minutes, being apparently the same convulsion that destroyed Lisbon, sixty thousand persons perishing there in six minutes, the sea rising fifty feet above its usual level.

1759. A bear weighing four hundred pounds killed in Lynn woods.

1761. Rev. Nathaniel Hinchman, minister of the First Parish for forty years, died December 23d, aged sixty-one.

1770. Potato rot prevails and canker worms commit great ravages.

1775. Battle of Lexington, April 19th; five Lynn men killed.

1776. Declaration of Independence promulgated. At this time twenty-six negro slaves were owned in Lynn.

1780. Memorable dark day, May 19th. Houses lighted as at night.

1784. Gen. Lafayette passed through town, October 28th, receiving enthusiastic plaudits.

1788. Gen. Washington passed through town, in

October, and was affectionately greeted by old and young.

1793. Lynn post-office established, and first kept on Boston Street, near Federal. Dr. John Flagg, an esteemed physician and Revolutionary patriot, member of the Committee of Safety and commissioned as colonel, died May 27th, aged fifty.

1795. Brig "Peggy" wrecked on Long Beach, December 9th, and eleven lives lost.

1796. First fire-engine for public use purchased.

1800. Memory of Washington honored; procession and eulogy, January 13th. Morocco manufacture introduced.

1803. Boston and Salem turnpike opened, and Lynn Hotel built. Miles Shorey and wife both killed by lightning, July 10th; she had an infant in her arms who was unharmed, and lived to old age.

1804. First celebration of independence in Lynn.

1808. First law-office in Lynn opened by Benjamin Merrill; it was in a chamber of the dwelling corner of North Common and Park Streets. Great bull fight at Half-Way House; bulls and bull-dogs engaged. Lynn Artillery chartered November 18th, and allowed two brass field-pieces. John Adam Dagyr, the early shoemaker before named, who became widely known for his uncommon taste and skill, died in the almshouse.

1812. Lynn Light Infantry chartered June 30th.

1813. Moll Pitcher, the celebrated fortune-teller, died, April 9th, aged seventy-five. Sketch of her on previous page.

1814. Lynnfield set off from Lynn and incorporated as a separate town. First Town House of Lynn built. First Bank established—known as Lynn Mechanics' Bank till its reorganization as the First National Bank, in 1864. Battle between the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon" fought, June 1st. Intense solicitude was manifested by the people of Lynn, many of whom witnessed the contest from heights and roofs. The battle was anticipated, and multitudes came from neighboring places. The greatest amount of travel over the turnpike that ever took place in a single day then occurred. One hundred and twenty crowded stages passed, it is said, and an almost countless number of all sorts of vehicles, together with equestrians and pedestrians innumerable.

1815. Saugus set off from Lynn and incorporated as a separate town. Terrific southeasterly gale, September 23d; ocean spray driven several miles inland. Joseph Fuller, first president of first Lynn Bank, and first State Senator from Lynn, died, aged forty-two.

1816. Great horse trot on the turnpike, in Lynn, September 1st; said to have been the first in the country; Major Stackpole's "Old Blue" trotted three miles in eight minutes and forty-two seconds.

1817. President Monroe visited Lynn; school children arrayed on the Common.

1819. The wonderful sea-serpent appears off Long Beach; in the sketch of Swampscott a somewhat

detailed account of this supposed marine monster will appear. Nahant Hotel built. Almshouse at Tower Hill built.

1824. General Lafayette visits Lynn August 31st, and is enthusiastically welcomed.

1825. First Lynn newspaper—the *Weekly Mirror*—issued September 3d by Charles F. Lummus. It was published six years.

1826. First savings bank—Lynn Institution for Savings—incorporated.

1827. Micajah Collins, teacher of the Friends' school and minister of the Friends' Society, died January 30th, aged sixty-two. Solomon Moulton, a youthful writer of much promise, died May 26th, aged nineteen. Broad and brilliant night arch, August 28th.

1828. Flora, a negro woman, died October 1st, aged one hundred and thirteen. Lynn Mutual Fire Insurance Company organized.

1829. Splendid display of frosted trees, January 10th.

1830. Donald McDonald, a Scotchman, died in Lynn almshouse October 4th, aged one hundred and eight; he was at Braddock's defeat and at the battle of Quebec, when Wolfe fell.

1831. Maria Augusta Fuller, poetess and prose writer, died January 19th, aged twenty-four. Dr. James Gardner, a physician of high standing, died December 26th, aged sixty-nine.

1832. First Lynn directory published by Charles F. Lummus. Nahant Bank incorporated; failed in 1836.

1833. Extraordinary shower of meteors, November 13th.

1836. Dr. Richard Hazeltine, a learned and successful physician of the old school, died July 10th, aged sixty-two.

1837. Surplus United States revenue distributed, Lynn receiving fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine dollars, and applying it to the payment of the town debt.

1838. Charles F. Lummus, first Lynn printer, died April 20th, aged thirty-seven. Eastern Railroad opened for travel from Boston to Salem, August 28th.

1839. Ebenezer Breed—Uncle Eben, as he was called—one of the "nursing fathers" of the shoe business of Lynn—died in the almshouse, December 23d, aged seventy-four.

1841. The first picture by the new art known as daguerreotype, or photography, ever taken in Lynn was a landscape, taken this year by James R. Newhall, by apparatus imported from France.

1842. Amos Blanchard, a musician of the Revolutionary army, and for many years a teacher of a district school, died May 25th, aged seventy-eight. Enoch Curtin, a poet and prose writer, died May 28th, aged forty-seven.

1843. Dr. Charles O. Barker, a reputable physician, died January 8th, aged forty-one; his wife was a daughter of Rembrandt Peale, the celebrated painter.

The schooner "Thomas" was wrecked on Long Beach March 17th, five men perishing.

1845. Dr. Edward L. Coffin, physician, scientist and writer, died March 31st, aged fifty.

1846. Amariah Childs, manufacturer of a famous kind of chocolate, died January 21st, aged eighty. Mexican War commenced; Lynn furnished twenty volunteers. Destructive fire on Water Hill Street, August 9th, destroying a large brick silk-printing establishment, spice and coffee-mill, and two or three smaller buildings; total loss, about seventy-five thousand dollars.

1847. President Polk made a short visit to Lynn, July 5th.

1848. George Gray, the Lynn hermit, died February 28th, aged seventy-eight. Carriage-road over harbor side of Long Beach built. Lynn Common fenced.

1849. Lynn Police Court established. Large emigration to California. Lighton Bank incorporated; reorganized as the Central National in 1865.

1850. City form of government adopted. Samuel Brimblecom, an early and enterprising shoe manufacturer, and colonel of militia during the War of 1812, died April 24th, aged eighty-one. Pine Grove Cemetery consecrated July 24th. Thirteen persons of a picnic party from Lynn drowned in Lynnfield Pond, August 15th. Ten-hour system—that is, ten hours to constitute a day's work—generally adopted. Church bells ordered to be rung at six P.M. Previously there was no limit to work hours.

1851. On March 18th and April 15th the tide, during violent storms, swept entirely over Long Beach, the storm of the 15th of April being that during which Minot's Ledge light-house was carried away. It was so severe as to force the salt water from the sea to the Common, the wind, no doubt, driving the water up the little brook that ran across the Common in such quantities as to overflow and form a sheet that was quite salt. Hiram Marble commenced the excavation of Dungeon Rock, in search of treasure, in the summer of this year.

1852. Swampscott set off from Lynn, and incorporated as a separate town. Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian exile, was warmly received, May 6th; greeted by some ten thousand persons assembled on the Common, and escorted through the streets by a long procession to Lyceum Hall, where an enthusiastic reception took place.

1853. Nahant set off from Lynn, and incorporated as a separate town. Illuminating gas first lighted here, January 13th. Cars commenced running over Saugus Branch Railroad, February 1st.

1854. City Bank incorporated; reorganized as National City Bank, 1865.

1855. City charter so amended as to have the municipal year commence on the first Monday of January, instead of the first Monday of April. Five Cents Savings Bank incorporated.

1856. Two bald eagles appear on the ice in Lynn harbor, January 17th. Ezra R. Tebbets, of Lynn, killed by a snow-slide from a building in Bromfield Street, Boston, February 12th. Egg Rock light first shown, September 15th.

1857. Great snow-storm, with intense cold, January 18th, during which the bark "Tedesco" was wrecked on Long Rock, Swampscott, all on board, twelve in number, perishing. Goold Brown, a famous grammarian and author, died at his residence, South Common Street, March 31st, aged sixty-five. He was a native of Providence, R. I., and long taught a seminary in New York, but spent his later years in Lynn.

1858. Telegraph communication between Lynn and other places established. Impromptu Atlantic cable celebration in Lynn, August 17th, on the arrival of Queen Victoria's message—the first ever sent over an Atlantic cable—to President Buchanan. St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery consecrated, November 4th.

1859. British bark "Vernon," from Messina, driven ashore on Long Beach, February 2d; crew saved by life-boat. Isiah Breed, active as a shoe manufacturer for nearly fifty years, and a State Senator, died May 23d, aged seventy-two. Roman Catholic Church (St. Mary's), Ash Street, burned, May 28th. George Hood, the first mayor of Lynn, died June 29th, aged fifty-two. Brilliant display of northern lights, the whole heavens being covered, August 28th. Union Street Methodist meeting-house destroyed by fire, November 20th. Church bells tolled at sunrise, noon and sunset, December 2d, in observance of the execution of John Brown at Charlestown, Va.

1860. Harbor so frozen in January that persons walked across to Bass Point. Shoemakers' great strike commenced in February. Prince of Wales passed through Lynn, October 20th, hardly stopping to receive official greetings. First horse railroad cars in Lynn commenced running, November 29th. The luck of a dory fisherman is well illustrated by the experience of Zachariah Phillips, of Lynn, during four days in the latter part of November; his first day's catch sold for twenty-five cents; that of one other day for twenty-one dollars; and, taking the four days together, he realized \$46.50, the fish being chiefly cod, and selling for three cents a pound. Market Street first lighted by gas, December 7th.

1861. Alonzo Lewis, historian and poet, died January 21st, aged sixty-six. Lynn Light Infantry and Lynn City Guards, two full companies, start for the seat of the Southern Rebellion, April 16th, in five hours after the arrival of President Lincoln's call for troops. A splendid comet suddenly became visible, July 2d, the tail having enveloped the earth three days before, producing no disturbance and only a slight apparently auroral light.

1862. Lynn Free Public Library opened. Soldiers' burial lot in Pine Grove Cemetery laid out. Nathan Breed, Jr., murdered in his store, Summer Street, December 23d.

1863. Daniel C. Baker, third mayor of Lynn, died July 19th, aged forty-six.

1864. Rev. Parsons Cooke, for twenty-eight years minister of the First Church, died February 12th, aged sixty-three. The thermometer rose to one hundred and four degrees in shady places, June 25th, indicating the warmest day here of which there had been any record. Free delivery of post-office matter begins. Great drought and extensive fires in the woods during the summer. First steam fire-engine owned by the city arrives, August 11th. Town-House burned, October 6th. Schooner "Lion," from Rockland, Me., wrecked on Long Beach, December 10th, and all on board, six in number, perish; their cries were heard above the roaring of the wind and sea, but succor could not reach them.

1865. News of the fall of Richmond received, April 3d; great rejoicing, church-bells rung, buildings illuminated, bonfires kindled. The surrender of General Lee was celebrated, April 10th. News of the assassination of President Lincoln received, April 15th; mourning insignia displayed in public buildings and churches. Corner-stone of City Hall laid, November 28th.

1866. Dr. Abraham Gould, a skillful physician of extensive practice, died, February 27th, aged fifty-eight. General Sherman passed through Lynn, July 16th, and was cordially greeted by a crowd in Central Square. A meteoric stone fell in Ocean Street, in September.

1867. Thomas Bowler, for sixteen years town clerk, died, July 22d, aged eighty-one. The present City Hall dedicated with much ceremony, November 30th.

1868. Memorial Day—called also Decoration Day—observed, May 30th, being the day for decorating the soldiers' graves with flowers; in 1881 the day was made a legal holiday. Hiram Marble, excavator of Dungeon Rock, died, November 10th, aged sixty-five, having pursued his arduous and fruitless labors about seventeen years. His son, Edwin, succeeded him in the work, and died at the Rock January 16, 1880, aged forty-eight, without having reached the supposed deposits of gold and jewels. Destructive fire in Market Street, December 25th, Lyceum Building, Frazier's and Bubier's brick blocks being destroyed, the whole loss reaching about three hundred thousand dollars.

1869. Mary J. Hood, a colored woman, died, January 8th, aged one hundred and four years and seven months. Another destructive fire, on the night of January 25th, commencing in the brick shoe manufactory of Edwin H. Johnson, in Monroe Street, destroyed property to the amount of some one hundred and seventy thousand dollars. Sidney B. Pratt, who left, by will, ten thousand dollars for the benefit of the Free Public Library, died, January 29th, aged fifty-four. On the evening of April 15th there was a magnificent display of beautifully-tinted aurora-

borealis. Benjamin H. Jacobs, undertaker at the old burying-ground for thirty years, died, June 16th, aged seventy-six. Jeremiah C. Stickney, for forty years in successful practice here as a lawyer, and the first city solicitor, died, August 3d, aged sixty-four. Severe gale, on Wednesday afternoon, September 8th, destroying several small buildings and uprooting more than four hundred shade-trees about the city. The old Turnpike from Boston to Salem became a public highway this year, the portion lying in Lynn being now known as Western Avenue.

1870. Young Men's Christian Association incorporated, March 31st. Land near Central Square sold at five dollars per square foot, the highest rate known in Lynn up to this time. Operations for public water supply begun.

1871. Rev. Joseph Cook, at the time minister of the First Church, gave a series of Sunday evening lectures in Music Hall, early this year, creating considerable excitement by his rather sensational denunciations. William Bassett, the first city clerk, died, June 21st, aged sixty-eight. Terrible railroad disaster at Revere, August 26th, eleven Lynn persons being killed; whole number of lives lost, thirty-three; number of wounded, sixty. Electric fire-alarm established. William Vennar, *alias* Brown, murders Mrs. Jones, is pursued, and in his further desperate attempts is shot dead, December 16th.

1872. City Hall bell raised to its position in the tower, March 2d. Meeting of the City Council commemorative of the recent death of Professor Morse, inventor of the electric telegraph, April 16th. Dr. James M. Nye, a reputable physician and scientist, died, April 21st, aged fifty-three. S. O. Breed's box-factory, at the south end of Commercial Street, struck by lightning and consumed, August 13th, this summer being remarkable for the frequency and severity of its thunder-storms. Brick house of worship of First Church, South Common Street, corner of Vine, dedicated, August 29th. Ingalls and Cobbet school-houses dedicated. Odd-Fellows' Hall, Market Street, dedicated, October 7th. Brick and iron station of Eastern Railroad, Central Square, built. Singular disease, called epizootic, prevailed among horses during the latter part of autumn. Wheel carriages almost ceased to run, excepting as drawn by oxen, dogs or goats, and sometimes by men and boys. The disease, though disabling and evidently painful, was not often fatal. Much speculation in real estate during the year; prices high and business active. Pine Hill Public Water Reservoir built.

1873. Pumping-engine at Public Water-Works, Walnut Street, first put in operation, January 14th. English sparrows make their appearance in Lynn, no doubt the progeny of those imported into Boston; but they were soon declared a nuisance. William S. Boyce, president of the First National Bank, died, August 27th, aged sixty-three. Soldiers' Monument,

City Hall Square, dedicated, September 17th. Birch Pond formed.

1874. Lynn "Home for Aged Women" incorporated, Feb. 6th. Grand celebration in Lynn of St. Patrick's Day, March 17th, by the Irish organizations of Essex County. Benjamin Mudge, captain of the old Lynn Artillery, postmaster, and a political writer of spirit, died, March 21st, aged eighty-seven.

1875. Boston, Revere Beach and Lynn Railroad opened for travel, July 22d. Great depression in business affairs this year succeeded the late unhealthy kind of prosperity. Some tradesmen failed, and real estate fell greatly in price. On the 2d of November a blackfish ten feet in length and weighing three hundred and fifty pounds was stranded on Long Beach, probably having pursued his retreating supper the night before farther than was safe. An unusual number of tramps—that is, homeless wanderers from place to place—appeared in Lynn and received temporary relief.

1876. A fire occurred on Market Street, July 26th, destroying property to the amount of some ten thousand dollars, the principal losers being R. A. Spalding & Co., Mrs. Lancy and W. J. Bowers. The destructive Colorado beetle, or potato bug, first appeared in Lynn this year. The Centennial year of the Republic was appropriately observed in Lynn, July 4th, and the *Centennial Memorial*, giving an account of the proceedings, was published by order of the City Council. Benjamin F. Doak, who by will bequeathed ten thousand dollars for the benefit of the poor of the city, and which bequest has since been known as the Doak fund, died, Nov. 8th, aged fifty. Jacob Batchelder, first teacher of the High School and first librarian of the Public Library, died, Dec. 17th, aged seventy.

1877. Charles Merritt, for some forty years deputy sheriff, died, March 13th, aged seventy-two. Sweetser's four-story brick building, Central Avenue, with an adjacent building, burned, April 7th. Loss, about one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. In September there was an extraordinary phosphorescent glow along the shores.

1878. Successful balloon ascension from City Hall Square, July 4th—Alderman Aza A. Breed, City Marshal Charles C. Fry and Charles F. Smith journalist, accompanying the aeronaut. Dennis Kearney, radical agitator and California "sand lot orator," addresses a large crowd on the Common on the evening of Aug. 12th. Ezra Warren Mudge, the sixth mayor of Lynn, died, Sept. 20th, aged sixty-six. The temperature in Lynn and vicinity at midnight, Dec. 2d, was higher than in any other part of the United States,—six degrees higher than in New Orleans, La.; seven higher than in Savannah, Ga.; nine higher than in Charleston, S. C.; and ten higher than in Jacksonville, Fla. Gold was held at par Dec. 17th, for the first time in sixteen years; that is, one hundred dollars in gold were worth just one hundred in greenback government notes. The extreme of

variation was on July 11, 1864, at which time one hundred dollars in gold were worth two hundred and eighty-five dollars in the notes.

1879. The brick house of worship of the First Methodist Society, City Hall Square, was dedicated Feb. 27th. The newly-invented telephone now comes into use in Lynn. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Lynn celebrated, June 17th. John A. Jackson, designer of the Soldiers' Monument, died, in Florence, Italy, in August, aged fifty-four. St. Joseph's Cemetery (Catholic) consecrated, Oct. 16th. Extraordinary occurrence of a perfectly clear sky all over the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Nov. 4th, as reported by the United States Signal Corps. Benjamin Franklin Mudge, the second mayor of Lynn, died, in Manhattan, Kansas, Nov. 21st, aged sixty-two.

1880. Tubular wells, Boston Street, sunk by order of the city government to gain an additional water supply; first pumping from them, Sept. 4th. The notorious "Morey Letter" appeared in the autumn, creating much sensation throughout the country. This letter made its appearance in a prominent newspaper of New York City, and purported to have been written by General Garfield, the Republican candidate for President of the United States, and addressed to "Henry L. Morey," of the "Employers' Union," of Lynn. It was in the interest of cheap labor and in favor of Chinese immigration. It created a great sensation among the politicians, especially upon the Pacific coast, in which quarter extreme indignation was manifested. But the letter was soon proved to be a base forgery, concocted to damage the prospects of General Garfield, and it would, no doubt, have had a serious effect had not timely evidence of the fraud been discovered. It was satisfactorily shown that no such person as Henry L. Morey and no such association as the Employers' Union existed in Lynn. A beautiful mirage appeared in the bay Nov. 22d.

1881. Young Men's Christian Association Building, Market Street, dedicated January 17th. Dr. Daniel Perley, a much-esteemed physician, died January 31st, aged seventy-seven years. Government weather signals on High Rock first shown February 23d. National Security Bank of Lynn organized. Lynn Hospital incorporated. Andrews Breed, the fifth mayor of Lynn, died April 21st, aged eighty-six. The "yellow day," so-called, occurred September 6th, the landscape assuming a yellow tinge for some hours in the afternoon, and the weird darkness being such that lights were required in houses. President Garfield's death announced by the tolling of church-bells at midnight, September 19th. He was shot by C. J. Guiteau, July 2d. Memorial services were held September 26th. Hon. Enoch Redington Mudge, donor of St. Stephen's Memorial Church, died October 1st. St. Stephen's Memorial Church consecrated November 2d. Thomas Page Richardson, fourth mayor of Lynn, died November 24th, aged sixty-five.

1882. On the night of February 15th a building on Monroe Street, owned by Charles G. Clark, together with one or two others, partially burned; loss, about twenty thousand dollars. The Grand Army Coliseum, on Summer Street, dedicated March 15th. On the morning of March 15th, just before the time for workmen to assemble, a terrific steam-boiler explosion took place in the rear of the Goodwin last-factory, in Spring Street. The engineer was killed and several others badly wounded. One or two adjacent buildings were much damaged, and a piece of the boiler, weighing about fifteen hundred pounds, was thrown two hundred feet up into the air, and fell in Newhall Street, seven hundred feet distant. A fire occurred on the morning of April 22d at Houghton, Godfrey & Dean's paper warehouse, Central Avenue, destroying property to the amount of three thousand dollars. Electric lights made their appearance here in the spring. Barnum's "greatest show on earth" visited Lynn July 22d. Some half a score of elephants appeared in the street parade. The giant elephant Jumbo and the nursing baby elephant were both members of the caravan. Some twenty-five thousand persons attended the exhibition, and the amount of money received for admission reached nearly eleven thousand dollars. The show consisted of a large collection of animals, equestrian, acrobatic and other circus and semi-dramatic performances. It was, no doubt, the grandest and most costly show ever in Lynn. An explosion of a part of the underground equipment of the Citizens' Steam-Heating Company, at the corner of Washington and Monroe Streets, took place July 27th, injuring the street somewhat and throwing up stones and gravel to the danger and fright of persons in the vicinity. And subsequently other explosions took place, inducing an appeal to the city authorities for protection. An extraordinary drought prevailed during the latter part of the summer. Most of the crops about Lynn were absolutely ruined, the unripe fruit dropped from the trees, and much of the shrubbery and many of the trees had the appearance of having been exposed to fire-blasts. Yet the springs and wells did not indicate any very marked deficiency of moisture somewhat below the surface. We had an uncommonly long succession of very warm days, with westerly winds and clear skies. And the peculiar effect on vegetation was, no doubt, attributable rather to the burning sun than the lack of moisture. The spring was backward by full two weeks, and the weather was, on the whole, anomalous, most of the year. Railroad competition ran so high that in October the fare between Lynn and Boston was, for a time, but five cents. The morning sky for several weeks in October and November, was adorned with a splendid comet, which rose in the southeast two or three hours before the sun.

1883. Sweetser's building, corner of Central Avenue and Oxford St., burned January 26th; loss, eighty-one thousand dollars. There were a large number of de-

structive fires in the woods during the dry months, all along from Floating Bridge to Breed's Pond. Electric Light Works established in Lynn.

1884. A high tide swept over the beach road to Nahant, January 9th. Steamer "City of Columbus" lost near Gay Head, January 18th, three Lynn persons perishing. John B. Tolman, April 22d, gave to the Young Men's Christian Association an estate on Market Street, valued at thirty thousand dollars, in trust, the income to be devoted to the suppression of the sale of intoxicating liquors. The new organization of religious enthusiasts, known as the Salvation Army, appeared in our streets, June 4th, marching about with their tambourines and other musical instruments. Lightning struck in Chatham Street, June 5th, killing a lad twelve years of age and somewhat injuring his two boy companions. Horse railroad extension to Marblehead opened for travel June 25th. Inebriates' Home, New Ocean Street, established October 27th. A building of Quincy A. Towns, on Beech Street, used for extracting grease and oil from leather, by naphtha, destroyed by fire November 26th; loss twenty-five hundred dollars.

1885. Lyman F. Chase died January 3d, aged forty-three years, leaving, among other liberal bequests, to Lynn Hospital, \$5000, and to Lynn Public Library \$5000. Lynn National Bank organized. A fire occurred in Henry A. Pevear's building, Washington Street, January 11th, destroying property to the amount of thirty-three hundred dollars. Lucian Newhall's building, Central Avenue, burned; loss, fifty-six thousand six hundred dollars. Lynn Associated Charities organized March 19th. Trinity Church (Methodist), near Tower Hill, dedicated June 4th. Church of the Incarnation (Episcopal) formally organized June 9th. St. Joseph's Church (Roman Catholic) consecrated June 21st. Church-bells tolled July 23d, in observance of the death of ex-President Grant. The City Council held a special meeting and passed resolutions of respect, and on the 8th of August commemorative services were held in the Coliseum, business being generally suspended. The large brick building owned by Lucius Beebe, and occupied as a glove-kid and morocco manufactory, corner of Western Avenue and Federal Street, destroyed by fire September 3d, the loss being seventy-five thousand five hundred dollars. A heavy thunder-shower, October 3d, flooded several business places on Monroe Street and vicinity and delayed railroad trains.

1886. On Easter day, April 25th, Saint Stephen's chimes rang for the first time. Terrific earthquake at Charleston, S. C., August 31st; much suffering was occasioned, and contributions for relief were sent from all quarters; Lynn contributed \$2060, and Saint Stephen's Church sent a separate sum of \$77 towards repairing the shattered tower of the venerable Saint Michael's. President Arthur died November 18th, and on the day of his burial, November 22d, marks of respect were shown by closing the pub-

lic offices, tolling bells, raising flags at half-mast and the performance of a dirge by Saint Stephen's chimes. Society of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) formed. French Catholic Church organized.

1887. February 25th, President Cleveland sent to the United States Senate a message vetoing the bill, passed by Congress, appropriating \$100,000 for the erection of a post-office building in Lynn. Some indignation was expressed, but business men generally were disposed to view the President's reasoning with candor, and the unlucky slip with resignation.

Henry A. Breed, a well-known citizen, died April 15th, aged eighty-six years and eleven months. He was a native of Lynn, and commenced an active business life about 1819, did a great deal in the building line and was zealous in forwarding improvements of almost every kind, endeavoring, in some notable instances, to introduce new industries here. Being of a sanguine and somewhat credulous turn, and withal attracted by projects of a speculative character, he had serious ups and downs during his whole business career, always, however, maintaining a most respectable position, by his genial manners, his readiness to aid the unfortunate and other excellent qualities. His business prostrations were undoubtedly sometimes attributable to over-confidence in his own ability to "read" the characters of those with whom he dealt; but more often to the shrewder reading, on the other side, of those not half so honest as he. He was one of the founders of the Unitarian Society, and his connection was not severed till the hand of death interposed. For many years he was a member of Mount Carmel Lodge of Free Masons, and was likewise an accredited member of the fraternity of Odd Fellows.

On Wednesday, June 1st, was opened, under the auspices of the Grand Army, Post 5, at the Coliseum in Summer Street, a novel and interesting exhibition of the powers of electricity, especially as applied to industrial mechanism. The Governor of the State was present at the opening and many other prominent persons. The exhibition continued a month, and gave much satisfaction to the large numbers who attended. James N. Buffum, twelfth Mayor of Lynn, aged eighty, died June 12th. On Saturday, June 18th, Robert E. Lee Camp 1, Confederate Veterans, of Richmond, Va., visited Lynn by invitation of General Lander Encampment, Post 5, of the Grand Army of the Republic. The visiting party had been spending a day or two in Boston, and numbered nearly two hundred, thirty of whom were ladies. About seventy-five of the Veterans, with some ten of the ladies, arrived in Lynn early in the day, and were cordially received by the Lynn Post, which had some five hundred men in line. The weather was pleasant and the day a notable one, business being universally suspended, and the streets thronged with all classes of people. There was a grand procession, with military companies and bands of music. The city authorities took part in the

proceedings, and there was a banquet on the Common. Early in July a delegation of Post 5, numbering one hundred and sixty, made a return visit to the Confederate soldiers, and in Richmond and other places received enthusiastic greetings, with many tokens of restored brotherhood. Edward S. Davis, eighth Mayor of Lynn, died August 7, aged seventy-nine. On the 11th of September a fire occurred in the stable of J. B. & W. A. Lamper, foot of Pleasant Street, in which nineteen horses perished. Dr. John A. McArthur, much esteemed as a man and physician, died September 28, aged fifty-seven.

LYNN REGIS.—It is within the knowledge of the writer that some good people of the ancient borough of King's Lynn now take a lively interest in what pertains to our own Lynn, which, during its comparatively short life, has so far outstripped its prototype, in population at least. They appear to regard us as a sort of vigorous child, a little presumptuous, perhaps, but one in whose prosperity they may delight, as if in some mysterious way it contributed to their honor. It is but a few years since they learned anything of us. Less than fifteen years ago a lawyer there assured the writer that to him our Lynn was only known through Longfellow's "Bells of Lynn."

The celebration of our Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, to which some of the authorities there were invited, had much to do with rendering our name familiar. And then the Christian sympathy engendered by the giving and receiving of the stone from the ancient wall of stately old Saint Margaret's, to be wrought into the rising wall of Saint Stephen's, was a significant occurrence.

It is true that not a large number of our early settlers came from that place; but there were one or two of more than ordinary family connection. It is not necessary to here speak of the eminent Whiting, through whose instrumentality the names of the places were made identical; nor of some others elsewhere named. But it may be interesting to note in passing, that Richard Hood, ancestor of George Hood, our first mayor, who settled on Nahant Street, was from Lynn Regis. Several old names common in both places could be mentioned—a fact which, though not conclusive evidence of near family connection, are yet strongly indicative of kinship. For instance: There was a Thomas Loughton, mayor of Lynn Regis in 1476; and one of our most active and enterprising settlers was Thomas Loughton, who located near Saugus River in 1635. Edward Baker was mayor of the borough in 1550; and from Edward Baker, who came hither in 1630, Daniel C. Baker, our third mayor, descended. Benjamin Keene (a later name with us) was mayor of old Lynn in 1683. In 1737 "Charles, Lord Viscount Townsend, was Lord High Steward of Lynn Regis." He undoubtedly belonged to the same Townsend family with Thomas Townsend, who came from Norfolk and settled as a farmer at an earlier date, and of whom many

descendants remain here and elsewhere in New England. And by the way, at that date, 1737, the chief officials under Townsend were a recorder, thirteen aldermen, eighteen Common Councilmen, a town clerk, treasurer, chamberlain, sword-bearer, four sergeants at mace and five musicians, with blue cloaks trimmed with gold and badges, a jailer, two beadle and a bellman. Our city government is not organized exactly after that dignified model, which is here presented merely for comparison by the curious. Such genealogical and municipal connections are really of little importance, but the latent interest that all possess in such tracings give them a sort of charm. In the case in hand, it is thought they are sufficient to justify the occupation of space enough to recount a few prominent facts in the history of our ancient prototype.

Lynn Regis, King's Lynn, or, as it is commonly called by its own people, simply Lynn, is an interesting old place on the river Ouse, in Norfolk, a maritime county that has ever maintained its reputation for loyalty and aristocratic pride. Many illustrious Englishmen have been born there, and a long list of distinguished men have represented her in Parliament—several of them statesmen of world-wide reputations. Sir Robert Walpole was elected for Lynn, in 1702. He soon became Secretary of War, then Secretary of the Navy, and finally, after a brief period of eclipse, attained positions of still greater dignity; and, as has been remarked, for a series of years "his life may be said to be the history of England." Canning, too, sometimes called the most eloquent and sagacious statesman of his day, was elected to represent Lynn. Lord George Bentinck was returned for Lynn, in 1826, and continued her representative till his death. The Catholic Emancipation and Reform Bills had his support. He subsequently became the acknowledged head of the Conservative party, and was what we now call a protectionist. But he was never an over-strict partisan. On the death of Lord Bentinck, Stanley, Earl of Derby, was elected for Lynn. To his great ability in the management of public affairs is largely attributed the surrender of the East India Company to the crown. During his colonial secretaryship the great Sepoy revolt was brought to a close. On the decease of his father, in 1869, he entered the House of Lords. The able and accomplished Governor of Madras at the present time, 1886, was for many years Lynn's representative in Parliament. Other eminent representatives of old Lynn might be named, but the list need not be extended. What has been said may not be of great interest, but it affords ground for the question, When will our own Lynn be represented by such men in the councils of the nation? By the presentation of worthy examples a spirit of noble emulation may be stimulated.

From this ancient borough and its vicinity came some of the most valuable New England immigrants. And descendants from old Norfolk families are now

found in every direction, though, as just remarked, not a large number came to our own home. In Winthrop's company, which arrived at Salem in 1630, were a number of substantial Norfolk farmers. Says the careful Mrs. Jones: "It is not alone the relations of Coke and Roger Williams which have given to some spots in New England and elsewhere a flavor of this island's eastern shore. If it were sought to trace such international links, Norfolk would be found to have thrown out many threads across the water, which have attached it invisibly but absolutely to American ground."

Sandringham, the seat of the Prince of Wales, to which he retires for needed rest, is in Norfolk, almost within the territorial limits of Lynn. It consists of something more than eight thousand acres, and is in a high state of cultivation and adornment. It was in this princely abode that the royal heir so long lay between life and death when stricken by typhoid, in the dreary weeks of November, 1872. It was there, too, that the joyous event of the arrival of his son, Albert Victor, at the age of twenty-one, was recently so enthusiastically celebrated. There, likewise, was the last Christmas, 1886, celebrated in right royal style. The Prince and Princess were both present. To the laborers and cottagers on the estate were prime joints of beef distributed to the amount of nine hundred and eighty pounds. How much English beer and other usual Christmas adjuncts were added must be left for the imagination, as nothing appears in the account at hand of the entertainment.

A brief chronological statement of events during an interesting portion of the history of our venerable archetype must close the present record.

A. D. 1100. St. Margaret's Church founded by Herbert, the first Bishop of Norwich, in expiation of his simony. It was from the wall of this ancient temple that the stone which, with its friendly inscription, now rests in the vestibule of our own St. Stephen's was taken. It was presented by the authorities of St. Margaret's when St. Stephen's was in process of erection, 1880, and brought over by Col. R. G. Usher. The inscription reads, "St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, England, to St. Stephen's Church, Lynn, Mass., U. S. A., 28th June, 1880."

1204. Lynn made a borough town with burgesses, in this, the sixth year of the reign of King John. And in 1268 it was made a mayor-town.

1469. King Edward IV. came to Lynn with a great retinue, took shipping and went to Flanders. One of the most interesting relics now remaining in Lynn is the ruin known as the Chapel of "Our Lady," picturesquely situated on an elevation in the beautiful "Public Walks." The visible parts, those above ground, which were built under a license granted in 1482, form a superstructure to the lower, underground parts, which were built at an unknown and much earlier period. The structure is small, but bears evidence of having originally been an elaborate and

richly-adorned shrine; and was probably established for the entertainment of wandering pilgrims, and as a sacred asylum from all secular intrusion—a sanctuary. It was in this retreat that King Edward is said to have lodged when he reached Lynn on his way to Holland, in 1469, his retinue finding quarters elsewhere. It will be remembered that these were the times of the bloody strife between the houses of York and Lancaster, and that he was son of the Duke of York. While here, in the asylum of "Our Lady," he was safe.

1458. Mention is this year made of a boy choir in St. Margaret's Church.

1498. King Henry VII., his Queen and Arthur, Prince of Wales, visited Lynn, and were entertained by the Augustine Friars. He came in state, with a numerous retinue. The Augustine Friars were a mendicant order, much of the character of the Jesuits of the present day; were a learned body, and mingled more in society than most other orders. They settled in Lynn about 1275, and continued till 1539.

1519. Cardinal Wolsey visited Lynn, attended by many lords and gentlemen. It was now that the celebrated prelate was in the zenith of his glory, held the Sees of Bath and Wells, of Worcester and Hereford, together with the rich Abbey of St. Alban's. But disappointment in his ambitious yearnings soon overtook him; his downfall came; and in about ten years after his visit to Lynn death closed his eventful career.

1531. A maid, for poisoning her mistress, is boiled to death.

1535. A Dutchman is burnt in Lynn market-place for heresy.

1536. The Carmelites, the Dominicans, the Augustines and the Franciscans, four orders of friars, totally suppressed in Lynn.

1546. All the streets of the town paved. The guilds and chantries all suppressed, and the lands belonging to them forfeited to the King, Henry VIII.

1549. Several rebels executed at Lynn.

1553. Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen of England, at Lynn, by Lord Audley.

1561. Popish relics and mass-books burnt in the market-place at Lynn.

1566. The first chime of bells placed in the tower of St. Margaret's Church. This seems to have been a set of five bells, the largest of which could be heard ten miles off. Some years after the number was increased to eight, and in 1887 to ten, the Mayor, on the occasion of the Queen's jubilee presenting one, naming it "Victoria," and the mayoress one, naming it "Albert." They were first rung on the jubilee day, June 21.

1567. A Dutch ship, then lying in the harbor of Lynn, shot down the spire of St. Margaret's Church and several crosses.

1568. Popish vestments, relics, crucifixes and beads burnt in the Lynn market-place.

1574. The plague prevailed in Lynn.

1575. A severe earthquake felt in Lynn.

1576. Queen Elizabeth visited Norfolk in August. The corporation of Lynn presented to her a beautiful purse, wrought with pearl and gold, and containing a hundred old angels, the whole value being two hundred pounds. On the 16th of the month, in her progress through the country, she dined at Bracon-Ash Hall, being entertained there by Thomas Townsend, Esq., who, no doubt, was grandfather of Thomas Townsend, who came over to our Lynn, in 1636, and settled as a farmer, near the iron-works. He was a cousin of Governor Winthrop. The wife of Thomas, the entertainer of the Queen, received from Her Majesty the gift of a beautiful gilt bowl in acknowledgment of the hospitality she had received. Daniel Townsend, one of the four Lynn men killed at the battle of Lexington, was a lineal descendant. Something more relating to the Townsends may be found in the sketch of Lynnhfield.

1588. The "Feast of Reconciliation," so called, established in Lynn. This was a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, Common Council and ministers, "in order to settle peace and quietness between man and man, and to decide all manner of controversies." It seems as if some such institution might in our day settle more satisfactorily such controversies as fester in our inferior courts. And perhaps labor troubles might come in for adjustment.

1590. A woman named Margaret Read burnt at Lynn for witchcraft. In 1598, Elizabeth Housage; in 1616, Mary Smith; and in 1645, Dorothy Lee and Grace Wright were hanged for the same offense.

1605. A great fire occurred in High Street, Lynn, a man, his wife and three children perishing in the flames.

1621. A man, while ringing the great bell of St. Margaret's, was drawn up by the rope and killed.

1626. Lynn received from London several large cannon for the defense of the town, and St. Ann's fort was built.

1629. A stool for weighing children was this year erected at the charge of the corporation.

1636. Fourteen vessels belonging to Lynn were this year lost by the violence of storms. The plague also prevailed, insomuch that no market was held. Temporary erections were prepared for the afflicted ones of the poorer classes under the town walls.

1642. Lynn received seven pieces of brass cannon from London, for the more effectual armament of the fortifications. In August the town was besieged by the Parliamentary forces and suffered occasional bombardment till September 16th, when it was surrendered by agreement, only four having lost their lives and a few being wounded. The town was required to pay to the Earl of Manchester's army three thousand two hundred pounds. It soon became a Parliamentary garrison town, and so continued till 1652.

1643. Puritanism having gained the ascendancy,

the "curious painted glass" in St. Margaret's Church was ordered to be taken out and plain glass substituted.

1654. Cromwell renewed and enlarged the charter of Lynn. And in the churches the arms of the Commonwealth were substituted for the royal arms.

1655. Lynn again made a garrison town.

1660. The restoration celebrated. Three hundred young maidens, tastily arrayed in white, parade the streets. There was great rejoicing in Lynn at the restoration, for the place had always remained essentially loyal. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were readily taken by the leading citizens, and the train-bands indulged in musters and military shows. Many of the former customs and observances were revived; among them the early divine service at St. Margaret's—five A. M. in summer and six in winter—which had been suspended for ten years.

1682. Two new May-poles set up in Lynn.

1686. Great rejoicing in Lynn at the erection of a statue of King James II.

1745. February 8th, Eugene Aram, that remarkable individual whose learning and fate have made him historical, commits the murder for which he was finally executed and his body hung in chains. He lived in Lynn, was teacher in the academy there at the time of his arrest, in 1759, and so much beloved by his pupils that many tears were shed when the constables,

"Two stern-faced men set out from Lynn,
Through the cold and heavy mist,
And Eugene Aram walked between,
With gyves upon his wrist."

The school is still flourishing. Upon the leads of Gray Friars' Tower, which yet remains one of the most conspicuous objects in Lynn, and which is near the school, may yet be seen the name of Aram, scratched, it is said, by his own hand. Bulwer's novel, entitled "Eugene Aram," was probably suggested by the familiarity of the author with the legends and surroundings of Lynn, he having an aunt residing there.

The foregoing will be sufficient for a glimpse at the history of our ancient prototype, with some of the vicissitudes to which she has been exposed and some of her doings characteristic of the times. But to occupy space with events of later date would hardly be justifiable.

CLOSING REMARKS.—In bringing this imperfect sketch of Lynn to a close, it may be remarked that the several topics introduced have been as fully treated as the allotted space would allow. And in the choice of topics it has been the endeavor to select such as on the whole would prove most interesting and best fitted to illustrate the principal object in view.

Glimpses of its situation, its beautiful surroundings and natural resources, have been given; the labors, sacrifices and sufferings of the people in its earliest days, their leading characteristics, hopes, enjoyments and expectations, have been touched upon; and the

progress onward to the present day of comfort, thrift and attainment in wealth, education and the higher arts of life, has been traced—all according to the prescribed limits and the ability of the writer.

Something of the character of the people in the different periods is to be found in the numerous personal notices scattered through the pages. And the employments on which the prosperity of the place has grown have not been overlooked. Considering the condition in which we now find ourselves, a little self-gratulation may be pardonable. The aspect of things as they now exist may be called reasonably auspicious, and the prayer is that they may ever continue so, while generation succeeds generation as wave succeeds wave upon our shore, ceasing only when those waves cease to roll.

Could one of the old settlers arise—for instance the intelligent Sadler, whose modest habitation nestled at the foot of the hill by which the writer is penning these closing lines—what would be his astonishment! The natural features of the surroundings, the rocky ravines, the green hills, the meadows, the placid river, the sunny isles have undergone but little change. But the plain which he then overlooked, stretching from his feet to the sea, with the smoke of its few rude structures curling upward among the trees, now bears a wide-spread city. And the great waters beyond, which then presented an unbroken field of blue, are now traversed by floating craft of all descriptions, from the huge steam-puffing leviathan that bridges the watery way to his old home on a far-off continent, to the tiny pleasure-boat. Over the then silent hills and through the lonely valleys now echo at early morning the awakening whistles summoning to labor in the numerous factories, at evening repeating their shrill notes as the hours of labor close.

It can well be imagined that he often seated himself upon the mossy crest of the cliff that still bears his name, and which towered above his lonely habitation, at evening twilight,

"When every sound of day is mute
And all its voices still,
And silence walks with velvet foot
O'er valley, town and hill,"

and when

"The music of the murmuring deep
Sooths e'en the weary earth to sleep,"

there to meditate till the darker hours of night drew on, the primeval stillness disturbed only by the rustling of the breeze in the leafy woods, or haply at intervals by the bark of the fox, the howl of the wolf, the hoot of the owl or the melancholy note of the whip-poor-will. Could he then in dreamy forecast have imagined a time like the present—a time when

"Over the marshes mournfully
Drifts the sound of the restless sea,"

forming an eternal foundation harmony to the hum of a busy city, the ceaseless rumbling of railroad trains speeding along with fiery wake and echoing

and the many other then unknown sounds that now succeed the feverish palpitations of bustling day? As his eye scanned the dark horizon, then unrelieved even by the glimmer of a coast light, could he have imagined that a brightly-lighted city, with its central electric illuminations and its outposts of lambent gas, would ever appear within those murky borders?

But after all our boasted privileges, inventions, progress and attainment—after all the revelations in philosophy, science and mechanics—after all our steam-driven machinery, telegraphs, telephones, gas and electric lights—are there better, wiser, nobler men and women—better rulers, statesmen, philanthropists—better fathers, mothers, children—than there were in days of yore? Probably not. Mankind preserves about the same old average, and very likely will, to the end of time. While we look with compassion upon what we call the unprogressive state of the races below us, are we sure that those above us do not look with pitying eye upon our own condition? Yet to come down to our own limited case, there appears reason for congratulation in that the great rank and file of the community are at this day in a physically better condition than at any former period; better fed, clothed and sheltered; better provided with the necessities, conveniences and comforts of life. Some pseudo-philosophers are wont to boast that this generation has reached a higher plane in all respects than any before known. Let them take comfort in the belief; but the true moralist may well maintain that the plane of perfection is yet a great way off. So let us heed the words of the old dramatist:

"Fuscol. How, now, Sir Francis!
Knowest thou not there is a niche,
A blessed niche, provided for each one?
The virtuous and diligent will gain it;
The vicious and the slothful, never!"

BIOGRAPHICAL.

ALONZO LEWIS.¹

The Lynn Bard was born at Lynn, Mass., on the 28th day of August, 1794, and the house in which he was born is yet standing in Boston Street, on the corner of Robinson. He was descended on his father's side from an old Welsh family, a family that traces its lineage, through generation and generation, back to the native princes of Wales, princes that reigned years anterior to the conquests of the Angles and Saxons, and even before the Romans made their appearance in Britain. As the Angles and Saxons absorbed the ancient Briton, so did they, in their turn, become absorbed by the later Normans, and the old Welsh Llewellyn got, in the course of time, to be translated into the more modern Lewis. The first of

¹ By Ion Lewis.



Monzo Lewis

the family to appear in this country was William Lewis, who came here from Glamorganshire, South Wales, in 1636. There is more or less French—probably Norman French—influence in the modern family, that undoubtedly crept in at the Norman invasion, and is manifest in the family motto, "*courage sans peur*." And the evidence of a participation in the crusades under Richard is seen in their crest, a Saracen's head. The Lewis coat of arms is a lion rampant on a field azure. The descendants of this William Lewis are not very numerous, most of the name in this country being of English descent. Governor Morgan Lewis, of New York, son of Francis Lewis, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was of the same family, although the latter came to this country a century later than William Lewis. In the matter of genealogies, however, anything ante-dating the Norman conquest, or even the fourteenth century, is liable to dispute.

Mr. Lewis received a sound and thorough education, but not content with the mere instruction of the schools, he pursued his studies, and with vigor, through the whole extent of his life. As a linguist he acquired considerable proficiency in the commoner modern and ancient languages. He had an evident delight for study, and loved to teach, being at one time head-master of Lynn Academy, and at others, of one or two grammar schools in Lynn. In 1831 he established a young ladies' school in Boston, but does not seem to have continued it long. In 1835 he abandoned the profession of teacher.

From his early youth he evidenced a strong poetic temperament, and several of his poems were written at an early age, some bearing the date of 1811, Mr. Lewis being then but seventeen years of age. In 1823 he collected and printed his first volume of poems, a book of two hundred pages, but, as he says in the preface, more for private than for public circulation. This volume contained many of his best poems, including "Farewell to my Harp." In 1829 was published the first edition of the History of Lynn, a work of immense labor. The work was the first in the field of local histories, and is called to this day by good authorities one of the best local histories ever written. Two years later, in 1831, appeared another volume of poems, containing many of the 1823 edition and others written in the interval. Another edition of the history was published, and in 1834 appeared the last volume of poems, which immediately became very popular and went through fourteen editions, being most favorably received by the critics both in this country and in England.

In addition to the above Mr. Lewis published a small English grammar, and another small work on geometry, beside a descriptive sketch called, "A Picture of Nahant." During his whole life he wrote much for the newspapers and magazines of the time, both in prose and poetry. He edited an anti-slavery paper in Lynn before the appearance of the *Libera-*

tor, and was once, during the absence of Mr. Garrison, in editorial charge of that paper, as he was also of the *Boston Traveler*, then the *American Traveler*. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a corresponding member of many other historical bodies.

In 1851 he was requested by Ticknor & Co. to write a history of Boston, but does not seem to have complied with the request, as the only thing of the kind of his that I have discovered is a sort of chronological arrangement of the principal events in the history of Boston, called "Annals of Boston." He evidently contemplated another historical work, as a letter of Mr. Whittier's to him in 1833, says: "I hope thee will decide to go on with thy 'Witchcraft.' I certainly think it would be very popular."

That he was more happy in his prose than in his poetry no one can gainsay, and had he written more of the former, and that of a less local nature, his fame would certainly have been less circumscribed. Many of the descriptive parts of the "History of Lynn" are very beautiful, and I know of people that every now and again take up the history and read and reread for the mere pleasure of reading. In the matter of improvement of his native town he took great interest, and many works of a local nature were conceived and carried through, almost entirely by his unaided efforts. The construction of the break-water and road along Lynn Beach are due to his efforts, as was also the erection of the light-house on Egg Rock.

In the anti-slavery movement Mr. Lewis took a most active part, being second vice president of the first Anti-Slavery Society, of which William Lloyd Garrison was secretary, and furthering the cause by his writings for the periodicals of the time.

He was naturally of a religious nature and lived a consistent Christian life, often denying himself that he might minister to the necessities of others; and exercising that grandest gift of charity that was lacking in the treatment of him by others. He was for many years the only churchman in Lynn, and walked to St. Peter's, Salem, every Sunday for service. At one time he applied to Bishop Griewold to be admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders, but does not seem to have carried out his first intention. He continued a churchman for the greater part of his life, being prominent in the establishment of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, and was one of the first five incorporators. Before the establishment of St. Stephen's he held services at Glenmere, himself acting as lay reader.

Mr. Lewis was twice married, his first wife being Frances Maria Swan, of Methuen, by whom he had six children, of whom two, Llewellyn and Arthur, are now living. For his second wife he married Annie Hsley Hanson, of Portland, Maine, by whom he had two children, Ina and Ion, the former dying some months before her father. For the latter part

of his life Mr. Lewis lived in the picturesque cottage in Beach Street, close to the water's edge, a place where he loved to sit and study, and where, on the 21st day of January, 1861, he passed away, at the very beginning of that great struggle which resulted in the accomplishment of an object for which he had striven the greater part of his life.

I have here attempted no extended biography, and would say to those who desire more minute particulars and personal reminiscences to consult "The History of Lynn," as continued by Mr. Newhall and published in 1864; and also, Mr. Johnson's charming "Sketches of Lynn," published a year or two ago.

JAMES ROBINSON NEWHALL.

The brief personal sketch of the individual whose name is placed above, which appeared in the "Centennial Memorial" of Lynn, published by order of the City Council, in 1876, is introduced in these words: "It is a delicate task for one to write of himself, unless he has that in his history the worthiness of which is patent and not to be questioned, it requiring no poet to assure us that we seldom 'see ourselves as others see us.'" That "delicate task," however, fell to his lot, and to a similar behest, in the present case, he submits.

The name appeared in the "Centennial" at the dictation of the Committee of the Council having the matter in charge, who expressed a desire that sketches of the "two historians," as they were pleased to call them, should be inserted. The fitness of thus honoring the memory of Mr. Lewis could not be questioned, whatever might be said of the one whose name had been so long associated with his in delineating the progress of Lynn, the native and ancestral home of both. The sketch referred to will form the basis of the one now in hand. The supercilious autobiographer may magnify his virtues and the over-modest his errors; but the charm lies in the mean, from which, in the present case, there is little inducement to stray.

The subject of this notice was born in Lynn on Christmas day, 1809, in the old Hart house, that stood on Boston Street, at the southwest corner of Federal, the same which, on the Centennial Fourth of July, 1876, disappeared in a patriotic blaze, amid the shouts and cheers of Young America. All his genealogical lines run back to early Lynn settlers. His father was Benjamin Newhall, who was born in 1774 and died in 1857; Benjamin's father was James, born in 1731, died in 1801; James' father was Benjamin, born in 1698, died in 1763; Benjamin's father was Joseph, born in 1658, died in 1706; Joseph's father was Thomas, born in 1630, died in 1687—the first white child born in Lynn. His mother was Sarah, a daughter of Joseph Hart, who descended from Samuel, one of the first engaged at the ancient iron works established near Saugus River in 1648, said to

be the first in America. Both his grandmothers were granddaughters of Hon. Ebenezer Burrill, so conspicuous in colonial times as a Representative and Crown Counselor, and who was a brother of John Burrill, the eminent speaker whom Governor Hutchinson compares with Sir Arthur Onslow, who was considered the most able presiding officer the British House of Commons ever had.

At the age of eleven the writer left the paternal roof, with his worldly possessions in a bundle-handkerchief, to make his way in the wide world, his mother having died a year or two before and his father having a large family to provide for.

But little worthy of mention occurred until the summer of 1824, when, having worked daily and attended various public schools, he entered the Salem *Gazette* office to learn the art and mystery of printing. And it is pleasing to remark that at the present time, 1887, may daily be seen in that venerable establishment the Hon. Caleb Foote, who at that time, 1824, was busy at the compositor's case. Mr. Foote, however, soon after dropped the composing stick for the editorial pen, an implement which he has wielded to this day with rare ability and acceptance. Would that all editors could realize, as he has, the dignity and responsibility of their public relations. His considerate suggestions and helpful directions to the typographical neophyte have, during these three-score years and three, been gratefully remembered.

After serving in the *Gazette* office for a few years, he felt desirous of gaining a better knowledge of book-printing than could be done in Salem at that time, and in furtherance of the desire procured a situation in Boston. Things so prospered that before attaining his majority he was installed foreman of one of the principal book offices there, his duties in a general way being to direct the work and read proofs. Of this period many pleasant recollections are retained. In the office were printed a large number of classical and scientific works, and some of the most eminent men of the time frequently dropped in. Anecdotes almost without number of such men as Dr. Channing, Dr. Bowditch, Francis J. Grund, the Cambridge professors, N. P. Willis, Samuel G. Goodrich, and shoals of the less conspicuous, but not less ambitious literary aspirants, could be related.

While still under age, in the roving spirit of young printers, he drifted to New York, and soon after his arrival found employment in the *Conference* office, the largest then in the city; and with perhaps a little excusable, if not commendable pride, may refer to his reputation there as being the fastest type-setter in the establishment. This was in 1829. And he has to the present day so indulged his early love for the printer's case as for many years to keep a font or two of type, wherewith to amuse or occupy a vacant hour. Nearly two thousand stereotype pages can be to-day shown as the fruit of these semi-recreative odds and ends of time, much of the matter having



James R. Newhall

been set up without having been previously written. As to the quality of the literary products, he cannot, of course, speak. It may, however, be admitted in regard to some, at least, that if worth is to be measured by pecuniary return, it was not very great. Yet, on the whole, there has been much reason to be satisfied, looking at a "fair average." Exposure to the undeserved adulation of sympathetic friends and the equally undeserved severity of vindictive critics is supposed to be the fate of all writers, great and small. It is well remembered that once, on the eve of the publication of a notable work, the writer overheard a debate between two of the learned editors, of this tenor: "Why, you have given nothing from ———," said one, naming a writer by no means obscure. "Well, I know that," was the reply, "but he never wrote anything worth a place in our book." "That is true," was the rejoinder; "but the omission would greatly offend him and his friends, and might lead to damaging reviews. We must have something." And something was had, prefaced by a laudatory note. It will, of course, be granted that the most ignorant critic knows more than the most learned author.

At the age of twenty-two the writer returned to his native place, and soon became engaged in the office of the *Mirror*, the first printing establishment in Lynn, commenced about five years before by Charles F. Lummus, and at that time still owned and conducted by him. It was very poorly supplied with material. There was but little work and that not well done, and it was not long before the proprietor had succeeded in sinking the little means with which he began. The writer purchased the office and commenced the publication of another paper, but was soon satisfied that much labor would yield but a scanty return, and was induced to let the new paper speedily follow the fate of the old.

After busying himself for a few years in various ways, chiefly in connection with printing and the book business, and once or twice a year taking a lecturing tour, he again found himself in New York, engaged in the editorial department of a daily journal and in writing for one or two weeklies. Of this interval many agreeable recollections are retained, among them pleasant ones of the genial young gentleman, Walter Whitman, now the world-renowned Walt Whitman, the poet, who was engaged on the same daily; and the friendly suggestions of the venerable Major M. M. Noah, so long and so fitly called the Nestor of the American press, will not be forgotten.

In 1854, meeting a friend who had for some time been in practice as a member of the Essex bar, he was kindly invited to take a student's seat in his office. The invitation was accepted, and the study of law commenced.

Completing a regular legal course, in May, 1847, he was admitted to the bar in Boston, and forthwith commenced a practice in Lynn, which soon became

quite satisfactory. He was presently commissioned as justice of the peace and notary public, which offices he still holds. On the 24th of August, 1866, he was commissioned as Judge of the Lynn Police Court, with which he had been connected as special justice from the time of its establishment, in 1849. He was likewise appointed a trial justice of juvenile offenders when that jurisdiction was established. The judgeship he resigned August 24, 1879.

At the time he commenced practice there were but three acting lawyers here,—namely, Jeremiah C. Stickney, Thomas B. Newhall and Benjamin F. Mudge. Mr. Stickney was one of the leading lawyers in the county for many years. He died August 3, 1869, aged sixty-four years. Mr. T. B. Newhall commenced practice here in 1837, and now, 1887, after fifty years, may still be found in his well-worn office chair. Of him a personal sketch appears elsewhere in this work. Mr. Mudge opened his office in 1842, removed to Manhattan, Kansas, and died there November 21, 1879, aged sixty-two years. He was our second Mayor, inaugurated in 1852. The number of Lynn lawyers has increased during these forty years (1847–87) from three to about forty, while the population has hardly quadrupled. Is this to be taken as evidence that business has increased in a corresponding degree or as evidence that there has been a remarkably increasing love for litigation?

To return from this divergence. The subject of this sketch has not been much in public office, excepting as connected with the judicial department, though he has served as chairman of the School Board and president of the Common Council.

In the autumn of 1883, at the age of seventy-three years, he took a tour of several months abroad, visiting a number of famous cities and renowned places in Europe, and extending his trip to interesting Levantine points, to Algiers and Malta, on the Mediterranean; to Alexandria, Cairo and the Pyramids in Egypt. Though the tour was undertaken alone—for if alone one can, without let or hindrance, go how, when and where he pleases—he everywhere received such gratifying civilities as could only lead to regrets that he had not earlier in life thus experimentally learned that, after all, men everywhere will, on the whole, rather contribute to make others happy than miserable. Such experience increases faith in human nature, and ought to diminish self-conceit.

Being interested in historical researches, he published, in 1836, the "Essex Memorial;" in 1862, "Lin, or Jewels of the Third Plantation;" in 1865, "The History of Lynn," comprising the admirable work of Alonzo Lewis, with a continuation embracing some twenty-one years; in 1883, an additional volume of the "History of Lynn," with notices of events down to the year of publication and other matter on various topics; in 1876, by desire of the City Council, he prepared the "Centennial Memorial of Lynn," embracing an historical sketch and notices

of the mayors, with their portraits; and in 1879, also by desire of the City Council, he prepared the work entitled "Proceedings in Lynn, June 17, 1879, being the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement." To these may not improperly be added the sketches of Lynn, Lynnfield and Swampscott, which appear in this "History of Essex County."

If there is any achievement in a literary way with which the writer fancies that he has reason to be satisfied, it comes through his endeavor to contribute something calculated to allure to habits of industry, frugality, temperance and those concomitant virtues, the sure foundation of prosperity, and the sure way towards honorable position. A great many brief biographies and personal sketches of individuals in the various walks of life have appeared scattered about his pages—whether poorly or skillfully drawn is not the question here—sketches of individuals who have acted well their part in promoting the prosperity and extending the good fame of their home, as well as advancing their individual interests. And these personal sketches have a two-fold purpose: first, to perpetuate the names of deserving ones, and, second, to furnish, by their example, encouragement for others to follow on in a like good way. Yet we should all realize that the attainment of mere worldly fame, position or wealth is not the chief purpose of life, and that at the end we shall find there was no great gain in worshipping false gods all our lives.

One other thing has been attempted by the writer, and that is, to illustrate to some extent the romantic and legendary side of Lynn's history. There is a rich store in that direction, and oftentimes it is difficult to distinguish between truth and fiction or know exactly where to draw the line. But the aim has always been to clearly indicate the character of the matter in hand and lead no one astray.

In October, 1837, the writer was united in marriage with Miss Dorcas B. Brown, only daughter of Captain William Brown, of Salem, and by her had one son, who died at the age of ten, his mother having died soon after his birth. In 1853 he was again married, the second wife being Mrs. Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of Hon. Josiah Newhall, of Lynn, and that relation still, 1887, remains unsevered.

The writer trusts that nothing in the foregoing will tend to place him in the category indicated by our former townsman, Henry Clapp, when he said of Horace Greeley: "He is a self-made man and worships his maker," for in his life, as has been seen, few stirring incidents have occurred, no extraordinary adventures, no remarkable achievements. Whether anything of value has been accomplished is a question for others to decide. Nevertheless, it may be remarked in a general way that very few who are so long in the world lead such barren lives that nothing of usefulness or interest is found. And not unfrequently is it the case that the lessons to be drawn from the lives of those in the less prominent walks

are the most widely useful, for the great multitude are companions in those walks, and can the more readily appreciate the obstacles and perceive the snares that beset the way. Every one feels that he has a hand in shaping his own destiny, though it does seem as if

"Some were born to wealth or fame,
While others are mere Fortune's game."

But it is dutiful in all of us to follow the injunction of our rhyming old townsman, of eccentric memory:

"While traveling to the unknown land,
Let each lend each a helping hand,"

ever bearing in mind that

"What might have been can not be known;
What *was* we answer for alone."

[NOTE.—It was editorially suggested that this sketch and the accompanying portrait would more appropriately appear among the lawyers of the County. The privilege of being placed in that august company is fully appreciated, though the superior lustre there might be obscuring. But inasmuch as the writer has had a considerable share in illustrating Lynn's history and always earnestly desired her Godspeed, it seemed to him that the more suitable place was in the company of those whose enterprise, industry and dignity of character have so advanced the prosperity of their home and his.]

HON. GEORGE HOOD,

The first mayor of the city of Lynn, was a native of the town of Lynn, and was born on the 10th of November, 1806.

The Hood family is among the earliest mentioned in the annals of Lynn, being descended from Richard Hood, who emigrated from Essex County, in England, about 1640, and settled at Lynn. Dying in 1695, he left three sons,—Richard, John and Nathaniel. Richard, the eldest of these, falling heir to the "Nahant road" property—some thirty acres—now bounded in part by Nahant Street, afterwards exchanged it with Jabez Breed for certain land on the peninsula of Nahant, and went thither to live, and there his descendants have ever since resided. This Richard had a son Abner, who had a son Abner, who married Mary Richardson, and they were the parents of the subject of this sketch. While he was an infant the family removed to Nahant, and there, in the little village school, he received all his youthful intellectual training. He learned the trade of shoemaking, and at the age of twenty-two, in company with John C. Abbott, he went to the then far West to seek his fortune. They directed their course to St. Louis, Mo., at that time, in 1829, a small place. In a few days they were established in business, and within a month Mr. Hood, with a part of their stock, went down to Natchez, Miss., and commenced a branch establishment, which he continued to manage until 1835, the principal business, remaining, meanwhile, at St. Louis. In the last-named year he returned to Lynn and established a commission shoe and leather business in Boston, retaining, however, an interest in the western business till 1841. In his Boston business he continued till the time of his decease.



George Moore.

Rich T. Fay.
1847

Not long after his return to the East Mr. Hood became active in the political field. He was a very prominent member of the old Democratic party, fought manfully for its interests, and his valuable services were acknowledged by his nomination and frequently by his election to various high positions. In addition to town offices, he was several times chosen a Representative to the General Court, and in that of 1843 was a Senator. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1846 he was the Democratic candidate for the office of Lieutenant-Governor, but that party did not prevail, nor, in fact, hope to, the Whig party at that time and for many years dominating the State.

In 1852 Mr. Hood was nominated by his party for a seat in the National House of Representatives, but was not elected, the Whig candidate, as was then usual in this Congressional district, being chosen. In the next year, 1853, Mr. Hood was a member of the convention for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts.

Continuing, meanwhile, his mercantile business, which he prosecuted with vigor and success, he took a very active part in the establishment of the Shoe and Leather Fire Insurance Company, of Boston, in 1853, and was chosen its first president, which office he continued to hold till his resignation, in September, 1858.

Mr. Hood's activity was not confined to business and political affairs, but the great social questions of the day found in him an earnest inquirer and practical worker. He manifested a generous sympathy for the laboring classes, and was one of the foremost to break up the old custom of indefinitely protracted labor, and established the so-called ten-hour system, his favorite motto being,—"The greatest good of the greatest number."

In the general improvement and culture of the people he took a lively and practical interest.

In religious matters he was, during his mature years, a prominent and efficient member of the Unitarian denomination, and a constant attendant upon its public worship.

The crowning public work of Mr. Hood was that of his two years' mayoralty. He had been opposed to the adoption of the city form of government, and in the spring of 1849 had successfully led the opposition to the acceptance of the charter granted by the Legislature of that year. His ground of objection was that a city government was less democratic—using that word in its broadest sense—than that of a town.

But the agitation was continued, and in April, 1850, another charter was granted, which, on April 19th, was accepted by the people. Despite his opposition to the system he was chosen mayor, though by a small majority of about twenty, over his opponent, Thomas Bowler, the veteran town clerk of the preceding twenty years. Mr. Hood was re-elected in March, 1851, by a large majority, which fact was an

undeniable tribute to his fidelity and ability. He was a man of much more than ordinary intelligence, and of indomitable industry. Both in his public and his personal affairs he was a logical thinker and a prompt and practical worker. He died on the 29th of June, 1859, and his body is interred in his family lot in Pine Grove Cemetery. Mr. Hood married, September 11, 1833, Hermione, a daughter of Major Aaron Breed, a prominent citizen of Lynn, who for a number of years was a member of the General Court.

Mrs. Hood died January 20, 1887. They had the following children,—Harriet M., George A., Adelaide M., Edwin E., Julius S., Henrietta A., Henry, Caroline P., Aubrey, Ada H., Edward K. and Mary.

RICHARD SULLIVAN FAY.

Mr. Fay was born in Cambridge June 15, 1806, the son of Hon. Samuel Prescott Phillips Fay, judge of probate in Middlesex County. He was educated in the schools of that town, and entered college in 1821, being graduated in 1825 with good distinction as a scholar. Among his class-mates were Charles Francis Adams, Rev. Frederick H. Hedge, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, John L. Sibley, Sears C. Walker, and many others who distinguished themselves by useful and honorable service. At the close of his college career he entered upon the study of law, at the law-school in Northampton, when that institution held a high place under the direction of some of the most brilliant lawyers of the commonwealth. He established himself in business in Boston in connection with Jonathan Chapman, who became a leader at the Suffolk bar, and mayor of the city of Boston.

In 1832 Mr. Fay married Catharine Sanders, daughter of the Hon. Dudley L. Pickman, of Salem, and resided many years in Boston, in the diligent and active practice of his profession. In 1848 he took his family to Europe, and after an extensive journey on the Continent, he took up his residence in England, where he resided several years on an estate in Shropshire, known as Moor Park, one of the most beautiful and cultivated of those landed properties of England, in which are combined the elegance and luxury of a well-appointed home, and the best practical system of agriculture.

It was undoubtedly this experience in England which increased Mr. Fay's natural love of rural pursuits, and cultivated those tastes which made him an ardent and useful promoter of agriculture in his native State, to which he returned in 1853. He had previously purchased a large estate in Essex County, known as Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel, comprising more than five hundred acres of diversified land, in which fertile valleys, picturesque and rugged hills and a beautiful lakelet were combined. He commenced at once the improvement of this place, now called Lynnmere, by draining the lands and covering

the hills with innumerable trees, many of which he planted with his own hands. He imported larches, maples, firs and pines in large quantities, planted acorns constantly in his walks about the estate, and succeeded in converting a rough and somewhat unattractive landscape into a variegated forest, through which winds an avenue of great beauty, bordered by deciduous and evergreen trees distributed with great taste, and constituting a charming combination of variety and luxuriance of foliage. The forest which Mr. Fay planted has now become a profitable woodland. The bare hills which he covered with Scotch larches, the rude stone walls and the waste pasture where, originally, there was only a growth of red cedars and huckleberry bushes, through which the approach to the house led, have given way to shade-trees of great variety, which now after forty years are in magnificent beauty. Huge rocks were drawn out of the barren soil, now verdant in lawn, grass-fields and rich crops. The place is one of the most picturesque in New England in natural beauty, and in its present condition is a memorial of the taste and genius of the man who developed and added to its attractions.

In addition to this extensive forest and ornamental tree-culture, Mr. Fay encouraged by precept and practice many of the most important branches of agriculture which belong especially to the practical farmer. While in England he had observed the importance attached to sheep-husbandry, for the production of coarse and middle wools, and for the supply of mutton as a healthful and economical article of food, at that time not in general use in this country. He selected from all the heavy and rapid-growing breeds in England the Oxford Downs, as larger than the South Down, and finer than the Cotswold; and from his large flocks he made for a long time a wide distribution throughout the country. In this branch of agriculture he was considered as authority; and in connection with it he encouraged the growing of root-crops, the most improved Swedes and Mangolds, which English flock-masters and cattle-breeders consider indispensable to their calling.

To the establishment of market-days in Essex County Mr. Fay gave early and earnest attention, and contributed much instruction on this system of trade, so common in England, through the agricultural press of the country. His attendance at the meeting of farmers was frequent. As a trustee of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, in which body, Robert C. Winthrop, George W. Lyman, Chief Justice Bigelow, George Peabody, of Salem, Charles G. Loring, Stephen Salisbury, George B. Loring, Leverett Saltonstall and others were his associates, he did good service, and edited the first issue of the records of the society. As president of the Essex Agricultural Society, he called around that association the most eminent patrons of farming known in the country, and did much to place it in the posi-

tion it now occupies. He had a sincere love of rural life, and although connected from time to time with business enterprises, he never forgot that agriculture is the foundation of all our prosperity, and that a knowledge of its economics and a taste for its pursuits add much to one's usefulness and happiness.

Mr. Fay was a man of great determination, strong impulse and wide observation. His natural powers were great. Highly favored by fortune, he never lost sight of the efforts required for the development of human enterprises, and was somewhat impatient of those theories which disturbed society and endangered its perpetuity and success. He lived in a time of great transitions, in which, although occupying no official position, he gave strong expression to his views and equal impress to his exertions. Early in the breaking out of the Civil War he organized at his own expense a company known as the Fay Guards, which did brave and honorable service in the great conflict. This company was attached to the Thirty-eighth Massachusetts, and was in the following engagements: Port Hudson, May 17 to July 9, 1863; Cane River, La., April, 1864; Mansion Plains, La., May, 1864; Winchester, Va., September 19, 1864; Fisher's Hill, Va., September 21, 1864; Cedar Creek, Va., October 19, 1864. Mr. Fay lived to see the glorious and happy termination of his country's trial.

Mr. Fay died in Liverpool July 6, 1865, leaving a widow and four children.

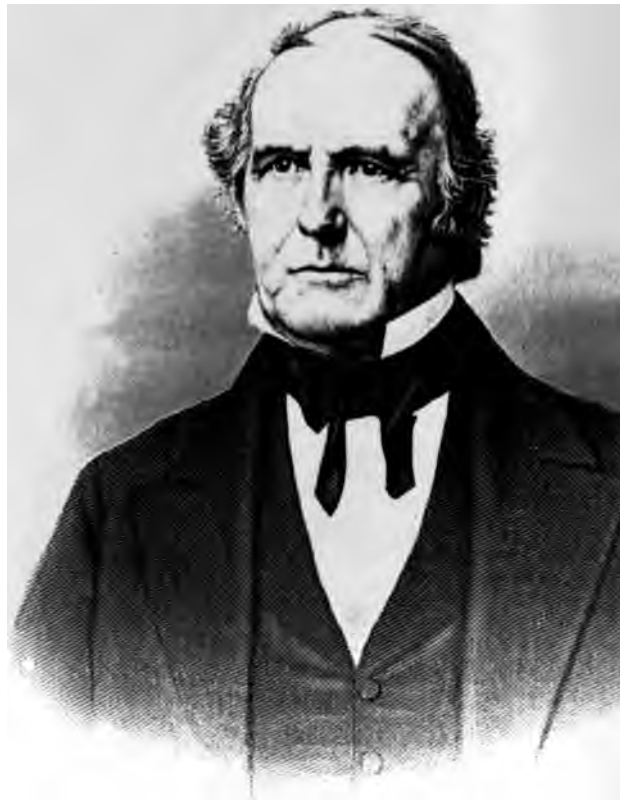
HENRY NEWHALL.

Henry Newhall was descended from one of the oldest and largest families in Lynn, his earliest paternal ancestor, Thomas N. (the son of Thomas, who came from England and settled in 1630), having been the first child born in the town. He was born March 10, 1797, and was the son of Winthrop and Elizabeth (Farrington). Winthrop Newhall was a tanner. Henry, having associated himself with his older brother, Francis S., in the morocco trade and manufacture, became a prominent merchant, the business of the firm being one of the largest in the town, having its headquarters in Lynn and Boston, with a branch house for a short period in New York. In 1850 ill health compelled him to retire from the firm, and it was several years, partly occupied in travel at home and abroad, before he was sufficiently restored to resume the responsibilities of business. Upon the death of his brother Francis, president of the Laighton (now Central National) Bank, in 1858, he was elected to the office and continued to hold it until his retirement in 1876, at the advanced age of nearly eighty years.

Henry Newhall belonged to a family marked for intelligence and capacity, and inherited those sterling qualities of mind and character that always command the respect and confidence of a community. His integrity, his quiet but penetrating insight into human

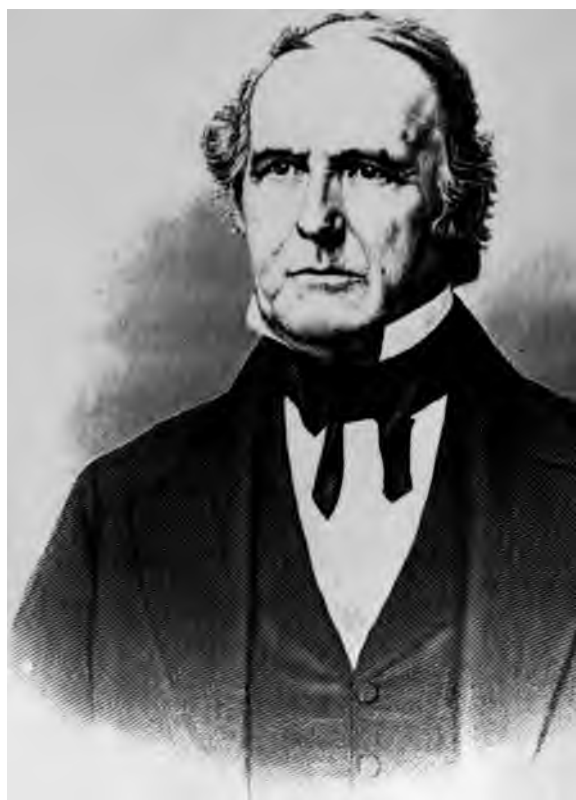


Henry Newhall



1850

J. R. R. R.



ASAIAH BOND

Asaiah Bond



D. C. Baker

nature, his firmness of character, his careful and intelligent judgment, together with his kind and friendly spirit, made him a most useful citizen, especially in business circles. He had, also, a broad and vigorous mind, and if there were any deficiencies of early education they were more than made up through his large and thoughtful reading, his keen appreciation of the best things in thought and life and his unabated interest in human affairs. Few business men were so well-read in the literature of history, politics, biography and fiction. He was never without a book at hand, and little of the current literature that was worth reading escaped his attention. Then he was known for independent and positive opinions, for which he had no lack of courageous and positive expression; at the same time he was most tolerant and considerate of others. He was a man of great sincerity and plain-spokenness, and his convictions had weight and influence with those with whom he was associated. In business relations he was remarkable for tact and discretion, and it was a matter of common remark that he never obtruded himself upon the interests of others.

One of his especial characteristics was a strong patriotism. And from the first he believed in anti-slavery, and, though prudent and conservative by nature, was an ardent supporter of the cause of humanity at a time when it was most unpopular. Indeed, he was a patient listener to every reform, an admirer of fair play in the advocacy of opinions and principles, and a believer in the honesty of human nature and the progressive tendencies of society.

In religious matters his convictions were not so much traditional as founded upon the dictates of conscience and reason. Of Quaker extraction, he was one of the leaders of the liberal movement in Lynn which culminated in the formation of the Unitarian Society, of which he was a constant and liberal supporter. The mottoes of his life may be said to have been sincerity, honor and fidelity, good-will and justice towards men, and there was nothing toward which he expressed a severer repugnance than their opposites.

He was a genial and companionable friend, and possessed unusually interesting powers of conversation.

He held few public offices, but was identified with most of the important business institutions of the city,—the Lynn Institution for Savings, the Lynn Gas-Light Company, the old Mechanics' Insurance Company, was president of the Exchange and Lyceum Hall Associations, held a number of offices under the old town government, and was one of the first commissioners of the Lynn City Hall and City Debt Sinking Funds, a benefactor of the Lynn Public Library in fact, a friend and adviser in all the business interests of the city.

In his old age his mind was remarkable for its vigor and clearness, while his warmth and kindness, his patience with sickness, his serenity and cheerful

temper drew around him a host of admiring friends. To the young he was as companionable as to the old. He died July 15, 1878, in his own home, situated upon Nahant Street, upon land that had been occupied by many generations of his ancestors, and was buried in Pine Grove Cemetery.

He married Ann Atwell, who died in February, 1863. His surviving children are Charles Henry and Sarah Catharine, wife of Benjamin J. Berry.

ISAIAH BREED.

Isaiah Breed was born in Lynn October 21, 1786, and was the son of James Breed, of that place. Like his father, he entered into the shoe business and pursued it successfully for nearly fifty years, becoming one of the most extensive and wealthy manufacturers in that busy and thriving town. Mr. Breed was one of the first directors of the Eastern Railroad, and president for more than thirty years of the Lynn Mechanics' Bank. He was also, at one time, a Representative in the State Legislature, and in 1839 a State Senator. He took an active interest in the welfare of his native town, and was one of the organizers of the Central Congregational Society, of which he was for some years a deacon. He was a liberal, public-spirited man, of great strength of character, and always distinguished in all the relations of life, as not merely an honest man, but one of deep convictions of duty and a high sense of honor. He was one of those sterling men who gave life and spirit to Lynn as a town, and so added to the wealth and population as to finally establish it as a city of enterprise and continuous growth.

D. C. BAKER.

The immediate ancestors of Daniel Collins Baker lived in Dighton, Mass., and were engaged in farming. Elisha Baker left his father's farm at an early age and went to Lynn, where he married Ruth, daughter of Samuel Collins. Both Mr. and Mrs. Baker were members of the Society of Friends. He had five children, of whom Daniel Collins, the oldest son and the subject of this sketch, was born in Lynn October 12, 1816. His early education was such as the town school of his native town, under the care of Master Hobbs, afforded, and afterwards, for a year and a half, he attended as pupil the Friends' Boarding School at Providence, R. I. At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to the shoemaking trade, to which he applied himself with such an earnest desire to master its details that while yet a young man he established himself in the manufacture of shoes on his own account, and by his industry and skill soon built up a successful business.

From the manufacture of shoes he became interested in the leather and shoe finding trade, and became a partner in the firm of F. S. Newhall & Co., of Boston, in that business. In later years he resumed

the manufacture of shoes, and at the time of his death was doing business in the South, having a shoe house established in New Orleans. He died in New Orleans July 19, 1863, whither he had gone to gather up something of the fortune which the war had scattered and swept away. He married, December 19, 1838, Augusta, daughter of John B. Chase, of Lynn, and had three children,—William E., who married Lydia M. Marshall, and is an esteemed and successful merchant in Lynn; Helen A., who married A. Mitchell Collins, of Georgia; and Sarah E., who is unmarried.

Mr. Baker, aside from his legitimate business, always felt a deep interest in public affairs, and possessed qualities specially fitting him for their administration. In earlier times he was an active member of the Whig party, and his services were acknowledged by his nomination and election to various prominent positions. As a member of the Whig State Central Committee, which was always composed of the most useful men in the different sections of the State, he performed his full share in promoting the interests of the political organization which it represented. In 1849 and 1850 he was a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and in 1852 was a Presidential elector, and cast his vote for Winfield Scott. He took a leading part in the controversy, which resulted in the adoption of the act incorporating the city of Lynn, passed April 10, 1850, and as a friend of the charter was chosen a member of the first Common Council, and made its president. In 1853 he was chosen mayor over John B. Alley, his opposing candidate. In both of these positions he exhibited the highest qualities of an executive and presiding officer, and won the confidence and respect of both political friends and opponents.

As president of the Council his services were especially valuable in putting the wheels of municipal machinery, in the first year of the life of the city, successfully in motion. As a speaker he was logical and effective, and always ready without apparent preparation. As an administrator of public affairs, he was as prudent and economical as he was liberal and free in his private life. The public schools of the city reaped the advantages of the warm interest he felt in their welfare; perhaps all the warmer because his own opportunities for education in early life were not such as he felt every youth should possess.

He was also a member of the Bunker Hill Association, and his fondness for decorative gardening and for the choicest fruits and flowers, led him to become a member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and enabled him to do a good work in developing and cultivating higher tastes among those about him.

As a wise and careful financial manager Mr. Baker was recognized by those in charge of money institutions, and his services were sought as director of the

Exchange Bank of Boston on its establishment in 1847, and as president of the Howard Banking Company of that city, when it went into operation in 1853.

Though many years have elapsed since his death, he is remembered for his genial disposition, his generous impulses and his large benevolence, which endeared him to his neighbors and friends, and for the faithful and competent service in the performance of every public trust.

EZRA WARREN MUDGE.

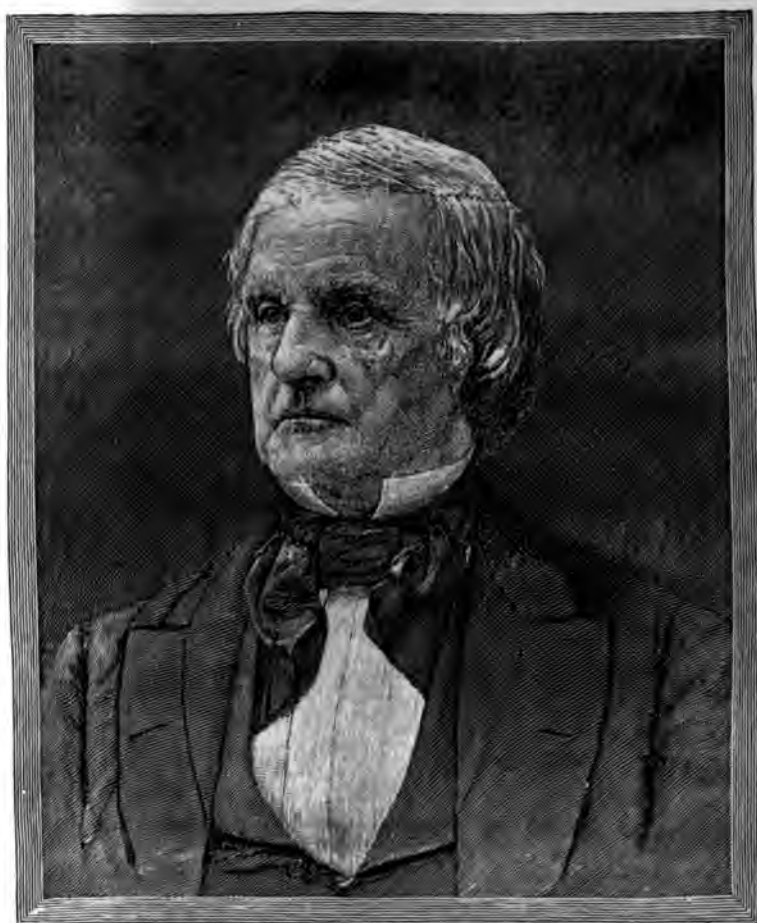
Ezra Warren Mudge was born in Lynn December 5, 1811, and was the son of Ezra and Ruth (Chadwell) Mudge, of that town. Ezra Mudge, the father, was born in Lynn April 10, 1780. He was first a shoe manufacturer, then a dealer in dry-goods in Lynn, afterwards a wholesale and retail dealer in shoes in New York City, and later a weigher and gager in the Custom-House in Boston, where he died May 25, 1855. He served the town of Lynn for sixteen years as Representative from 1807, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, a member of the Council, and was, in the War of 1812, the captain of the Lynn Artillery Company, in the formation of which he was specially active. He married, first, June 28, 1801, Betsey, daughter of Captain John and Mary Brewer, of Salem; second, December 20, 1804, Ruth, daughter of Harris and Ruth Chadwell; and third, November 1, 1819, Hannah Bartlett, daughter of Lemuel and Sarah (Bartlett) Drew, of Plymouth. By his second wife he had Ezra Alden, November 17, 1805; Eliza Brewer, November 5, 1806; Ruth Chadwell, May 9, 1809; Ezra Warren, December 5, 1811; Nathan and Hannah, twins, September 12, 1814; and Sarah Wiggin, March 2, 1819. By his third wife he had Lemuel Drew, August 6, 1820; William B., May 3, 1822; Hervey Mackay, October 3, 1823; Sarah Elizabeth, May 25, 1825; Sarah Caroline, January 1, 1827; Jane and Evelina, twins, March 14, 1829; Mary Evelina, November 21, 1830; Maria Augusta, March 2, 1833; and Robert Rich, June 14, 1835.

The father of Ezra Mudge was Nathan Mudge, who was born in Lynnfield September 21, 1756. He was a Revolutionary soldier, and died in Lynn February 8, 1831.

He married, first, September 2, 1776, Hannah, daughter of John and Sarah Ingalls, and had Nathan, January 26, 1778; Ezra, April 10, 1780; John Park, November 27, 1782; Mary, March 19, 1785; Samuel, May 15, 1787; Joseph, November 15, 1788; and Hannah, December 20, 1790. He married, second, July 24, 1794, Elizabeth, widow of Shubael Burrell, and had Joseph, June 17, 1795; Enoch, October 18, 1796; Hepsey, March 13, 1798; Simon, December 5, 1799; Hepsey B., August 19, 1801; Lydia B., June 14, 1803; Shubael, July 14, 1805; Ann Alden, June



John Warren Mudge



Edward F. Davis.

22, 1806; and Caroline, April 2, 1808. He died in Lynn February 8, 1831.

The father of Nathan was John Mudge, who was born in Malden December 30, 1713. He was a farmer, and settled in Malden, but afterwards removed to Lynnfield. He married, May 4, 1738, Mary, daughter of Samuel and Anna Waite, of Malden, and had Samuel, March 22, 1739; Mary, April 20, 1740; Lydia, February 28, 1742; John, December 3, 1743; Simon, April 8, 1748; Ezra, April 7, 1752; Enoch, August 1, 1754; Nathan, September 21, 1756; Samuel, February 1, 1759. He died in Lynnfield November 26, 1762.

The father of John was John Mudge, who was born in Malden November 21, 1686. He was a farmer, and always lived in Malden. By a wife, Lydia, he had John, December 30, 1713; Joseph, May 28, 1716; Lydia, January 7, 1718-19. He died in Malden November 26, 1762.

The father of the last John was John Mudge, who was born in Malden in 1654. He was a farmer and tanner, and always lived in Malden. He married, in 1684, Ruth, daughter of Robert and Hannah Burditt, of Malden, and had John, October 15, 1685; John again, November 21, 1686; and Martha, December 25, 1691. He died in Malden October 29, 1733.

The father of the last John was Thomas Mudge, who was born in England about the year 1624, and was in Malden as early as 1654. By wife, Mary, he had James; Mary, 1651; Thomas, 1653; John, 1654; George, 1656; Samuel, 1658; Jonathan and Martha, 1662.

Ezra Warren Mudge, the subject of this sketch, was educated in the public schools and the Lynn Academy. He first partially learned the book-binder's trade in Fall River, and in 1828 entered the dry-goods store of Chase & Huse as clerk, where he remained until 1838, when he took the business and conducted it alone until 1842, at which time he became partner in the house of William Chase & Co. In 1849, when the Lighton Bank was incorporated, he was selected as its cashier, and he continued to hold that office until 1868, three years after the bank became the Central National, when, on account of failing health, he resigned.

Mr. Mudge was a selectman of Lynn in 1843 and 1844, a member of the school committee in 1843, '46, '56 and '57, town treasurer, treasurer of the city for six years after its incorporation, and in 1856 and '57 was mayor of the city. He was a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1862, '63 and '64, a member of the board of trustees at its organization in 1862, and its president in 1865. His religious views were those of the Universalists, and he was one of the founders of the First and Second Universalist Societies of Lynn.

Notwithstanding the early training of Mr. Mudge was purely a business one, he was by nature a man of refinement, to whom habits of elevated thought

naturally came, and he early in life formed habits of study, which moulded him into a man of literary taste and more than ordinary culture. His honorable and thorough business methods, controlling the routine of his active life, were supplemented by the graces and pleasures which attach to a life of study. He was a thoroughly rounded man, and when he died, September 20, 1878, if it can ever be said of any one, it can be said of him that death closed a finished life.

Mr. Mudge married, January 23, 1836, Eliza R., daughter of John and Margaret Bray, of Salem, and had Ezra Warren, April 18, 1837; William Ropes, July 18, 1839; Mary Chadwell, August 13, 1841; Hervey Mackay, October 6, 1843; Howard Murray, December 9, 1845; Florence Howard, November 28, 1850; Arthur Bartlett, December 14, 1853; Benjamin Cushing, February 10, 1856; and Kate Gertrude, June 30, 1857.

Mrs. Eliza R. Mudge, the widow of Mr. Mudge, has since died, and the living children are Dr. Arthur Bartlett Mudge and Benjamin Cushing Mudge, both living in Lynn, and Florence Howard and Kate Gertrude, the latter of whom is a practicing physician in Salem.

Benjamin Cushing Mudge was educated in the common schools and graduated at the Lynn High School. He afterwards entered the Institution of Technology, Boston, and graduated in 1867, taking the degree of S.B.

Mr. Cushing was four years assistant agent of the Washington Mills, Lawrence, Mass., which are the largest in the world. He started the selling agency of the Dean Steam-Pump Company, Boston, and built up a very large business, was then called to the Boston office of the hydraulic works of Henry R. Worthington, becoming their New England sales-agent, increasing their business five-fold, in addition, organizing and constructing from four to five large water companies each year, and is now officiating as their treasurer. He has recently been elected the president and director of Pascoag and Webster Railway Company of Rhode Island.

EDWARD S. DAVIS.¹

Mr. Davis was born in Lynn, on the 22d of June, 1808. His parents were Hugh and Elizabeth (Bachelor) Davis, the latter being a descendant from Rev. Stephen Bachelor, first minister of the Lynn Church, settled in 1632.

The subject of this sketch received his education partly in the public schools of Lynn and partly in the academy; which latter he left in 1826. He was soon after appointed clerk of Lynn Mechanics' Bank, and in that position remained till he became of age. His health being now such that a change of residence seemed desirable, he removed to Philadelphia, and

¹ By James R. Newhall.

commenced business as a commission merchant. There he remained till 1833, when Nahant Bank was established; and being offered a position in that institution, accepted, and returned to his native place. In the bank and in the Union Insurance Company he continued till 1837, and then resigned.

Soon after leaving the bank he began business as a shoe manufacturer, but relinquished that and returned to the institution on being appointed cashier, and remained till its affairs were finally closed up. He then spent several years of enforced idleness on account of ill health, though occupying a part of the time as book-keeper. Subsequently he was appointed to a place in the United States Bonded Warehouse, in Boston. In 1861 he entered as a clerk in the State Auditor's office, and from that time to the present he has remained in the same department, filling the offices of first and second clerk.

Mr. Davis was, in early manhood, something of a military man; was in 1835 elected major of the Regiment of Light Infantry attached to the First Brigade of Essex County, and remained in commission as major and lieutenant-colonel, most of the time in command, till 1843.

He was one of the early adherents to the anti-slavery cause, and never deserted it. The "Lynn Colored People's Friend Society" was organized in 1832, having "for its object the abolition of slavery in the United States, the improvement of the character and condition of the free blacks and the acquisition to the Indians and blacks of the enjoyment of their natural rights in an equal participation of civil privileges with white men." In 1835 this society numbered one hundred and eighty-five members, and we find Mr. Davis named as corresponding secretary.

In 1838, being an active member of the old Whig party, Mr. Davis was elected Representative to the General Court, and soon after the formation of our city government was elected to the Council. In 1852, '53, '56 and '57 he was president of the Common Council. It was in 1859 and 1860 that he was called to fill the mayor's chair, and down to the last date had been six years ex-officio member of the school committee. In 1834 he was commissioned as a notary public, and in 1837 as a justice of the peace, which last office he now fills.

In his religious views Mr. Davis has, from his youth, been a consistent Episcopalian; and that church is indebted to him, probably, more than to any other, for its establishment in this place. From the organization in 1834, until the present time, he has continued to manifest his devotion to her by labor and by pecuniary contribution, and in the parish of St. Stephen's still continues in an important official position.

During his administration as mayor several projects of public interest were accomplished. The city debt was funded; the first street railroad located; the more systematic grading of the public schools commenced; and the substitution of brick school-

houses for those of wood decided on—two of the former material being erected while he was in office. But perhaps the most notable, at least the most stirring event, was the great shoemakers' strike, which commenced in February, 1860. No occurrence of the kind in this part of the country, probably, ever before created such a sensation. The whole country seemed to have their eyes momentarily turned on Lynn, and through the daily journals and illustrated weeklies her travail was magnified to an extent far beyond what was dreamed of in her own borders. Nevertheless, it was a serious affair, and required the exercise of prudence and coolness in its management. The city was in a ferment for some seven weeks; processions were frequently moving along the streets; large meetings were held; and the drum could be heard at almost any hour. After all, however, there was little actual violence committed. The object of the strikers was the same that is common in all such movements, namely, the obtaining of more adequate remuneration for labor; and perhaps, on the whole, the occurrence was not injurious to the general interests of the place. During this disturbance Mayor Davis, by his prudence, foresight and forbearance, often exercised against the strong urgency of those in favor of more forcible measures, probably saved the city from the odium of violence, and himself and friends from lasting regrets.

The habits of Mr. Davis were somewhat retiring, and he may be said to lead the life of a thinker quite as much as that of an actor. Having a taste for literature, he has collected, doubtless, the largest and most valuable private library in the city; and among his books he spends many pleasant and studious hours. He has also collected a variety of interesting objects of fine art. Agreeable manners, intelligence and freedom from low prejudices mark his daily walk; and few can spend many hours in his society and not feel improved.

In 1836 he married Elvira, daughter of Captain Nathaniel and Martha (Chadwell) Newhall, both belonging to old Lynn families, but has no children.

Mr. Davis took great pride in the Lynn Public Library, and rendered to it valuable service. He was first elected trustee in 1878, and in 1880 became chairman of the board, which position he held until his death. He was a member of the Historic Genealogical Society, and of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in both of which institutions he manifested a lively interest. His acquaintance with public men, authors, artists, clergymen and politicians, was quite extended, and his correspondence very large. It is said he preserved a copy of every letter he has written for half a century. His death, though not unexpected, will be most sincerely regretted, not only in his native city but by many in distant places. It may be said of him that all his acquaintances were his friends, and the death of such a man is felt as a loss by the whole community.



Engraving of Stephen A. Bred. By J. H. P.

Stephen A. Bred

Isaac Newhall

Mr. Davis died at his residence on Summer Street, August 7, 1887, after a long and painful illness.

STEPHEN N. BREED.

The subject of this memoir was one of Lynn's most honest citizens. He was a man of sterling integrity of character, independent in his habits of thought, and fearless, though not ostentatious, in the utterance of his opinions, whether those opinions had received the stamp of public approval, or whether their advocacy subjected him to the adverse criticism of the majority.

He naturally, therefore, took kindly to the reforms of the day, carefully discriminating between the narrow and visionary schemes of so-called reformers, and those measures of social improvement that base their demands upon the principles of justice that appeal to man's uncorrupted moral sense. His wide reading had taught him that majorities were often wrong, and that of necessity reform must begin with the minority. Whatever such a view cost him, he was willing to bear.

Accordingly he was found in the ranks of the abolitionists when to be such made men sneer and raise the cry of fanatic. While he well knew that the world would not hear too much reform at once, he realized that such an essential villainy as human slavery struck at the fundamental rights of man. Therefore he was a Garrisonian abolitionist, though never standing on the extreme non-voting ground; being a decided Whig in his early years, and later an earnest supporter of the Republican party. No compromise must be made with slavery, no toleration must be given to it, nothing but its destruction would meet the demands of justice.

Mr. Breed was a member of the old Silsbee Street Debating Society, so famous in our local annals, and occasionally took part in the debates; but he usually preferred to listen. He had a fine sense of humor, and though undemonstrative in its manifestation, the few who knew him well saw how clearly he perceived the incongruities which lie at the root of man's humorous instincts, and how keenly he appreciated any demonstrations that presented the witty side of human nature. He was a genial, instructive companion. His tenacious memory furnished him with a storehouse of facts and reminiscences running back to the early years of the century.

Mr. Breed was born and bred in the Quaker communion, but in early life became a regular attendant at the Unitarian Church just then organized, until the establishment of the Free Church, when he attended the ministry of Samuel Johnson. In the later years of his life he again attended the Unitarian Church. He never dogmatized in matters of religion, feeling assured that there were many things concerning it which he did not know, and many more about which there was more or less uncertainty.

His prudent habits and sound judgment gave him marked success in business. He took charge of the lumber trade established by his father—an industry then in its infancy—and laid the foundations of what became in after years, with the aid of his sons, one of the most extensive retail lumber establishments in New England, yielding its owner an ample fortune. He was a man of strict business integrity, and he will be long remembered by the multitude of his patrons, for the unpretending kindness of his manners, and for his leniency when misfortune made them his debtors.

Mr. Breed was a son of James and Phebe (Nichols) Breed, and was born in 1806. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick and Betsey Breed, and had six children, viz.: Mary Elizabeth, James F., Albert H., Harriet M., Stephen F. and Ella F. Of these four are living, viz.: James F., Albert H., Stephen F. and Harriet M., now Mrs. Walcott. Mr. Breed died April 8, 1886.

ISAAC NEWHALL,

One of Lynn's prominent and widely-known citizens, was born January 4, 1814, and died February 22, 1879. He was a native of Lynn and of Quaker parentage, his mother being one of the eminent preachers of that denomination.

Mr. Newhall was greatly instrumental in advancing the welfare and prosperity of the city, and was at all times interested in the municipal affairs of the city, being a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1851 and 1875; and the present success of many institutions and enterprises in Lynn is due to his indefatigable efforts, particularly the building of the Lynn City Street Railway, of which he was a director.

He was a man of indomitable will and perseverance. He was singularly constituted as a business man, and pursued an independent course, apparently regardless of public opinion. He had decided opinions and was not inclined to court the good opinion or the favor of only his intimate friends, apparently courting opposition, and he seemed to take great pleasure in combating public sentiment. In public and local affairs he interested himself earnestly, having filled various public positions, rarely going with the current, at times advocating sentiments adverse to those expected from a man of his comprehension and intelligence.

He was unostentatious, while frugality and abstemiousness characterized him through life, and his faith in the future welcomed the end. He early engaged in the shoe business and became one of Lynn's largest and successful manufacturers. Later still, after machinery became necessary, he kept up with the progress of the age, until, becoming largely interested in real estate operations, he gradually left the shoe business, occasioned, no doubt, by failing health, suffering intensely from neuralgia,

which no medical or surgical skill could alleviate. The last few weeks of his life were weeks of intense suffering, which he bore with remarkable patience and Christian resignation. No complaint would fall from his lips.

Mr. Newhall was twice married. He left a widow and five children.

JAMES M. NYE, M.D.

The old town of Salisbury, one of the most historic sections of the Commonwealth, has been prolific in the number of her sons who have attained honorable and leading positions among their fellow-men. Such an one is the subject of this sketch—Dr. James M. Nye.

Dr. Nye came to Lynn in 1841 and established himself in the practice of his profession, which he continued with marked success until his death. He was ever alive to the interests of his adopted city, and all measures tending to advance its welfare found in him an earnest advocate. His genial disposition, large sympathies and acknowledged skill in his profession, soon gained him an extensive practice, and his benevolence was plainly manifest in the large numbers of poor people whom he attended professionally, receiving no compensation except that arising from the inner consciousness of having performed a charity pleasing to himself and in accordance with the divine teachings of which he was, through life, a consistent follower.

Dr. Nye manifested a deep interest in educational matters and served for several years, with ability and honor, upon the school-board of Lynn, resigning his position only when compelled to by the pressure of his professional duties. His interest in matters of education was not alone confined to Lynn, but extended to the freedmen of the South, for whom he supported several teachers during the last years of his life.

Dr. Nye was a consistent Christian, and during his residence of thirty-one years in Lynn he was one of the most prominent members of the First Baptist Church, and an earnest worker in its behalf. He was superintendent of the Sunday-school and clerk of the society for a long period. Modest and unassuming in his disposition, strictly moral in his character, upright in his dealings with others, he left the example of a true Christian gentleman, and died one of Lynn's most esteemed and honored citizens.

Dr. Nye was born September 26, 1818, and died April 21, 1872. He married Hannah C. Peaslee, of Newton, N. H., June 29, 1842, who still survives him.

JOHN B. ALLEY.

John B. Alley belongs to one of the oldest Essex County families, and is descended from Hugh Alley, who, with his brother John, settled in Lynn in 1634.

Hugh Alley was a farmer, and exhibited the same energy, activity and shrewdness which have characterized his descendants. He is believed to have been the first to take up land, and settle on it, in that part of Lynn which is now Nahant. The grandfather and great-grandfather of Mr. Alley inherited from their ancestor a desire for the possession of land, and were the largest owners of that kind of property in Lynn. John Alley, the father of Mr. Alley, and son of Hugh Alley, lived in Lynn, as did all his ancestors, and was a thriving business man. He married Mercy, daughter of Jonathan Buffum, of Salem, and sister of the late Jonathan Buffum, of Lynn, who for many years was one of its honored and distinguished citizens. Mr. Alley was born in Lynn January 7, 1817, and attended the public schools of that town. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a shoe manufacturer, and at nineteen received the gift of his time. At this early age he displayed those habits of industry and fidelity which have marked every step of his successful career. Possessing by nature a clear head, a cool temperament, a sound intellect and a good judgment, he knew that to succeed in life, industry and fidelity were the only remaining requisites for success.

Immediately, or soon, after the close of his apprenticeship he went to Cincinnati, and there purchased a flat-boat, which he loaded with merchandise and carried to New Orleans. In so young a man the enterprise and skill essential to profitable results in such an undertaking are unusual. But they were possessed by Mr. Alley, and it may be truly said that the fruits of this expedition, with the lesson of self-reliance which it taught him, laid the foundation of the fortune, which he has since acquired.

At the age of twenty-one he returned to Lynn and began the manufacture of shoes. In five years, at the age of twenty-six, he was the owner of one of the largest enterprises in a city full of active, bold, shrewd men, with whom he had entered on a race for wealth. In 1847 he established a house in Boston for the sale of hides and leather, and was the acknowledged peer of the most successful men in the trade. At various times he has been the senior partner in the firm of Alley, Choate & Cummings, the firm of John B. Alley & Co., in which Griffin Place, an able and successful man, was the partner, and more recently in the firm of Alley Bros. & Place, in which the two sons of Mr. Alley and Mr. Place were the partners. In 1886 this last firm was dissolved, and after a business career of forty-eight years Mr. Alley retired, leaving with his former partners a special capital for the continuance of the business. He is now absent on a European tour, enjoying his first vacation in a life of seventy years, free from the burdens and responsibilities of a business which required his constant and conscientious attention and care.

But Mr. Alley may be said to have led two lives.

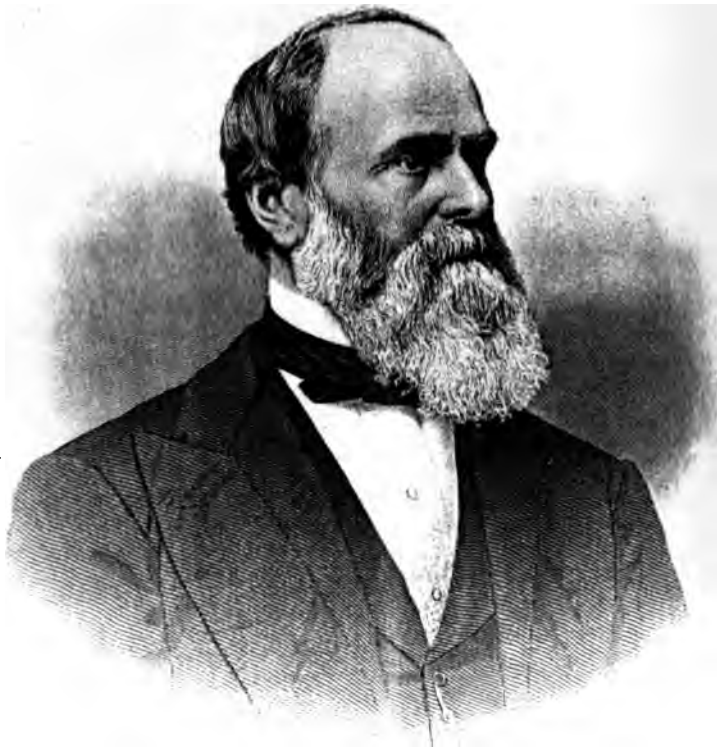


James M. Nye.



John B. Alley

W. C. Appleton Publishing & Engraving Co. New York



Edw. A. Frehall

Not printed in the original collection

Aside from his legitimate career as a merchant, he has always felt a deep interest in public affairs, and in large operations involving heavy responsibilities, requiring heroic courage, and promotive of the welfare and growth of the country. In his earlier years, before the birth of what was called the Free-Soil party, in 1848, he was attached to the Liberty party, imbibing as he did from the Society of Friends, with which his father was associated, anti-slavery sentiments, which never abated until, by the proclamation of President Lincoln, the slave was made free. At the Presidential election in 1848, when Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams were the Free-Soil candidates for President and Vice-President, he was one of the candidates for electors on the Free-Soil ticket. In 1851, during the administration of Governor Boutwell, he was one of the Executive Council. In 1852 he was in the State Senate, serving as chairman of the Committee on Railroads. In 1853 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and for several years was an active and influential member of the Republican State Central Committee. In 1858 he was chosen Representative to Congress, serving four terms, during two of which he performed with industry and ability the duties of chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. His service in Congress covered the whole period of the war, and no man of the Massachusetts delegation was more devoted and faithful to public duties. His speeches, though not frequent, were well-timed and always clear, well-expressed, strong and persuasive. Those more worthy than others of mention were a speech delivered on the 30th of April, 1860, vindicating the Republican party, one delivered on the 26th of January, 1861, on public affairs, one delivered January 23, 1862, on the State of the Union, and one on the 6th of February of the same year, on the Treasury Note Bill.

Mr. Alley was one of the first to appreciate the remarkable qualities of John A. Andrew. Mr. Andrew had been a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in the winter of 1860, and was little known by the people at large until, in the latter part of the session, Caleb Cushing, who was a member, took occasion, in a speech as remarkable for beauty of diction and powerful logic as for its peculiar spirit and sentiment, to arraign the Republican party for a want of loyalty to the Union. As when Hayne delivered his eloquent speech in the Senate of the United States, and Massachusetts men wondered how and by whom he would be answered, so the Republican members of the Legislature listened with amazement to this Democratic champion, and though they knew he must be answered, they knew not from whose lips the answer would come. But they were not doomed to be disappointed. After the recess at the noonday hour John A. Andrew rose, as Webster rose in the Senate, with the assured air of defiance on his brow, but with his clansmen full of doubt. But the power

and eloquence were in him, and the time had for the first time come for their full display. It is sufficient to say that with a triumphant oratory rarely heard Mr. Cushing was answered, and the party of which from that time John A. Andrew was the champion was nobly vindicated. In the autumn of that year he was chosen Governor of the commonwealth, and in defending from attacks made on the floor of Congress, Mr. Alley said, in his speech of January, 1861: "Massachusetts has had twenty-one Governors since the adoption of her State Constitution, in 1780, all of them able and distinguished, some of them illustrious, but in everything which constitutes true greatness of character and mind, not one among them all, in my judgment, was the superior of John A. Andrew."

This encomium, as extravagant as it seemed at the time, showed Mr. Alley to possess an insight into character then shared by few, so far as Andrew was concerned, and his words have been more than vindicated in the universal judgment of men.

Since the retirement of Mr. Alley from Congress he has been engaged with others in large railroad enterprises in the West and South. His connection with the Union Pacific is well known, and since the completion of that gigantic undertaking he has been more especially interested in railroad extensions in Iowa and Texas. Mr. Alley is one of that body of courageous men to whose capital the country is indebted for the development of a vast section, which, without facilities of travel and transportation, would be still looking to the future for its prosperity and wealth. Nor has the investment of his capital been confined to railroads. He has become also largely connected with land property in New Mexico, and is to-day the largest owner in three ranches which together contain more than forty thousand head of cattle. It is needless to say that he is a very wealthy man, and that his wealth is exceeded by that of few in the State.

EDWARD NEWHALL.

Edward Newhall, son of John and Delia (Breed) Newhall, was born in Lynn, July 22, 1822. His family belonged to the society of Friends, and his early education was received at the Friends' Institute, in Providence. In 1845 he began the study of medicine under Dr. C. H. Nichols, since distinguished as the superintendent of the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, in the city of New York. He afterwards entered the Harvard Medical School, from which he graduated in 1848. The next two years he spent in Europe attending lectures and walking the hospitals in Paris and as a student in the famous Lying-in Hospital of Dublin. In 1850 he returned home and settled in Lynn, where his thorough medical education and devotion to his profession soon secured to him a wide reputation and practice. He is held in no less esteem by his professional brethren than by the community in which he lives, and has been presi-

dent of both the Essex South Medical Society and the Lynn Medical Association.

He married, October 23, 1853, Eliza F. Beaumont, of Canton, Mass., who died in June, 1870, having been the mother of three sons and one daughter. In 1873 he married Mrs. M. A. (Field) Saunderson, of Quincy, Mass., by whom he had two sons and a daughter. Dr. Newhall, now sixty-five years of age, is still possessed of a physical and mental vigor which years have not impaired, and he neither seeks nor needs any relaxation from his continuous and arduous professional work.

His second son, Herbert William, A.M., M.D. (Harv.), is associated with him in practice.

EDWARD WINSLOW HINCKES.

Edward Winslow Hincks was born in Bucksport, Me., May 30, 1830. He was the son of Captain Elisha Hincks, who was born in Provincetown, Mass., September 28, 1800, and who was lost at sea January 14, 1831. In 1802 the father of Elisha removed with his family to Buckstown (now Bucksport), and there Elisha was brought up, and married, October 9, 1824, Elizabeth Hopkins, daughter of Ephraim and Hannah (Rich) Wentworth, of Orrington, Me., and had the following children: Temperance Ann, April 23, 1826; Elisha Albert, May 1, 1828; Edward Winslow, May 30, 1830.

The father of Elisha was Elisha Hincks, who was born in Truro, Mass., July 14, 1774, and died in North Bucksport, Me., March 15, 1851. In early life he followed the sea, but in April, 1802, he, with his family and brothers, Winslow and Jesse, removed from Provincetown, where they then lived, to Buckstown (now Bucksport), Me. There he bought wild land, which he cleared and improved, and on which he died. He married first, in March, 1796, Temperance, daughter of Sylvanus and Hannah (Cole) Smith, of Eastham, Mass., and had Anna, born in Provincetown January 11, 1797. He married second, December 22, 1799, Mary, daughter of Nathaniel and Anna (Rich) Treat, of Truro, and had Elisha, September 28, 1800; Temperance Smith, born in Bucksport June 24, 1803; Mary, July 30, 1805; Sarah, January 30, 1807; William Treat, March 30, 1809; Sylvanus Treat, November 21, 1810; Hannah, August 5, 1812; Naomi, May 16, 1816; Ezekiel Franklin, August 10, 1820.

The father of the last Elisha was Samuel Hinckes, who was born in Portsmouth, N. H., about 1728, and shortly removed with his father to Boston, and there lived until 1753. He afterwards taught school in Truro, where he married, about 1756, Susanna, daughter of Jonathan Dyer, of Truro, and where he continued to live until 1795, when he removed to Bucksport, and there died in 1806.

The father of Samuel was Captain Samuel Hinckes, who was born in Portsmouth, N. H., at an unknown

date, and graduated at Harvard in 1701. In 1716, while a resident in Portsmouth, he was sent as a Representative of the province of New Hampshire to the Indians at the eastward, was a captain in the Indian wars and commanded Fort Mary, at Winter Harbor, from 1722 to 1727, when he removed to Boston. He died in Portsmouth shortly after 1753. He married Elizabeth (Winslow) Scott, a widow, previous to 1715. Elizabeth Winslow was a daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Winslow, and granddaughter of John Winslow, who married Mary Chilton, one of the passengers in the "Mayflower".

The father of the last Samuel was John Hinckes, who came from England about 1670, who was Councilor for the province of New Hampshire and assistant in the Court of Chancery from 1683 to May 25, 1686, when he became a Councilor in the government of President Joseph Dudley, having been named for the office by James the Second, in his commission to Dudley, dated October 8, 1685. He was also chief justice of the Court of Pleas and General Sessions in New Hampshire from 1686 to 1689. In 1692 he was named as Councilor of New Hampshire and made president of the Council. In 1699 he was appointed chief justice of the Superior Court, and remained in office as Councilor and chief justice until 1708. He was living in New Castle, N. H., in 1722, and had deceased April 25, 1734. He married, at an unknown date, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel and Christian Fryer, and had Samuel, a daughter who married a Gross, Christian, Barbara, Sarah and probably Elizabeth.

Edward Winslow Hincks, the subject of this sketch, having received the rudiments of his education in the public schools of his native town, in 1845, at fifteen years of age, removed from Bucksport to Bangor, Me., where he served as an apprentice in the office of the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* until 1849, when he removed to Boston, where he was engaged in the printing and publishing business until 1856. He was a Representative from the city of Boston in the Legislature of 1855, and in the same year was a member of the City Council from the Third Ward. Early in 1856 he was appointed a clerk in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and prepared for publication the State census of 1855. He remained in the secretary's office until the firing upon Fort Sumter, employing his leisure hours in the study of law, with the intention of making that his profession, being encouraged and assisted in his purpose by Hon. Anson Burlingame, of whom he was an ardent friend and supporter. Having removed to Lynn in 1856, he was chosen librarian of the Lynn Library Association, and until the outbreak of the war actively promoted the interests of that organization, whose collection of books subsequently became the nucleus of the present Public Library in that city. He was also prominently connected with the Sabbath-school of the First Baptist Church in



Edw W. Hincks

Lynn. On the 18th of August, 1859, he was appointed adjutant of the Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts Militia,—the Essex County regiment.

This appointment, trivial as it no doubt seemed at the time, proved the turning-point in his life, and was the opening door to a military career in which he won lasting fame.

At the outbreak of the war he was placed by this appointment in a position whose duties he had performed with enthusiasm, and from which he could reasonably hope to receive advancement. On the 18th of December, 1860, he wrote to General Anderson, then stationed at Fort Moultrie, the following letter, which shows him to have been the first volunteer of the war:

"MAJOR ANDERSON, U. S. A.,
"Commanding Fort Moultrie:

"MAJOR: In case of attack upon your command by the State (or would-be nation) of South Carolina, will you be at liberty to accept volunteers to aid in the defence of Fort Moultrie?

"I am confident that a large body of volunteers, from this vicinity, can be put afloat at short notice to aid in the defence of the post entrusted to your command, if necessity shall demand and the authorities permit it.

"Indeed, the men who have repeatedly responded to the call of the authorities to protect the officers of the law in their work of securing to the owners, from whom it had escaped, the chattel property of the South, will never hesitate to respond to a call to aid a meritorious officer of our Federal Republic, who is engaged not only in protecting our national property, but in defending the honor of our country and the lives of our countrymen.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant to command.

"EDWARD W. HINKS,
"1st Lieut. and Adj. 8th Regt. Mass. Vol. Mil."

"FORT MOULTRIE, S. C., December 24, 1860.

"LIEUTENANT ED. W. HINKS,

"Adj. 8th Regt. Mass. Vol. Militia:

"SIR: I thank you, not only for myself, but for the brave little band that are under me, for your very welcome letter of the 18th inst., asking whether, in case I am attacked, I would be at liberty to accept volunteer aid in the defence of Fort Moultrie.

"When I inform you that my garrison consists of only sixty effective men; that we are in a very indifferent work, the walls of which are only about fourteen feet high, and that we have within one hundred and sixty yards of our walls sand hills which command our work, and afford admirable sites for batteries and the finest covers for sharpshooters; and that, besides this, there are numerous houses, some of them within pistol-shot, you will at once see that if attacked by a force headed by any one but a simpleton, there is scarce a possibility of our being able to hold out long enough to enable our friends to come to our succor.

"Come what may, I shall ever bear in grateful remembrance your gallant, your humane offer.

"I am, very sincerely, yours,

"ROBERT ANDERSON,
"Major 1st Artillery, U. S. A."

"24 ST. MARK'S PLACE, July 5, 1866.

"GENERAL E. W. HINKS:

"DEAR SIR:

"Your letter, which I received two days before I moved over to Fort Sumter, was the first proffer of aid which was made me whilst in Charleston Harbor.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

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On the 15th of April, 1861, when the news was received of the attack on Fort Sumter, he hastened to Boston, and tendered his services to Governor Andrew, and at the same time urged the acceptance of

the Eighth Regiment as a part of the contingent of fifteen hundred men called for by the President. His offer of service was accepted, and his request at once complied with. Under orders promptly issued, he, that evening, rode to Lynn, Salem, Beverly and Marblehead, and despatched messenger to Newburyport and Gloucester, notifying the various companies of his regiment to rendezvous in Boston for instant duty. The next morning, April 16th, he marched into Faneuil Hall with three companies from Marblehead, the first troops in the country *en route* for the seat of war.

On the 17th of April he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Regiment, which marched on the 18th for Washington. At Annapolis, Md., on the 21st of April, a detachment from the regiment, under command of Colonel Hincks, boarded the frigate "Constitution," then lying aground, and first lightening her of her guns, floated her and worked her to sea. Leaving the ship at midnight, he learned the next morning from General Butler that Colonel Leferts, of the New York Seventh Regiment, had, after consultation with his officers, declined to advance his command and take possession of the Baltimore and Washington Railroad, through apprehension of an overpowering rebel force. He at once said to General Butler: "Give me the selection of two companies for the purpose and I will perform the duty." He was at once placed in command of a detachment consisting of Captain Knott V. Martin's Marblehead company, Captain Geo. T. Newhall's Lynn company and several picked men, engineers and mechanics from other companies under command of Lieutenant Hodges, of Newburyport, and marched to the station, of which he took possession, with the rolling stock, materials, books, papers, etc., there found. Without delay he began the work of repair on the engines and track, the former having been disabled and the latter seriously broken up. During the first day an advance of five miles was made, and after a night's bivouac the work was resumed and continued until the road was in running order. For this service the regiment received the thanks of Congress in the following resolve:

"THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

"CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
"July 31, 1861.

"On motion of Mr. Lovejoy:

"Resolved, That the thanks of this House are hereby presented to the Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, for their alacrity in responding to the call of the President, and for the energy and patriotism displayed by them in surmounting obstacles upon sea and land, which traitors had interposed to impede their progress to the defence of the National Capital.

"GALUSHA A. GROW,
"Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"Attest:

"WM. KATHERINER,
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Reaching Washington on the 26th of April, Colonel Hincks was that day appointed a second lieutenant of cavalry in the regular army, the only rank in which, at that time, an officer could enter the regular

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"BOSTON, December 18, 1860.

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service. From the date of his entrance into the regular army his military history is borne on the records of the office of the adjutant-general, as follows:

"Appointed second lieutenant Second Cavalry April 26, 1861; colonel Eighth Massachusetts Volunteers May 16, 1861; colonel Nineteenth Massachusetts Volunteers August 3, 1861; brigadier-general United States Volunteers November 29, 1862; brevet major-general United States Volunteers March 13, 1865, for gallant and meritorious services during the war; resigned volunteer commission June 30, 1865; appointed lieutenant-colonel Fortieth United States Infantry July 28, 1866; transferred to the Twenty-fifth United States Infantry March 15, 1869; breveted colonel United States Army March 2, 1867, for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Antietam, Md.; and brigadier-general United States Army for gallant and meritorious services in the assault of Petersburg, Va.; retired from active service for disability resulting from wounds received in the line of duty December 15, 1870, upon the full rank of colonel United States Army.

"Service.—With Regiment Eighth Massachusetts in the State of Maryland until August 1, 1861; with Regiment Nineteenth Massachusetts in the Army of the Potomac from August, 1861, to June 30, 1862, when wounded in action at White Oak Swamp, Va.; absent wounded to August 5, 1862; commanding Third Brigade, Sedgwick's division, Army of the Potomac, to September 17, 1862, when twice severely wounded in the battle of Antietam, Md.; on leave of absence wounded to March 19, 1863; on court-martial duty as brigadier-general at Washington, D. C., April 2 to June 9, 1863; and under orders of War Department to July 4, 1863; commanding draft rendezvous at Concord, N. H.; acting assistant provost marshal, general and superintendent of the Volunteer Recruiting Service for the State of New Hampshire to March 29, 1864; commanding district of Saint Mary's and camp of prisoners of war at Point Lookout, Md., April 3 to 20, 1864; commanding Third Division, Eighteenth Army Corps, to July, 1864, when wounded; on court-martial duty to September 22, 1864; commanding draft depot and camp of prisoners of war at Hart's Island, New York Harbor, to February, 1865; on duty at New York City as acting assistant provost marshal general, superintendent Volunteer Recruiting Service, and chief mustering and disbursing officer for the Southern Division of New York to March, 1865; and on the same duty at Harrisburg, Pa., for the Western Division of Pennsylvania to June 30, 1865; governor of the Military Asylum to March 6, 1867; *en route to*, and in command of, Fort Macon, N. C., until April 13, 1867; on special duty at headquarters Second Military District at Charleston, S. C., to April 27, 1867; provost marshal general Second Military District North and South Carolina to January 16, 1868; commanding Fortieth regiment and the sub-district and port of Gold-boro', N. C., to July 13, 1868; on sick leave of absence to December 4, 1868; commanding regiment in North Carolina and Louisiana until April 20, 1869, when he assumed command of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, and remained in command of that regiment and the post of New Orleans, La., until August 14, 1869; on sick leave of absence to December 4, 1869; and in command of regiment in New Orleans and *en route to* and at Fort Clark, Texas, from that date to December 15, 1870."

Such is the record borne on the pages of the army books, and no narrative could set forth the military life of General Hincks so clearly and eloquently as these authoritative words. Aside from the leading well-known generals of the war, few officers can boast of a more varied and gallant and useful career.

In concluding the narrative of the war experience of General Hincks, while the repeated testimony of his superior officers in their general orders to his gallantry will be omitted, the list of battles in which he was engaged must not fail to be mentioned.

Battle of Bull's Bluff, Va., October 21, 1861; siege of Yorktown, Va., April, 1862; affair at West Point, May 7, 1862; Fair Oaks, June 1, 1862; Oak Grove, June 25, 1862; Peach Orchard, June 29, 1862; Savage's Station, June 29, 1862; White Oak Swamp, June 30, 1862; Glendale, June 30, 1862; Chantilly, September 1, 1862; South Mountain, September 14, 1862; Antietam, September 16 and 17, 1862; Baylor's Farm, June 15, 1864; assault on Petersburg, June 15, 1864."

The services of General Hincks after the war were only less important than those during its continuance. Under General Sickles and General Canby the aid he rendered in perfecting and carrying out the reconstruction measures of the government in North and South Carolina, forming what was called the Second Military District, was recognized by his superior officers as efficient and valuable.

On the 15th of December, 1870, the general was retired from active service upon the full rank of colonel in the United States Army on account of wounds received in battle, and on the 7th of March, 1872, he was appointed, by the board of managers of the National Homes, deputy-governor of the Southern Branch of National Homes, at Hampton, Va. On the 1st of January following he was transferred to the Northwestern Branch, near Milwaukee, Wis., and resigned October 1, 1880.

After the resignation of his position as deputy-governor of the National Home at Milwaukee, General Hincks remained in that city until June, 1883, and was largely influential in the organization of the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition, a corporation then formed and still in existence, having for its object the promotion of the industrial interests of Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin. Since 1883 he has lived in Cambridge, Mass., enjoying a period of well-deserved peace and comfort. He occupies a stately old mansion, said to be more than two hundred years old; and the books and pictures and quaint old family china and furniture with which it is replete reveal the culture and taste of its occupants.

In the autumn of 1862, after having been severely wounded in the battle of Antietam, General Hincks was urgently requested by many independent Republicans to run for Congress in the Sixth District, then represented by Mr. John B. Alley, but he positively declined to be a candidate for any office that would prevent his return to the field as soon as he should sufficiently recover from his wounds. He was sergeant-at-arms of the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia in 1872, when General Grant was nominated for a second term; and again at Cincinnati, in 1876, when General Hayes was nominated for President. In the Cincinnati Convention he was nominated by the chairman of the Michigan delegation "for his many wounds received in battle," and was unanimously elected.

General Hincks is a Knight Templar in the Masonic order, a companion in the National Commandery of the Loyal Legion and a member of the New England Historical Genealogical Society.

General Hincks has been twice married,—first, January 25, 1855, to Annie Rebecca, daughter of Moody and Charissa (Leach) Dow, of Lynn, who died in Lynn August 21, 1862. Her only child was Anson Burlingame, who was born in Lynn October 14, 1856, and died in Rockville, Md., January 27, 1862.

He married second, September 3, 1863, Elizabeth

John B. Solomon.

Peirce, daughter of George and Susan (Treadwell) Nichols, of Cambridge, whose only child, Bessie Hincks, born in Cambridge April 11, 1865, died in Cambridge July 5, 1885.

The death of this daughter was peculiarly sad. She had graduated in 1883 from the Milwaukee College, and had entered the Harvard Annex full of hope and promise. While walking in the street her dress took fire from a burning cracker, and she was burned to death. Her sweet and loving character, blended with high literary attainments, lent a joy and grace to her parents' home, since shadowed in perpetual gloom. It is only necessary, before closing this sketch, to add a word of explanation concerning the family name of General Hincks.

The common ancestor of the Hincks family in this country, Councilor and Chief Justice John, uniformly wrote his name Hinckes, but when copied by clerks it was usually written Hinks, and so frequently appears in the Council Records of Massachusetts and the Archives of New Hampshire. Captain Samuel, who graduated at Harvard in 1701, and his son Samuel, Jr., the schoolmaster on the Cape, uniformly wrote their names Hincks; but Elisha and his son, Captain Elisha, Jr., the father of the general, appear to have dropped the c, and to have written their names Hinks; and in early life the general also wrote his name without the c (Hinks), and it so appears in the Army Register and the official records of the war, although other branches of the family wrote their names with a c; but in 1871, under authority of law, the general restored the letter c to his name, and has since written it Hincks, and all the branches of the family descended from Chief Justice John now conform to this style. It will be noted that all of this family in this country bearing the name of Hincks are descended through the Winslows from Mary Chilton, who came in the "Mayflower," and Anne Hutchinson, the Quakeress.

FRANCIS W. BREED.

Francis W. Breed, of Lynn, is one of the most prominent shoe manufacturers, not only in that city, but in New England. His extensive factories at home and abroad give employment to large bodies of workmen, and have a capacity, when in full running order, of six or seven thousand pairs of shoes per day. Mr. Breed's rise in business, while it has been rapid, has been steady, conservative and safe. Possessing, in a marked degree, the quality of thoroughness in whatever he undertakes, he has achieved success where competition is close and where slackness or inattention might have caused disaster. His markets, both for purchase and sale, are extensive, and both are watched with a careful eye. Mr. Breed has traveled extensively, and with an elasticity of spirit and a buoyancy of heart, he has always sustained a weight of care and responsibility with calmness and

composure, and kept himself young under burdens, which often crush and break down even less active business men. His residence on Ocean Street in Lynn has a beautiful outlook over the bay, and is one of the most attractive and comfortable homes on the shore.

JOHN BROAD TOLMAN.

Mr. Tolman was a lineal descendant from Thomas Tolman, who was born in England in 1608 or 1609, and came over in the "Mary and John" in 1630, becoming a settler of Dorchester, Mass. A grandson of the early settler just named, whose name also was Thomas, was a native of Lynn, and died here in 1716. And this last Thomas was the great-great-great-grandfather of John B., the subject of this sketch, who thus becomes connected with our Lynn families.

John B. Tolman was born in Barre, Worcester County, Mass., on the 30th of December, 1806, and in that town the first two years of his life were passed. His parents then removed to Needham, in Norfolk County, Mass., it being the native place of his paternal grandfather, who was severely wounded at the battle of Lexington, but on his recovery enlisted and served through the Revolutionary War, rising from the ranks to a field officer.

In this latter town most of Mr. Tolman's early life was passed and his education chiefly obtained at the public schools there. And he had manual duties to perform about the farm even at the tender age of eight years, such as a boy of this period would be thought entirely unequal to.

At the usual age for apprenticeship he was placed in the office of H. & W. H. Mann, of Dedham, Mass., to learn the printing business. It was a large and well-appointed establishment for the time, and afforded facilities for acquiring a good knowledge of the art. He faithfully served his full time and not long after went to Boston, there to follow his trade. Says the *Commonwealth* newspaper of April 9, 1881: "In 1828 Mr. Tolman came to Boston as a journeyman in the book-office of Isaac R. Butts, doing a full day's work each day and filling the berth of an extra hand two nights in the week on the *Columbian Centinel*, 'hanging out from twelve to three o'clock.'"

It was in February, 1830, that he became a resident of Lynn, where he was at once engaged as printer of the *Lynn Record*, a few numbers of which had then been issued. After several years of service as manager, not only mechanically but editorially, he purchased the office and soon did a larger business than had been done in any other Lynn office up to that time. He introduced the first machine press here, printed several papers at different times and had a good run of job work.

By middle life he found himself in circumstances where his accustomed unremitting application to mechanical labor was unnecessary. He then sold out his printing materials and business, and turned his

attention to other and less wearing pursuits. Yet the semi-intellectual employment of type-setting was always congenial to him, and he was sometimes, for years after, seen as a volunteer compositor, for hours together, in some printing-office, the sharp click of the type and the bass rumbling of the press having the old-time charm for his ear. He now engaged in real estate and kindred operations, and here, too, success generally attended him, so that his means were soon augmented.

The Rev. Edwin Thompson, himself a man of remarkable vitality, industry and perseverance, in a communication to the *Dedham Transcript* of March 15, 1884, in allusion to the physical strain to which Mr. Tolman was accustomed to subject himself in early manhood, says: "Before the days of railroads Mr. Tolman frequently walked from Lynn to Boston on business and back the same day. Whenever he wished to visit Dedham it required all day to go there by stage, starting by Lynn stage at 8 A.M. for Boston, and leaving Boston for Dedham by 'Mason's stage' at 4 P.M. In order to save time, Mr. Tolman frequently walked the whole distance, twenty miles, leaving Dedham in the morning and arriving at Lynn in season to devote half a day to business."

Perhaps no trait is more conspicuous in Mr. Tolman than his promptness in fulfilling engagements. So rigid was he in this respect, while in the printing business, that he appended to some of his advertisements a notice that if a job of work was not ready for delivery at the time agreed on, no pay would be required.

The career of Mr. Tolman furnishes a notable illustration of the certainty with which industry, promptness, indomitable perseverance and frugality insure competence.

Mr. Tolman is a strict disciplinarian and a man of marked individuality and rigidly just in all his dealings. Like a good many other thrifty men—more in number than is generally supposed—he was never addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors. Nor did he acquire the habit of using tobacco in any form. Mr. Thompson remarks: "Mr. Tolman thinks he has saved, reckoning at compound interest, about eight thousand dollars in not using tobacco, and by not using rum much more." His abstinence from "rum and tobacco," of course did much to increase his pecuniary means. And then with his other good traits of prudence in expenditure and carefulness in every way, aided by superior business sagacity, he has been enabled, during his latter years, to spare generous sums for benevolent purposes. In 1881, on the occasion of the celebration of his golden wedding, he made a donation to the Lynn Hospital of two thousand five hundred dollars, to be held for the purposes thus expressed in his letter to the president of the corporation:

"As I am interested in the project for a Hospital in this city, and as the present effort to obtain a fund to establish one happens to be coincident

with the fiftieth anniversary of my wedding, I, together with my wife, desire, on this day and occasion, to make it an offering expressive of our interest in it and the city in which we have so long resided.

"We also desire to devote the gift, in part, to the benefit of members of the Printing Fraternity in Lynn, as they may be in need of hospital treatment. We both have a strong regard for the occupation to which I was brought up, and in which my wife's father and four of her brothers were long engaged.

"As we desire the hospital to be established on a lasting basis, even if it shall commence in a small and prudent way, we wish the income of the fund only to be used, and offer, through you, to give to the Hospital the symbolical sum of Fifty-times-Fifty Dollars, to be received and held on the following terms:

"That the said Hospital shall hold and invest the said sum forever, and devote the income arising therefrom to maintain a bed, or beds, in said Hospital, for the benefit of all persons, under the rules and regulations of the hospital; that it shall devote said bed, or beds, to the extent of a sum equal to the whole income received from said fund, to the use of Practical Letter-Press Printers residing in Lynn (and especially to any person ever apprenticed to me), if the same shall be so required."

This donation was cordially received and duly acknowledged. In 1884 he conveyed to the Young Men's Christian Association, of Lynn, an estate on Market Street valued at thirty thousand dollars, in trust "For the suppression in said Lynn of intemperance in the use of intoxicating liquors by the cultivation of public opinion and the enforcement of laws prohibiting and restraining the manufacture and sale of the same, and by assisting in the reform of persons of intemperate habits. Also, for the education and instruction of the public, and especially the young, in all practical ways by which they may be reached in regard to the moral and physical injuries arising from the habitual use of such liquors, and also of tobacco and other stimulants." And as subordinate to this work it was further stipulated that a part of said income, as opportunity afforded, should be expended for the suppression of immoral literature, especially such as circulates among the young, the donor summarily adding that "his general intention is that of reform, rather than that of the alleviation of the effects consequent upon intemperance," and leaving the details of work for those appointed to act under the trust. This donation was also cordially accepted and duly acknowledged, and will no doubt be faithfully applied. A local paper, in speaking of this gift, says: "Mr. Tolman was an ardent temperance advocate in early life; he was also a radical and outspoken abolitionist, and advocated all the moral reform movements at a time when it required sound moral courage to do so," and adds, in reference to the gift: "He feels that in this act he has contributed to the relief of the poor and needy as expressly, and more effectually, than if he had ministered directly to their present necessities, as he believes in the adage, 'An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.'"

The latest and one of the most useful of Mr. Tolman's public donations was the munificent one of one thousand dollars to the Home for Aged Women.

Mr. Tolman has not appeared much in public life, having no political aspirations, and constantly avoiding official position. It is here, perhaps, that he has fallen short of his duty to the public, which, in return



Engr'd by A. H. R. 1860.

Hiram W. Bird

for the protection and benefits conferred, had a right to place him, occasionally at least, in positions where his fearless independence, caution and watchfulness would be available and effectual. He, however, has "held important and responsible positions in connection with private and corporate interests."

Mr. Tolman has been something of a traveler, having made extensive tours in the Western and Southern States and in California. He has likewise visited Europe, and, of course, with his inquiring mind, gathered much unique and useful information.

In March, 1831, Mr. Tolman was united in marriage with Miss Lydia S. Mann, of Dedham, a daughter of Herman Mann, of whom he had learned his trade, and sister of Herman Mann, Jr., and their children were two sons and a daughter, of whom the latter only is now living, being the wife of Mr. Charles J. Pickford, of Lynn.

HIRAM NICHOLS BREED.

In the "Centennial Memorial of Lynn," published in 1876, by order of the City Council, appeared a biographical sketch of Mr. Breed, which was prepared with care, and to which little need be added here excepting that now, 1887, after the lapse of another decade of years, he still retains, in a remarkable degree, that healthful vigor, both of body and mind, that has characterized him through life; and that the community still have the benefit of his mature judgment and efficient services.

Mr. Breed, says the sketch referred to, was born in Lynn, September 2, 1809, and was a son of Asa Breed, born February 21, 1783, a direct descendant from Allen Breed, who settled in Lynn in 1630. The Breed family during our whole history has maintained the highest rank, numerically, with the exception of the Newhall, which considerably outnumbers any other.

After receiving a district school education, Mr. Breed was put to the common employment of the youth of that period in this place, namely, the trade of shoemaking. And that occupation he has pursued for the greater portion of his life. The old-fashioned shoemaker's shop was an unrivalled school in its way—a school in which the free discussions on every topic of public or private interest had a tendency to make men intelligent in every way except, perhaps, in mere book-learning. The discussions often led to reflection and investigation, and whoever possessed ability was pretty sure to have it recognized.

Mr. Breed was, at a comparatively early age, called to take a part in the management of public affairs; and for many years has held responsible offices. He was in various positions in the old town government, and the office of selectman when it expired. On the adoption of the city form he was one of the first Board of Aldermen, being likewise returned for the same position the next year. He was a member of the Legislature in 1848 and 1850, and a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1853. By Governor Boutwell

he was appointed Coroner, and held the office twenty-five years, until the duties were referred to the courts; and he held the office of Justice of the Peace thirty-four years. He was ten years a director in the old Mutual Fire Insurance Company, likewise City Assessor in 1858 and 1859, and Surveyor of Highways ten years. In the latter capacity he rendered eminent service, doing much to protect and beautify the picturesque drives in the outskirts, as well as to render safe, compact and cleanly the business streets. For thirteen years he was Commissioner of Pine Grove Cemetery, and for six years contractor to grade and prepare the lots. Nor should it be forgotten, while speaking of his many excellent labors, that he was active and efficient in the establishment of the Home for Aged Women.

In 1861 Mr. Breed was elected to the office of Mayor. That was a year especially filled with unusual demands, anxieties and perplexities, for it was the opening year of the great Civil War. New duties and responsibilities were then pressing, and untried measures were to be adopted. It required firmness to withstand unreasonable demands, and judgment to meet all legitimate claims. The success of his administration, under the circumstances, entitles him to much credit. It was a difficult task to shape and put in operation the measures that resulted so favorably to the soldiers and their families, while at the same time other public interests were vigilantly guarded. Something of the modest spirit with which he entered upon his duties as Mayor may be gathered from the opening passage of his inaugural address: "Called from a laborious but honorable occupation to fill the position of Mayor of this city, and well acquainted with my many deficiencies for this important trust, I feel confident that, seeking to know my duty, I shall be able by assiduity and industry to discharge the duties with a measure of satisfaction to myself and my constituents." Perhaps his habit of careful investigation, before proceeding to action, in matters of real importance, is one of his most prominent characteristics—never too hasty, and never liable to be driven on by the unadvised urgency of those who always stand ready to press others while no responsibility rests on themselves.

Mr. Breed belongs to one of the old families of the eastern section of the town, though the first Breed located in the western section, and has lived to see great improvements in the vicinity of his birth-place. Ocean Street, which is now reckoned one of the finest avenues in the county, he has seen opened through lands, not indeed barren, but occupied only for purposes of husbandry. He also had much to do with the laying out of Breed, Foster and Nichols Streets, now filled with a thrifty population. And to his energy and enterprise that whole section is indebted for many of those improvements which have changed it from its former quaint and rather ancient aspect to one pleasant and attractive.

On the 4th of July, 1830, Mr. Breed was united in marriage with Nancy, a daughter of Caleb Stone, a well known and much respected citizen, and by her had ten children—four sons and six daughters. On the 4th of July, 1880, the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, a large company of kindred and friends assembled in a tasty pavilion, erected for the purpose, and there offered their congratulations and good wishes to the esteemed couple. It was an occasion of much enjoyment, mingled with the touching reflection that the day for final separation could not, in the common course of nature, be far distant. And since then the endeared companion with whom Mr. Breed had so long journeyed, has been called to the better land. A beloved and promising son, too, then in early manhood, has likewise passed the bourne whence none return.

ISAAC FRANCIS GALLOUPE.

One of the most noted of the early settlers of New England was John Gallop, of Strode, County Dorset, England, who, at the age of forty, set sail for America in the "Mary and John," and arrived on the 30th of May, 1630, at Watertown (now Boston). He was a descendant, in the eighth generation, of John Gallop, who, in 1465, came out of the North and settled in Dorset, his heraldic shield bearing the mottoes, "Be bold, be wyse."

Isaac Francis Galloupe, a descendant in the seventh generation from John Gallop, the pioneer, was born in Beverly, Ma-s., June 27, 1823. His parents were Isaac and Annis (Allen) Galloupe, both of sturdy New England stock. After receiving a suitable academical education he entered, as a student, the office of Dr. A. S. Pierson, of Salem, with whom he remained two years, at the end of which time he entered the Tremont Street Medical School, in Boston, and pursued his studies another year. He also attended three full courses of lectures at the Medical School of Harvard University, where he graduated in 1849.

Thus thoroughly prepared, in the spring of 1849 he settled in Lynn, where there were several physicians of more than ordinary reputation, who, in view of the favorable auspices under which he came, welcomed him with the utmost kindness. He was not long in gaining practice, and has from that time to the present enjoyed a reputation ever increasing, till it may now with confidence be said that very few physicians or surgeons in the county can be regarded as his peers. He is an honored member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and of the several local associations, in all of which much deference is paid to his ability and skill, and his suggestions are received as authoritative. His writings on various professional topics, which have from time to time appeared in the medical journals, have uniformly commanded attention and received warm commendation.

As a citizen, Dr. Galloupe has always received the highest respect, although the exactions of his profession have prevented his appearing much in public office. He, however, has served several times as city physician, and, as a member of the School Committee, has shown his interest in the cause of education. But it was in the Union army, during the great Rebellion, that his excellent professional attainments became most conspicuous. He was commissioned as surgeon of the Seventeenth Massachusetts Regiment July 10, 1861. The next year he served as acting brigade surgeon in North Carolina, and then division surgeon on the staff of Major-General J. G. Foster. Besides the foregoing he filled several other important and difficult positions, among them that of surgeon-in-charge of the United States Army General Hospital, medical director, surgeon-in-charge of the medical department in a number of perilous expeditions, post-surgeon at Newbern, N. C., surgeon-in-charge of rebel prisons and jails. In all of them he proved himself so diligent and faithful as to elicit the heartiest commendation of the commanding officers.

In the report of Colonel Amory, issued from the headquarters at Newbern December 21, 1862, concerning the actions of the 14th, 16th and 17th of that month, appears the following: "When all did their duty well, it seems unnecessary to mention names, but I feel compelled in this place to testify to the fidelity with which Dr. Galloupe, the senior surgeon of my brigade, discharged his duties. His efficiency at all times and his care of the wounded merit the highest praise."

In 1868 Dr. Galloupe was commissioned by the President, "for faithful and meritorious services during the war," a lieutenant-colonel of volunteers by brevet. This appointment was made in accordance with the many and strong recommendations of those best able to judge of his distinguished merits as a surgeon and soldier. Among those urgently advocating his appointment were Major-General J. G. Foster and Surgeon-General Dale. General Foster wrote, "I know Dr. Galloupe to be a most worthy and excellent officer, who, under all circumstances during the war, performed his duty with marked ability;" and Surgeon-General Dale wrote of him, "His record during the war was honorable to himself and creditable to the commonwealth." Many passages, equally laudatory, from others, might be added, showing the high estimation in which his services were held by those most competent to judge. It may not be amiss, however, to add the following letters of those well-known commanders, General Burnside and General Butler, to the Secretary of War:

"STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

"PROVIDENCE, August 8, 1868.

"General J. M. SCHOFIELD, Secretary of War:

"General,—It gives me great pleasure to bear testimony to the skill, industry and gallantry of Surgeon Isaac F. Galloupe, of the Seventeenth Massachusetts Volunteers, who served with me in North Carolina.



Engr'd by A. H. Ritchie

Grace F. Galloup



Isaac C. Bennett

On all occasions during the war when his services were needed he proved himself a most efficient surgeon and brave officer. In February, 1864, he was captured by the enemy whilst operating upon the field. I believe his good services and record entitle him to a brevet, and I hope it may be found for the interest of the public service to give him the promotion.

"Yours truly,
"A. E. BURNSIDE."

"BAYVIEW, NEAR GLOUCESTER, MASS., August 10, 1868.

"To the Honorable Secretary of War,—

"Surgeon Galloupe served under my command at Newbern, N. C., and was captured during an attack while engaged in the strict line of his duty in removing a musket-ball from a wounded officer. He was detained in Libby a month and then exchanged. His services were more than those of surgeons of the line, and were specially mentioned. His testimonials from other commanders under whom he served are of the highest order. I urgently bespeak for him a brevet appointment as fit recognition of his efficient and assiduous and meritorious services.

"I have the honor to be

"Your very obedient servant,

"BENJAMIN F. BUTLER."

The reference to Dr. Galloupe's being taken prisoner while attending a wounded officer on the field may merit an explanatory word or two. The wounded officer was Henry A. Cheever, adjutant of the Seventeenth Massachusetts Volunteers, who says, in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated August 8, 1868: "On February 1, 1864, when the rebel General Pickett made his demonstration against Newbern, N. C., it was my misfortune to receive a dangerous wound in the left side, and my very excessive good fortune to be associated with Surgeon Galloupe, who remained with me on the field performing a surgical operation, when to remain and do his duty to me (our small force having been routed by overwhelming numbers) was to fall into the hands of the enemy. I, as well as some others belonging to the Department of North Carolina, owe our lives to the faithful manner in which Surgeon Galloupe discharged his every duty. His humanity saved many lives and cheered the dying hours of many others. As a companion he was always of high moral character. I know of nothing stronger that could be said in his behalf than that he always, whether in camp or on the march, met and faithfully discharged his every obligation, and, in my opinion, is richly deserving of all the honors that can be granted to one who served his country well."

Dr. Galloupe's army experience has enabled him to make valuable contributions to the surgical literature of war, and he has taken occasion, from time to time, in his concise and lucid manner, to describe cases that have come under his operating hand, much to the benefit of his professional brethren, so that the period of his public usefulness by no means ended with the close of the war. As an example of his intelligent way of viewing professional duties and responsibilities the following extract from a publication of 1863 is introduced, for it contains suggestions likely to prove of benefit wherever the note of war is heard:

"AMPUTATION ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.—Surgeon Isaac F. Galloupe, of the Seventeenth Regiment, has written an interesting letter to Surgeon-General Dale, in which he speaks of amputations on the field of battle

from his experience in the service. He says that it is thought by many that amputations on the battle-field are sometimes needlessly performed, but this is an error in his opinion. The golden opportunity for the operation is immediately on the reception of the injury, presuming, of course, that amputation is necessary. The severe shock and depression of spirits which immediately follow a severe injury in civil life do not appear often in those wounded in battle, but the men are in a high state of excitement and exhilaration, a condition highly favorable for immediate operation, which, if performed at such time, produces no shock to the system. This condition, however, soon passes off, and if not improved, the opportunity is lost.

"He says that during the three engagements upon the recent Goldsboro' expedition, about one hundred and fifty wounded were brought to him, and as he could not attend to all the cases personally, he selected the eight worst ones and performed amputation, leaving the rest to 'conservative surgery,' and in every case among these of gunshot fracture of the long bones, not including those of hands and feet, the patient finally lost his limb, and in some cases his life also, while those who had undergone primary amputation made rapid recovery.

"In the eight cases in which Surgeon Galloupe operated on the occasion referred to, all but one lived and rapidly convalesced, the case terminating fatally being that of Private Rand, who lost his arm and leg, and who died from surgical fever after his arm had entirely healed and his leg was progressing very favorably."

Dr. Galloupe was a liberal contributor of material for the "Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion," published by the War Department.

Dr. Galloupe returned from the war with a commanding professional reputation, and quietly resumed his practice in Lynn, where he still resides.

In 1854 Dr. Galloupe was united in marriage with Lydia D. Ellis, a daughter of the late David Ellis, of Lynn, and is the father of two sons,—Francis Ellis, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1876, now practicing mechanical engineering in Boston, and Charles William, a graduate of Harvard College in 1879, and the Harvard Medical School in 1883, who is now a successful practitioner in Lynn.

JOSIAH CHASE BENNETT.

Bennett is an old Lynn name, and as some of the family left here at an early period and settled in New Hampshire, it is perhaps fair to presume that the subject of this sketch, who was born in Sandwich, N. H., on the sixth of May, 1835, was a descendant from Samuel Bennett, who came to Lynn during the first decade of our history—no doubt as early as 1636. He was a man in good circumstances, public-spirited, and withal possessed of much independence of character—was a little wilful perhaps, but on the whole, such a one as no descendant need be ashamed of.

He was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery as early as 1639. Mr. Bennett's father was Simon Bennett a farmer, also born in Sandwich, who stood very high in the community for his integrity and sterling Christian character. He was the son of Stephen Bennett, and a grandson of Stephen Bennett who served as a drum-major during the entire period of the War of the Revolution, and who, at a very old age, froze to death as the result of a fall on the ice of Lake Winnepesaukee.

Chase, the middle name of Mr. Bennett, was de-

rived from his maternal ancestors, his mother (Mary Fogg Chase) having been of the New Hampshire Chase family, which has always numbered many eminent personages; among them two Bishops of the Episcopal Church, namely, Philander Chase, Bishop of Ohio, who acquired the title of "Father of Ohio," he having gone there in its infancy, and being largely instrumental in shaping its early history; the other was Carlton Chase, Bishop of New Hampshire, he who afterwards, on the fall of Bishop Onderdonk of New York, discharged the episcopal duties of that Diocese. In this family line, too, appeared the distinguished statesman and financial expert, Salmon Portland Chase, who was Governor of Ohio, United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury under President Lincoln, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In Mr. Bennett's business career we have a notable example of the progress of a true New Englander, one who from the more humble ranks, by industry, perseverance, and enterprise has attained a commanding position in the community; a position, however, which could not have been reached and maintained without the additional virtues of probity, fair dealing and true manhood.

It may be well briefly to sketch his career, there being abundant material furnished by the public prints which have delighted, from time to time, to speak approvingly of his characteristics and doings. Says one writer: "He was the son of poor parents, and from an early age was thrown upon his own resources for support. When he was sixteen years of age he left his native town and went to work on the shoemaker's bench in Danvers. In those days a shoemaker made the whole shoe, and there were no large factories as at present." In another article we are informed that "From Danvers he went to Boston and engaged in the business of manufacturing silk hats." This business and that of photography engaged his attention until 1865, when he became connected with the American Shoe Tip Company of Boston, remaining with them about five years. During this time he traveled extensively, becoming acquainted with the shoe trade all over the country.

The company rose from a very embarrassed condition to become a great financial success, a result almost wholly contributed to by his personal efforts. At this time he resided in Lynn during the summer, and in Boston during the winter. In 1870 he took up his residence permanently in Lynn, and commenced manufacturing shoes, in a small way, with George E. Barnard, in Exchange Street, under the firm name of J. C. Bennett & Co. Two years afterward the business was removed to their new building in Central Square.

In Central Square the business still continues, under the firm name of J. C. Bennett & Barnard. They do a very large business, and have attained a position where no want of capital is felt, and rank among our

first-class manufacturers. They manufacture none but the first grade of shoes, and put them on the market in corresponding style. The products of their factory are widely and favorably known throughout the country, and have contributed largely to place Lynn in the foremost rank in the production of fine goods.

Mr. Bennett has always been a true friend of the laboring classes and willing to consider their wants and their rights, and hence, through all the agitations that have of late years beset the trade here, he has been remarkably free from difficulties that have been encountered by such brother manufacturers as were disposed to be more tenacious of their own opinions and less considerate of those of others. If, however, troubles have at any time arisen, he has always settled them by arbitration, to the mutual satisfaction of employer and employees.

Mr. Bennett served in the State Senate in 1884-85, and in that position, by his prudence, good judgment and moderation won the universal approval of his constituents; and he likewise gained much applause from the benevolent and sympathetic of all parties, by giving to the Lynn Hospital, the entire amount of his salary as Senator.

In 1865 Mr. Bennett was united in marriage with Miss Nancy Louisa Richardson, of Rochester, N. H., and they have pursued an affectionate and Christian walk together, these many years, both being members of St. Stephen's Church, he having already served as Parish Vestryman, for several years.

JOHN AMBROSE McARTHUR.¹

Very few of the adopted citizens of Lynn, and she can number many worthy ones who have appeared at different periods, have stood higher in general esteem than Dr. McArthur—esteem for skill in his profession, and for the high qualities that characterize the true gentleman.

He was born near Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1831, and of excellent ancestry, his grandfather having belonged to the gentry of Lanarkshire, Scotland, and his father, being a man of finished education, having graduated from Dublin University. The latter became an officer in the Queen's Regiment, and was at the burial of Sir John Moore, and at the battle of Waterloo. His mother was a daughter of one of the Royalists who emigrated to Halifax at the close of the American Revolution.

After coming to the States Dr. McArthur resided for a time in Newburyport, where he married and buried his first wife. He was subsequently in business in Montreal, but returned to Newburyport, where he was for a time in business.

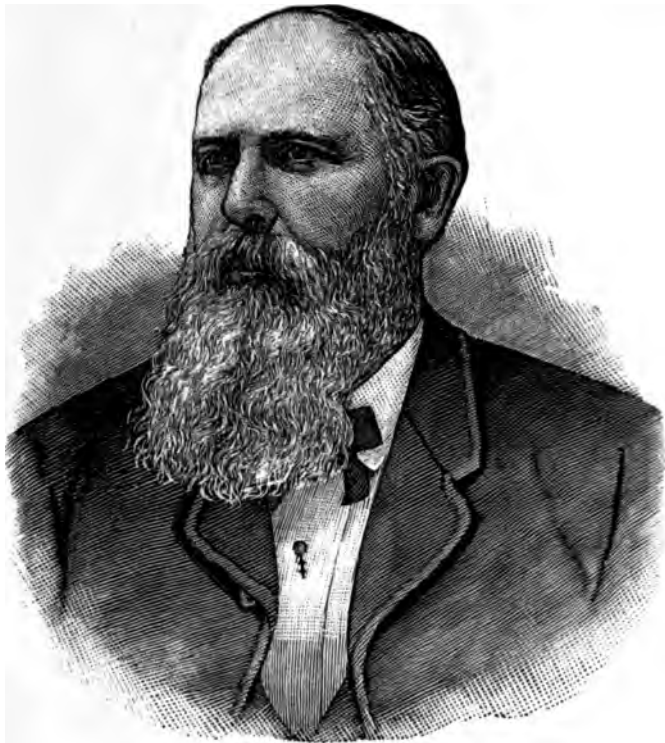
Dr. McArthur pursued his medical studies in the Harvard Medical School, where he took a full course, and graduated in 1872, his previous good education

¹ By Jas. H. Newhall.



J. A. McArthur M.D.





J. M. Cowell



A B Martin

furnishing a firm ground-work for professional acquirement.

After spending a short time in Charlestown, he came to Lynn, and in a remarkably short time found himself in an extensive and lucrative practice. Soon after coming to Lynn he was united in marriage with Miss Annie E. Friend, of Gloucester. They had one child, a daughter, and the mother and daughter survive him.

Dr. McArthur's genial manners, varied acquirements, liberal views, and tender sympathies made him esteemed by all classes. And his rapidly accumulating means enabled him to indulge his naturally benevolent inclinations. He diligently followed his profession till declining health required a slackening of professional labors, and for the last two or three years of his life he was compelled to withdraw as much as possible from active practice.

He was not much in public life, as premonitions of declining health warned him to beware of exposure and excitement. In the quiet duties of church work and in the lodge-room he took delight; was an exemplary member of St. Stephen's Church, in which he served as vestryman some ten years, his earnestness and good judgment having much influence with his official associates. He was a charter member of the fraternity of Odd Fellows, and first treasurer of the Richard Drown Lodge; likewise a member of Olivet Commandery of Knight Templars, and passed through all the chairs at Newburyport.

Dr. McArthur died at his residence on South Common Street on the 28th of September, 1887, and the funeral services were held in St. Stephen's Church on the morning of Saturday, October 1, 1887. The remains were taken to Newburyport for burial in the family lot, several of his official brethren, kindred and friends, accompanying them to their final resting-place.

JONATHAN WOODWARD GOODELL.

Jonathan Woodward Goodell was born in Orange, Mass., August 2, 1830. His father was Zina Goodell, and his mother was Polly, daughter of Amos Woodward, of that town. He was educated in the common schools of Orange, at the Melrose Seminary, in West Brattleboro', Vt., and at Saxton's River Academy, in Rockingham, in the same State. He afterwards studied medicine in the Berkshire Medical College, and graduated from that institution at the age of twenty-six. During the first ten years of his professional life he practised in Greenwich, Mass., and then removed to Lynn, where he has ever since resided. Since his arrival in Lynn, in February, 1866, he has devoted himself with energy and skill to the practice of medicine and surgery, in which he has secured a large and eminently successful business. He is a member of the American Medical Association, and of the Massachusetts Medical Society, of which latter organization he has been several times

chosen one of the counsellors. He has been, also, President of the Essex South Medical Association, and in these various honorable positions has always had the confidence and respect of his professional brethren. He has neither occupied nor sought public office, but has given his time and energy to his chosen profession, indulging in the single avocation of the study of horticulture as a relief from his legitimate occupation. To the promotion of this branch of science he has lent freely his intelligent service, and is now president of the Houghton Horticultural Association of his adopted city. He is now, at the age of fifty-seven, releasing himself somewhat from the burdens of his profession, and seeking relaxation and pleasure among the fruits and flowers, to whose culture his refined tastes more and more incline. He married, November 1, 1868, Martha Jane, daughter of Jason Abbott, of Enfield, Mass., and has one daughter, now sixteen years of age. He is still in the prime of vigorous manhood, and promises many years of usefulness, both in the pursuit of his profession and in the promotion of a higher culture and taste in the community, of which he is an honored member.

AUGUSTUS B. MARTIN.

Augustus B. Martin is the son of Newhall Martin, of Charlestown, Mass., and he (Newhall Martin) was born in Boston, 1802, commenced the shoe business in what was then Charlestown, but is now part of Boston, in 1822, and remained there till his death, which occurred December 18, 1880, doing the same business in one place fifty-eight years.

In 1823 he married Hannah Phillips, who was also born in Boston, and had the following children: Newhall, born 1825; James Pope, 1827; Edward F., 1829; Augustus B., 1831; Francis A., 1833; Alphonso, 1835; Harriet, 1837. His wife dying May 19, 1839, he married a second wife, Widow Mercy (Hatch) Leach.

Augustus B. Martin was educated in the public schools in Charlestown, and at the age of fifteen entered his father's establishment, where he remained three years. He then learned the trade of morocco-dressing with James M. Waite, of Charlestown, and after working at his trade three years, in Newton, with Charles Packer, removed to Lynn at the age of twenty-four. There he started in business with Moses Norris, under the firm-name of Norris & Martin, in the manufacture of morocco. After remaining three years and a half with Mr. Norris, with his small means considerably increased, he established himself alone in the same business, remaining alone until 1867, when he admitted his brother, Edward F., as partner.

In May, 1876, he opened a store in Boston for the sale of his goods, and from the time of his arrival in Lynn, in 1855, to the present time his career has been one of uninterrupted success. Manufacturing at first

on a small scale, and selling to his neighbors in Lynn, he now has customers wherever shoes are made in the United States and Canada.

In 1881 his establishment in Lynn was burned, but was at once replaced by one which is the largest and best-appointed morocco factory in New England. Their store, near the Revere Beach Railroad station, is the most elegant and commodious store, in that line of business, in the United States, and forms part of a brick block owned by himself and built in 1884.

The goat-skins manufactured by the firm are imported by them chiefly from South America, and it is safe to say that no better product than theirs enters the market. Mr. Martin is a Republican in politics, and a Universalist in religion, and has taken an active interest in the advancement of views represented by the party and sect designated by those terms. He is a man of public spirit, interested in the welfare of his city, and the institutions which give it character. He has been a member of the City Council and Board of Aldermen, a director in the Mechanics', now the First National Bank, and is now vice-president of the Lynn National Bank.

He married, December 25, 1856, Elizabeth R., daughter of William S. Fretch, and has had the following children: Lizzie, May, Alice G., and Augustus B. Augustus B., Jr., was admitted a member of the firm January 1, 1887.

JOHN TODD MOULTON.¹

Mr. Moulton was born in Lynn on the 7th of August, 1838. His father was Joseph Moulton, long known among us as a successful tanner and morocco manufacturer; and his mother was Relief Todd, a Vermont lady.

The ancestor of the family was Robert Moulton, who was sent over by the London Company, in 1629, to Governor Endicott, as master shipwright, with six journeymen, to begin the shipbuilding business at Salem. The large island off Beverly shore, called the Misery, "receiving that name," says Felt, "on account of a disastrous shipwreck there," but gives no particulars. Robert Moulton was quite prominent in the early town and church affairs of Salem, and was granted two hundred acres of land in Salem village, now West Peabody, and was one of eight men disarmed at Salem for sympathizing with the wheelwright in his desire for liberty of conscience and free speech.

Mr. Moulton, the subject of this sketch, graduated from Lynn High School in 1855, having prepared for college under Jacob Batchelder. But he relinquished the idea of college-life on account of failing health, caused by too close application to study. He spent several years in his father's nursery in attending to the cultivation and propagation of fruit-trees, shrubs,

and plants, having a strong natural love for such employment.

The father of Mr. Moulton had served an apprenticeship of seven years at the leather manufacture, in all its branches and under him the son became an adept, so that in 1864 he was well qualified to succeed to the then firmly-established business. In that business, the manufacture of morocco leather, he still continues, employing at the present time some sixty or seventy workmen. His factory stands on the spot where one of the earliest tanneries was established, by the Lewises. In the chapter on the industrial pursuits of Lynn more may be found in relation to the business and the successive owners of the premises. The factory is quite extensive, and is located on Marion Street, opposite the foot of Centre.

Mr. Moulton was born in the old Mansfield house, on the north side of Boston Street, nearly opposite the termination of Marion. It was built in 1666 by Robt. Mansfield, and still remains the property of descendants of the builder, now of the eighth generation. The grandmother of Mr. Moulton was a Mansfield, and lineal descendant from Robert, just named.

The integrity, prudence and promptness of Mr. Moulton have made his services much in requisition for positions of peculiar trust. He has already served twelve years as trustee of the public library, and has recently been elected for a new three-years' term, being likewise treasurer of the board of directors. He is treasurer of the fraternities of Associated Charities, treasurer of the Boston Street Methodist Society and treasurer of the trustees of the Lynn Free Public Forest. As mentioned elsewhere, he is a writer of merit in both prose and poetry, and has been the poet at several High School reunions.

But the most distinguishing trait of Mr. Moulton, in a literary way, is his love for historical research. He is a member of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, and likewise of the Methodist Historical Society.

The people of Lynn are greatly indebted to him for the collection and preservation of much that is useful as well as interesting in her history. He has prepared copies of the earliest existing town records, and had them published in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute. He has also collected and published the inscriptions from the oldest grave-yards of Lynn, Lynnfield and Saugus, and has prepared genealogies of the Moulton and Mansfield families. A few months since, as mentioned in another connection, he, with Mr. Isaac O. Guild, was at the expense of erecting a suitable stone to mark the resting-place of "Moll Pitcher," the renowned fortune-teller of Lynn, perhaps the most remarkable personage known in our history, and of whom a somewhat extended account may be found in the historical sketch of Lynn in the present work.

Mr. Moulton, it is agreeable to add, is always ready to contribute from his abundant store any informa-

¹ By James R. Newhall.



James T. Munton



John P. Woodbury

tion he may possess regarding our early families, and the characteristics and doings of our fathers. And all well-wishers of the community will join in rejoicing in the prosperity of one so worthy.

Mr. Moulton was united in marriage with Miss S. Fannie Sweetser in December, 1867, and their children are one son and two daughters.

JOHN P. WOODBURY.

John P. Woodbury was born in Atkinson, N. H., on May 24, 1827. He traces his ancestry through seven generations to one of the earliest settlers in Salem (1624), John Woodbury, who held the first official appointment mentioned in the old Colonial records. Later he was sent to England with full powers to settle some difficulties which had arisen between the colony and the mother country, and returned to the colony in 1628, having executed his commission satisfactorily. John Woodbury, the grandfather of John P., came to Lynn in 1820. He was a skillful master shipwright and carpenter, and the first in this part of the country to introduce the "square rule" in framing buildings. Four of his sons—Jephthah P., Seth D., Joseph P., and James A—became prominent as business men in Lynn, the last two especially as inventors. His eldest son, Rev. John Woodbury, the father of John P., was born at Beverly, and was first settled as a Baptist clergyman at Northfield, Mass., and later, as was the custom at that time, was changed from time to time to other New England parishes. He was a man of liberal views and earnest and devoted in his labors, but in 1850 his health compelled him to retire from the ministry. He was married to Myra Page of Atkinson, and John P. Woodbury, the subject of this sketch, was their only son. His early years were spent in various New England towns where his father was settled. In addition to a common school education he had the advantage of three years' study at the Hancock (N. H.) Literary and Scientific Institution, of which his father was a trustee. At the age of fifteen he was employed for six months on one of the most sterile farms in New England, at the foot of old Monadnock. Any one acquainted with farm-life of thirty years ago will understand how he welcomed a change of employment. He entered the office of the Keene (N. H.) *Sentinel*, and soon became a good compositor. The following year, having a taste for mechanical employment, he went to Bangor, Me., and spent three years of hard work in acquiring a thorough knowledge of various wood-working trades. He then came to Lynn, and was employed for a year as journeyman cabinet-maker in the factory of Seth D. Woodbury, which stood on the present site of the Boston Revere Beach & Lynn Railroad station. The following year he became the confidential clerk of Joseph P. Woodbury, and in 1849–50 visited Buffalo and the principal cities of the West, in connection with patent business. He was in

Washington in the spring of 1850, while the famous compromise measures were before Congress, and heard the questions which led to our civil war discussed by Clay, Webster, Calhoun and many other distinguished members of Congress. On his return he became a partner of Jephthah P. Woodbury in the lumber and building business, which was carried on at Commercial wharf, at the foot of Commercial Street, in Lynn. In this same year (1850), he married Sarah E. Silsbee, a daughter of Nathan Silsbee, and a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Lynn. In 1854 he sold his interest in the lumber business, and again visited the West, with the intention of settling there, but in four months he returned to Lynn and established himself in the real estate and insurance business. He was the pioneer in this line of business in Lynn. By steady and close occupation he obtained the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and succeeded in establishing the largest business of the kind in Essex County; indeed for many years only two insurance offices in the State made larger returns to the insurance commissioners.

Mr. Woodbury was a firm believer in the future growth and improvement of Lynn. He was for a time a member of the Common Council of the city, but he was too busy a man to continue long in public office. His name is intimately connected with the progress of his adopted city. He was treasurer of the Exchange Hall, the Sagamore Hotel, the Lynn Market-House, and the Lynn City Improvement Companies. It is to his organization of this latter company that Lynn owes the laying out of Central Avenue, the finest and most substantial street in the city. Having secured control of nearly all the land lying between the Central station and the City Hall, he associated with him many of Lynn's leading capitalists and laid out this wide avenue, which has proved to be one of the greatest improvements ever made in Lynn. At the time the project was started it met with violent opposition from the owners of land on Market Street, who feared the depreciation of their property; but time has shown that the improvement has rather enhanced the value of their land. Mr. Woodbury's firm belief in the future of Lynn led him to invest all his savings in real estate, frequently at what were considered high prices, but time has confirmed his judgment. In 1867, after twenty-five years of labor, he sold his business, and, with his family, enjoyed a well-earned holiday in Europe. Seven months were spent in Paris at the time when Napoleon III, then in the height of his glory, was entertaining the crowned heads of the world, and making Paris the most brilliant capital of Europe. The remainder of a year was spent in visiting the principal cities of the continent and in Southern Italy. On his return Mr. Woodbury accepted the presidency of the Exchange Insurance Company, an organization composed largely of Lynn capitalists, but in eighteen months resigned from the position, and has not since been in active business. His leisure is

largely occupied in the collection of books and engravings, and he is especially interested in extra illustrated books, of which he has a considerable collection. He still retains a summer residence in Lynn, but spends the winter months in Boston or in traveling. He is a member of the Bostonian Society, the Boston Art Club, the Grolier Club of New York and other kindred organizations.

Mr. Woodbury is a Unitarian, and was for many years a trustee of the Second Congregational Church of Lynn. In politics he was one of the original Free-Soilers, voting for Martin Van Buren in 1848, and was afterwards a steady Republican until 1883, when, dissatisfied with the nomination of James G. Blaine for President, he became an Independent voter. He has two children, Marcia E., wife of Edward P. Parsons, and John, a lawyer, practising in Boston.

Mr. Woodbury's career illustrates the fact that in this country every avenue to business success is open through steady, unremitting effort, to an earnest and reliable working man; and, better still, that through all his toil a man may carry tastes which will furnish him with delightful occupation and keen enjoyment in time of leisure.

WILLIAM F. MORGAN.

Mr. Morgan was born in Bellingham, Mass., January 2, 1839, and was a son of William F. Morgan, who was a lineal descendant from Miles Morgan, one of the early settlers of Springfield, Mass.

Miles Morgan with two brothers, James and John, sailed from Bristol, England, in March, 1636, and arrived at Boston in the following April. The family removed to Bristol from Llandaff, in Wales, a few years before the sons emigrated to New England. Miles, the youngest of the three was born in 1615, and on his arrival in Boston, or shortly after, he joined a party of emigrants, mostly from Roxbury, of whom Col. William Pynchon was the head, and settled in Springfield. The land first occupied by the settlers in that place is now traversed by the Main Street, and was divided into shares and distributed among them by lot. The tract allotted to Mr. Morgan extended from Main Street to the river, on the south side of what was once called Ferry Lane.

About the year 1643 he married Prudence Gilbert of Beverly, having made the acquaintance of the family during the voyage from England, and the tradition of the family invests the matrimonial alliance with the romance of a courtship at sea, a separation for years, an offer by letter carried by a messenger through the wilderness, an acceptance of the offer, a journey to Beverly by the bridegroom and his companions armed with muskets, and a return with the bride one hundred and twenty miles to Springfield their future home.

The records bear the names of the following children: Mary, born February 14, 1644; Jonathan, November 16, 1646; David, September 23, 1648; Pela-

teah, July 17, 1650; Isaac, May 12, 1652; Lydia, April 8, 1654; Hannah, April 11, 1656; Mercy, July 18, 1658.

The mother of these children died January 14, 1660, and Miles married February 15, 1669, Elizabeth Bliss, and had one other child, Nathaniel, born June 14, 1671. His death is recorded as having occurred May 28, 1699.

Nathaniel Morgan, son of Miles, married January 19, 1691, Hannah Bird, and settled on the west side of the Connecticut River in West Springfield, where he died August 30, 1752. His children were, Nathaniel, born February 16, 1692; Samuel, 1694; Ebenezer, 1696; Hannah, 1698; Miles, 1700; Joseph, December 3, 1702; James, 1705; Isaac, 1708; and Elizabeth, 1710.

Joseph Morgan, son of Nathaniel, married in May, 1735, Mary, daughter of Benjamin Stebbins, and lived and died in West Springfield. His death occurred November 7, 1773. His children were, Joseph, born February 19, 1736; Titus, who died in infancy; Titus again, July 19, 1740; Lucas, February 26, 1743; Elizabeth, December 23, 1745; Judah, March 22, 1749; Jesse, twin of Judah, and Hannah, November 29, 1751.

Judah Morgan, son of Joseph, married April 12, 1775, Elizabeth Shivoy. His children were, Festus, born January 12, 1776; Elijah, June 2, 1777; Richard, March 4, 1779; Amos, November 7, 1780; Elizabeth, June 23, 1787, all of whom were born in Northampton. He died November 13, 1827.

Festus Morgan, son of Judah, married 1799, Submit French of Northampton, and had one child, a son, William F. Morgan, who was born in Northampton, October 6, 1800. He was the father of the subject of this sketch. He learned the business of woolen manufacturing and established himself in that business in Oxford, and a few years later in Bellingham. He married, April 17, 1832, Eliza, daughter of Rufus Russell of New Braintree. His children were, Julius, born and died 1834; William H., born 1836, died 1839; William F., 1839, all of whom were born in Bellingham. He died in Bellingham, August 10, 1839.

William F. Morgan, the subject of this sketch, was a son of the above William F., and was born in Bellingham, January 2, 1839. After the death of his father his mother removed with her family to South Milford, where he attended the public schools until he was ten years of age. He then went to live with a relative on a farm in New Braintree, and while there attended the schools of the town and was later a pupil in Day's Academy in Wrentham.

In 1856, at the age of seventeen, he commenced what was in reality his business career, it being then that he entered a shoe store in Providence, R. I. Here he soon developed such aptitude and business capacity that at the age of twenty-one he was offered the position of partner, which offer was accepted.



H. J. Morgan



Charles O. Beebe

Charles O. Beebe

Lynn was at that time, as it still is, the centre of the great New England shoe manufacture, and perhaps the most promising field for the development of enterprise, the exercise of industry and the investment of capital, known to the trade. He was, therefore, induced to leave Providence and accept the offer of a situation as salesman and book-keeper in one of the largest establishments here. Hither he came in 1861.

After remaining in the situation named till 1864, he commenced manufacturing on his own account, and soon found himself in a prosperous business, which continued so to flourish and increase, that in 1871 he found it expedient to take a partner. The present firm of Morgan & Dore was formed in 1871 and soon became one of the largest, most reputable and successful in the city. In addition to the factory in Lynn, they have established factories in Pittsfield, N. H., and Richmond, Me., where their liberality and fair dealing have won for them an honorable name, and where the constant employment given to a large number of residents has proved a substantial and highly appreciated benefit to the people.

On the second of June, 1863, Mr. Morgan was united in marriage with Miss Emeline B. Nichols, of Providence, and has two children, William F. (now a student in Trinity College, Hartford, Class of 1888), and Alice L.

Mr. Morgan has not been much in public office, though he has served in the Council. His peculiar fitness for other public service, however, could not remain unrecognized. In charitable enterprises he has always been an active and efficient laborer. He is president of the Board of Associated Charities and a member of the Board of Hospital Managers. He is likewise a trustee of the Five Cents Savings Bank.

In financial matters his skill and forecast have been conspicuous. He was one of the founders of the National Security Bank of Lynn, and has held the position of director ever since its organization.

In 1879 he erected the beautiful residence in Nahant Street, corner of West Baltimore, where he still resides.

Few men ever in Lynn have furnished an example more worthy of imitation than Mr. Morgan. His industrious habits, upright dealing, respect for religion, liberal aid in the promotion of worthy objects, and courtesy of manners, have made him one of exceptionally high esteem. And no well-wisher of the community can envy the prosperity of one who has thus risen to rank as one of the foremost citizens.

CHARLES O. BEEDE.

Charles O. Beede,¹ the subject of this sketch, was born in Lynn in 1840. He received his early education in the public schools of that city and of Sandwich, N. H., and added to his store of knowledge by

¹ By Benjamin Pitman.

close study for a season at the New Hampton Institute.

Being thus equipped theoretically for a business career, he returned to Lynn and entered one of the large shoe manufactories of that city, that he might gain by practical experience the knowledge necessary for business success.

In 1865 he began business for himself, and by untiring industry and honesty of purpose he soon began to climb the rounds of fortune's ladder. His progress was rapid, but he was soon admonished that close application and earnest attention to the cares and responsibilities of an ever-increasing trade demanded in his case a penalty, and in 1872 he was obliged to retire from active business and seek rest and recreation amid the rugged hills and sunny dales of his old New Hampshire home, and for a year rested from his labors.

At the end of that period, being recuperated and thirsting again for the bustle and stir of a busy life, he returned to Lynn, and at once entered the lists, setting the mark for his prize in the establishment of a business that should be favorably known throughout the country.

With a persistency that could not be abated and a zeal that knew no tire, he pushed on until the firm of C. O. Beede was known as the leading firm in New England for the manufacture of boot and shoe supplies, and his name recognized as the name of one who carved his fortune out of the rough stone of opportunity.

Mr. Beede is one of those happy men who study and understand the needs of their employees and cultivates the most friendly relations with them.

He gives his entire force an outing once a year, and joins with them in their annual games and dinner, and when the great feast day of the year comes, the day of Thanksgiving, the table of every man in his employ bespeaks the liberality and thoughtfulness of the man they labor for.

Outside of his regular business he pays attention to real estate matters, and shows the same good judgment there, ranking as among the most prominent and successful dealers in the city.

Mr. Beede, like all progressive men, takes a healthful interest in politics, and believes that that system or party is the most right that does the most toward advancing the material, the social and the moral interests of the people.

Being of a social nature it is not to be wondered at that he should make friends, and in answer to their call he has repeatedly looked after the city's interest by serving on the aldermanic board, and he always carried into his public duties the same qualifications that has made of him in his private life a man of mark.

Honest, always earnest in every cause which he knows to be right, a clear thinker and a progressive man, with a mind broad and comprehensive enough

to take in the possibilities of great enterprises, and yet conservative enough to prevent any undue enthusiasm to control his judgment.

Mr. Beede stands in the community in which he lives thoroughly equipped for every public and private duty.

PATRICK LENNOX.¹

Lynn has been fortunate in numbering, from time to time, among her adopted citizens, those who by their enterprise and other valuable traits, have added to her prosperity and the extension of her good name. And some of these have come from other and distant lands. Such individuals she has always welcomed, and in their fidelity to her interests has secured ample reward. Of this class, few now with us are more worthy of honorable mention than the individual to whom this sketch refers.

Mr. Lennox was born in Kildare, one of the eastern counties of Ireland, a short distance from the city of Dublin, on the first day of August, 1828, and was educated in the national schools. Not much need be said of his boyhood, as it was passed very much like that of other youth about him, with its pranks, its aspirations and its incipient loves. But his ambition to "rise in the world," as he entered early manhood, asserted itself, and led to such "prospecting" in regard to the future, as induced him to turn his eye to America, as the most promising field. He then left his native land without a pang, excepting such as naturally arose from the severance of youthful attachments and home associations.

At the age of twenty he found himself in New York, full of youthful ardor and buoyant hope. He landed there in 1848, and without unnecessary delay came to Lynn. Here he immediately entered the employ of Darius Barry, one of our energetic and reputable morocco manufacturers, on Monroe Street. After serving for three years in a modified sort of apprenticeship, he was competent to accept employment as a journeyman in the establishment of Smith & Clark. Such was his skill, industry and enterprise, and his ambition, too, it may be added, that within two years he was able to commence business on his own account.

The shoe business was at that time rapidly growing in Lynn, as machinery was beginning to be introduced in almost every department. This was a fortunate circumstance, and Mr. Lennox had the shrewdness to perceive the tendency of trade, and had established such a reputation for good management, and had, withal, accumulated such an amount of capital that he was able to take advantage of the tide of prosperity. He soon became numbered among our principal morocco manufacturers, and was not deficient in ample means. His business rapidly extended, and he has now about a hundred and twenty-five

workmen busily employed. He has a salesroom in Boston, which was established in 1877; and at his factory, in Market Street, Lynn, large sales are constantly being made.

It was in 1871 that he built his fine business building in Market Street, opposite the station of the Narrow Gauge Railroad. It was one of the best buildings in the city at the time of its erection, and is still an ornament to the street which has now so many handsome structures. And in noticing this building a correspondent of one of the journals of the day remarks as follows:

"Every traveler on the Boston and Maine Railroad, while passing through Market Street, Lynn, has doubtless observed the substantial and handsome store and factory belonging to Patrick Lennox, who commenced business as a morocco dresser in early life, and has steadily built up a business and trade, now ranking among the first in the State with substantial tokens of his stability. His quiet, gentlemanly demeanor and carefully chosen words will not at first view impress one that he is possessed of the vital force and energy of character that has placed him among the first of the business men of the city. His candor, probity and intelligence makes him a marked man in the community, and his countrymen take especial pride in noting his prosperity in which they are joined by all the citizens. As his name indicates he is a native of Ireland, but so Americanized that none would suspect it from his speech and appearance. He is an honor to both his native and adopted country, loyal and true to both, a self-made, successful business man, deserving of his good fortune."

Mr. Lennox has usually avoided appearing much in public life, having no aspirations for official position. It would, no doubt, have been beneficial to the interests of the city had he been less chary in this respect, for his good judgment and pacific course would many times have saved from indiscreet expenditures, unprofitable discussions and mischievous disagreements. He has, however, held office as director in the National City Bank of Lynn, from January, 1882.

Six years after he arrived in Lynn, that is, in 1854, he was united in marriage with Miss Bridget Clark, and they became the parents of eight children—two sons and six daughters.

It will be seen that Mr. Lennox is not by any means an old man, certainly not in business activity and neighborly sympathies. But he has reached the age when it has become experimentally certain that a course like his, of industry, temperance and upright dealing are, under all ordinary circumstances, sufficient to ensure wealth and honorable social standing. And herein he furnishes an example worthy of imitation by all youths who have the good of the community and themselves truly at heart.

GEORGE HARRISON ALLEN.

Mr. Allen belongs to one of the oldest families in New England. His ancestor, William Allen, though not one of the Plymouth colony, came to New England not long after the arrival of the Pilgrims, and, after a short residence at Nantasket, now Hull, removed to Salem immediately after the arrival of John Endicott at that place, in 1629. At Salem he mar-

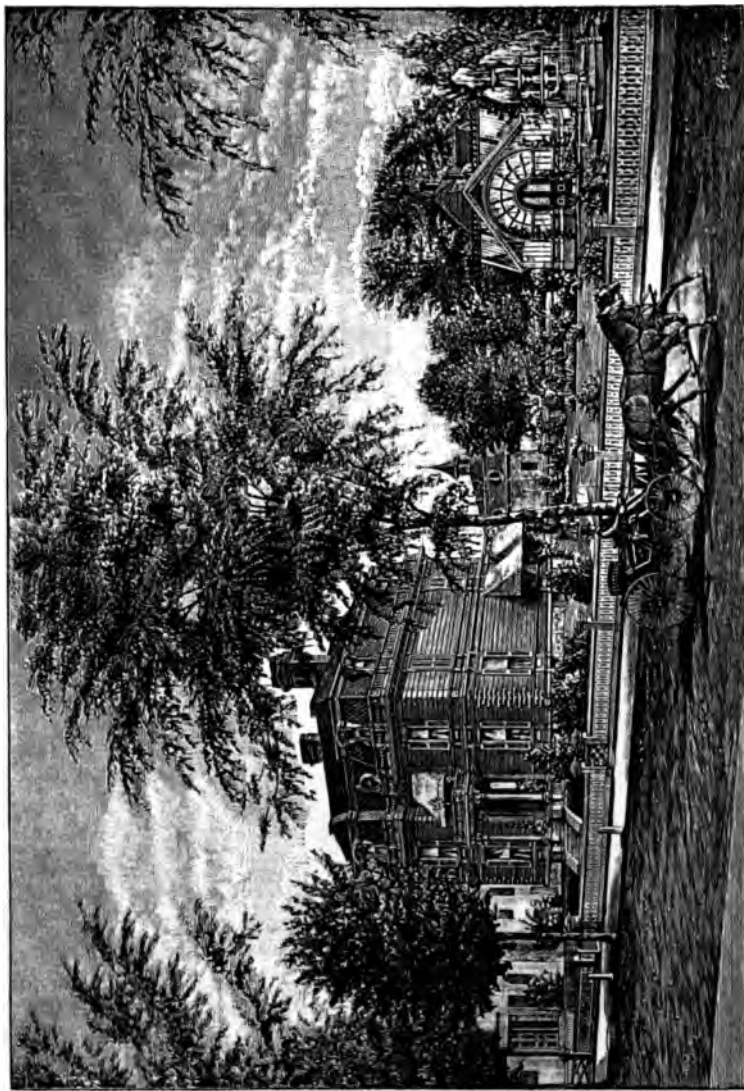
¹ By James R. Newhall.



P. Lemoy



George Allen



RESIDENCE OF JOSEPH DAVIS,
LYNN, MASS.



ried, in 1629, Elizabeth Bradley, and had a son Samuel, who married Sarah Luck. Samuel had a son Jonathan, who married Mary Pierce, and Jonathan a son Jacob, who married Sarah Lee. Jacob had a son Isaac, who married Rebekah Tewksbury, and Isaac a son Jacob, who married Lucy Gallop, and was the father of Jacob Alva Allen, the father of the subject of this sketch. Jacob Alva Allen was born in Beverly, March 5, 1810, and married Prudence, daughter of Shubel Hire, who came from Ireland and settled in Middlebury, Vermont, where his daughter Prudence was born, November 5, 1807. He afterwards removed from Beverly to Manchester, Massachusetts, and there George Harrison Allen was born, June 21, 1840. In 1847 he removed from Manchester to Methuen, and in 1849 to Lawrence, and in the common schools of the last two towns his son received his education.

At the age of seventeen George Harrison Allen left school to learn the trade of boxmaking, planing and mill-work on lumber, sawing logs and fitting lumber for building. He began at the first rung in the ladder, and learned the trade thoroughly from shoveling shavings into the fire-room to the clerk's chair in the counting-room. In 1865 he removed from Lawrence to Lynn, and entered into partnership with Joseph A. Boyden, for the manufacture of paper and wood packing-boxes. At the end of two years, Joseph having died, he formed a new partnership with William C. Boyden, of Beverly, under the firm-name of Allen & Boyden, and has since carried on the same business, manufacturing both at Lynn and Beverly a product valued at about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum. Mr. Allen has always devoted himself with energy and industry to his chosen work, and, though he has shared with others business losses and disasters by fire, he has by the display of a determined spirit overcome obstacles in his way and won his full measure of success.

Mr. Allen, though often importuned and at times strongly tempted, has always refused to accept or seek public office. He has believed that the demands of his business were entitled to all his time, and that an entrance into the political arena and a participation in its contests would necessarily distract his mind and divert his attention from the management of his legitimate pursuits.

Mr. Allen has been placed in offices of responsibility and trust in various Masonic bodies, having been at the head of the Golden Fleece Lodge, Sutton Chapter, and Olivet Commandery. In the Grand Commandery of Knights Templars, and appendant order of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, he has passed the chairs of Grand Captain General, Grand General and Deputy Grand Commander, which office he now holds. He has also passed the chairs of the Palestine Encampment of Independent Order of Odd Fellows, having been its Chief Patriarch.

He married, December 26, 1864, Sarah Luella, daughter of Eben and Temperance McIntire, of Lan-

caster, N. H., and resides in Lynn, where his business headquarters are located at 188 Broad Street. He is in the prime of life, and with health and strength his continued prosperity and success are assured.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LYNNFIELD.

BY JAMES R. NEWHALL.

Early Grant—First Settlers—Natural Attractions—Ponds and Streams—Flora—Fauna.

LYNNFIELD was for more than a century and a half a territorial outpost of Lynn. It was on the 13th of March, 1638-39, that "Lynn was granted 6 miles into the countrey," and a committee appointed to make a territorial survey for the purpose of ascertaining the character of the land beyond, and determining whether it "bee fit for another plantation or no." The court, while making the grant, seem to have had some doubt as to the extent of colonial rights and the security of titles, as they soon after enacted that the Governor and assistants shall "take care that the Indians have satisfaction for their right at Lynn."

The granted territory was long called Lynn End, and occupied chiefly by farmers. It was set off as a parish November 17, 1712, and the inhabitants were to be relieved from taxes in the old parish as soon as they built a meeting-house and settled a minister; this they accomplished in about eight years, the house being built in 1715 and the minister settled in 1720. In 1782 the parish became a separate district, and in 1814 the district was incorporated as a separate town. The precise time when the first settlers arrived or just where they located is not certainly known. It is presumed, however, that they came from Lynn, some of them, perhaps, before the grant was made. It is manifest by the names found on the church records—Aborn, Bancroft, Gowing, Mansfield, Newhall, Wellman—that at least the principal ones were from Lynn.

The Mansfields and Newhalls settled in the southeastern part, the Bancrofts and Wellmans in the northwestern and the Gowings somewhere between the two.

The early history of Lynnfield is, of course, interwoven with that of Lynn, and their natural features are in a large degree similar. Its woody hills form a part of the extensive range that sweeps up from old Plymouth County, varying in height, but never reaching an altitude that entitles them to the name of mountains. They present irregularities of shape, diversities of soil and modifications of geological construction, and follow the line of the coast at dis-

tances varying from half a mile to eight miles from the shore, in many places bearing strong evidence of having once been the boundary of the tide. Anciently, for the whole extent they were well wooded; but as population increased, the axe in many places laid them bare, and orchards and arable fields began to appear. At intervals the chain now seems much broken, as most portions likely for the present to repay the expense have been reclaimed. Some sections, however, still retain much of their primeval aspect, —a fact eminently true of several of the remoter parts of Lynnfield.

But Lynnfield possesses many attractions for the lover of nature, in her lonely glens and pleasant heights, in her lakelets and busy streams. She has good highways and romantic byways, green meadows and sunny plains. But she has not the ocean views that so charm, and the ocean breezes that so invigorate. Many, however, come hither for temporary homes during the vacation season, and in the quiet enjoyment of rural sights and rural sounds, in the breathing of uncontaminated airs, in the use of fresh and simple food, and in freedom from the restraints of fashionable life, find a medicine that revivifies their jaded energies, and enables them to return to their homes again to enter with zest the accustomed routine.

There can be nothing more pleasing to the wooer of nature, especially one who contemplates her charges with the eye of a true lover rather than that of a scientist, than to view the glowing pageantry of the woods hereabout in mid-autumn. The splendid coloring of the foliage takes place at different periods, the swamp maple and white birch often beginning to change in the latter part of August. Some seasons present much greater brilliancy than others, early frosts being quite certain to destroy the effect. Yet there is a strange belief with many that frost actually produces the appearance. Even the poet Whittier sings:

"Autumn's earliest frost had given
To the woods below
Hues of beauty such as Heaven
Lendeth to its bow;
And the soft breezes from the west
Scarcely broke their dreamy rest."

Frost comes as a destroyer, not as a beautifier. And it is a little remarkable that one so observant, who had spent his life in the theatre of such changing scenes, should have adopted the old error. But, perhaps, the singer yielded to the poetical idea.

While the foliage is so inviting to the woodland stroller, or sometimes after it has been loosened by the frost and fallen, the Indian summer comes—those few days of delicious languor, when all nature seems to be wrapped in a mantle of haze and lying down to dreamy repose. The natural cause of Indian summer, which, by the way, occasionally fails to appear, does not yet seem to be satisfactorily ascertained. And perhaps, in the absence of anything more

reasonable, the red man's explanation may be adopted—namely, that it is a period when a breath from the hunting-grounds of heaven is permitted to sweep down to earth.

The geology of Lynnfield is not very dissimilar to that of Lynn, excepting that granite to a considerable extent takes the place of porphyry and greenstone. Quarries of the former have been long profitably worked. Some years ago a quarry of serpentine was opened. In various sections, in former years, peat meadows yielded an abundance of fuel, it being in some cases found fifteen feet in depth; but of late it has not been so much used, partly, no doubt, on account of the increased expense of labor in the preparation, and partly on account of the greater convenience of other kinds of fuel better adapted to the modern modes of heating.

PONDS AND STREAMS.—There are several picturesque lakelets or ponds in Lynnfield, and two or three streams that not only add charms to the landscape, but are useful in various ways, though not largely employed as manufacturing agents. *Lynnfield Pond*, as it is usually called, though sometimes known as "Suntaug Lake" or "Humphrey's Pond," being the same "freshe pond with a little ileland" named in the old grant of 1635 to John Humphrey, is the chief of the still waters. It occupies about two hundred and ten acres, and lies partly in Peabody, is a beautiful sheet, with lovely surroundings. A melancholy accident occurred here on the 15th of August, 1850. A company, connected for the most part with the First Christian Society of Lynn, were holding a picnic on the border. In the course of the afternoon a party of twenty-five, chiefly ladies, rowed out in a large, flat-bottomed boat about a hundred yards from the shore. As some of them shifted from side to side, the boat was made to careen, and several of them, becoming alarmed, threw their weight in a manner to completely capsize it. Before aid could reach them thirteen were drowned. *Pilling's Pond* is largely artificial and of no great depth. *Nell's Pond* is remarkable for its elevation, being something like a hundred feet above sea-level.

Along the northern border of Lynnfield flows the main branch of *Ipswich River*, and the western is partially traversed by the *Saugus*. *Hawkes' Brook* meanders leisurely along, and is now charged with the useful duty of adding to Lynn's public water supply.

The *spring water* of this vicinity is uncommonly pure, for the stone through which it percolates is not soluble; and it forms a good sample of that which William Wood, Lynn's first historian, as early as 1633, thus enthusiastically celebrates: "It is farr different from the waters of England, being not so sharp, but of a fatter substance and of a more jettie color; it is thought there can be no better water in the world, yet dare I not prefer it before good beere, as some have done; but any man will choose it before bad beere, whey or butter milk."

FLORA.—The flora of Lynnfield, as it was observed by the first settlers, is no doubt well, though not fully, described in the following lines from Wood's "New England's Prospect." And well might such a promising region be coveted,—

"Trees both in hills and plains in plenty be,
The long liv'd oaks, the mournful cypress tree,
Skie-towering pines, and chestnuts coated rough,
The lasting cedar, with the walnut tough;
The resin-dropping fir for masts in use;
The boatmen seek for oars, light, neat grown sprowes,
The brittle ash, the over-trembling aspes,
The broad-spread elms, whose concave harbours waives;
The water-sponge alder, good for naught,
Small elderne by th' Indian fletchers sought,
The knottle maple, pallid birch, hawthornes,
The hornbound tree that to be cloven scornes,
Which from the tender vine oft takes its spouse,
Who twines embracing armes about his boughes.
Within this Indian Orchard fruits be some,
The ruddie cherrie and the jetty plumbe,
Snake murdering basell with sweet saxaprage,
Whose spurnes in beer allays hot fever's rage,
The diar's shumach, with more trees there be
That are both good to use and rare to see."

Descending to the more lowly products, it may be said that in the woods and ravines, in the swamps and upon the rocky heights, are to be found shrubs and flowers of great beauty, some varieties of which, under the hand of cultivation, have become garden favorites. And many plants of rare medicinal value are to be found. But the long and persistent warfare of our learned doctors against the use of "herbs" has resulted in greatly reducing the esteem in which they were once held. The old traffic of the semi-mendicant wanderers, with their pyrola, sassaparilla, gold-thread, rosemary, catnip, sweet flagroot and countless other varieties of similar curative merchandise, has become nearly extinct. And so has gone all that class of irresponsible doctors, friends of the poor, as they called themselves, and sometimes were, who, for the fee of a meal, were ever ready to advise and prescribe. It did not cost so much to be sick in those primitive days as it now does.

FAUNA.—As considerable is said in the sketch of Lynn, of which Lynnfield so long remained a member, regarding the fauna of the region, no elaboration will be required here. Bears were not uncommon in the woods; moose, beaver and deer were seen; foxes and wolves abounded; and so did raccoons, weasels and woodchucks. Most of these, excepting the last two, have become nearly extinct—the first three entirely so. But no better idea of the animal life hereabout can be given than by quoting the concise, though somewhat grotesque, metrical description given by a quaint old writer. His was a style much in vogue in early times, and some of the important facts in our history have been preserved in that now seemingly irregular way. Those rhyming historians had no thought of debauching history through poetic license, but aimed at a straightforward delineation of facts, perhaps using that form to aid the memory. But to the quotation, which is from a more extended

description that appears in Lynn's Centennial Memorial,—

"Some of the nobler game erst found, within these forests wide,
The moose, the beaver and the deer no longer here abide;
Nor growling bear, nor catamount, nor wolf do now abound,
But raccoons, woodchucks, weasels, skunks, and foxes yet lurk round.
And in the brooks and ponds still rove the turtle and musk ratt,
The croaking pullock and leap-frog; and in the air the batt.
Serpents there be, but poys'nous, few, save horrid rattlesnakes,
And adders of bright rainbow hue, that coyl among the brakes.
And then of birds we have great store; the eagle soaring high,
The owl, the hawk, the woodpecker, the crow of rasping cry,
The partridge, quail and wood-pigeon, the plover and wild-geese,
And divers other smaller game are here for man, his use.
And many more of plumage fair in coo and song are heard;
The whippoorwill, of mournful note, the merry humming-bird.
In bog and pond the peeper pipes at close of springtide day,
And fire-flies daunce like little stars along the lover's way."

Upon the rocky hillsides, about the ledges, and in the sequestered forest defiles, the hideous rattlesnake is still occasionally met with, during the hottest weather. Seldom, however, is there any injury and almost never any fatal result from encounters with these old-time terrifiers. Formerly they were numerous, and occasioned much fear, but the numbers and fears have greatly decreased. It is stated, however, that during the summer of 1868 a Lynnfield farmer killed the extraordinary number of thirteen, of various sizes.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

FIRST PARISH.—The First Church of Lynnfield was formed August 17, 1720, though a meeting-house appears to have been built some five years before. It had always been a hardship for worshippers of that remote region to attend service at the First Parish house, some living more than seven miles distant. And as early as the time when the "Old Tunnel" was built, 1682, on Lynn Common, much discussion was had as to the expediency of building farther inland, in some place that would be most convenient for the four sections, now Lynn, Lynnfield, Saugus and Swampscott, separate parishes not then being contemplated. But the desire of the people near the site of the old house prevailed, and the new one was placed on the Common, where it remained, a marked object, till 1827. There does not appear to have been any ill-feeling engendered, and thither the people of Lynnfield went for worship till they became strong enough to form a separate parish.

The Rev. NATHANIEL SPARHAWK was installed minister of the Lynnfield parish at the time the church was formed, 1720, and his salary for the year fixed at seventy pounds. He was born in Cambridge in 1694; graduated at Harvard in 1715; was dismissed in July, 1731, and about one year thereafter, May 7, 1732, died, at the early age of thirty-eight years. The reason for his dismissal does not exactly appear. Mr. Lewis says, "A part of his people had become dissatisfied with him, and some, whom he considered his friends, advised him to ask a dismissal, in order to produce tranquillity. He asked a dismissal, and

it was unexpectedly granted. A committee was then chosen to wait on him, and receive the church records; but he refused to deliver them. Soon after he took to his bed, and is supposed to have died in consequence of his disappointment." His wife was Elizabeth Perkins, and he had four children, one of whom was Edward Perkins Sparhawk, a man who became somewhat noted. He was born July 10, 1728, and graduated at Harvard College in 1753. His wife was Mehitabel Putnam, whom he married in 1759. Mr. Lewis says he was never ordained, though he preached many times in the parishes of Essex. He appears not to have approved of the settlement of Mr. Adams, the third minister of the parish, having himself been a candidate, and calls him "old Adams, the reputed teacher of Lynnfield." The historian adds, "He is the first person whom I found in our records having three names. The custom of giving an intermediate name seems not to have been common till more than one hundred years after the settlement of New England." One son of Rev. Nathaniel, the first minister, born October 24, 1730, named John, was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and afterward became a physician of Philadelphia. One of our Essex County historians has strangely enough given the Rev. Nathaniel as the one to whom we are indebted for the series of interleaved almanacs which have been so much quoted from. But he had been dead fifty years before the almanacs were made. The Sparhawk who made the almanac memoranda was most likely Edward, son of the first minister, though some have thought he was a brother or nephew.

The immediate successor of Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk in the pastorate was the Rev. STEPHEN CHASE, who was settled in 1731. He was born in Newbury in 1708, graduated at Harvard in 1728, resigned in 1755, and died in 1778. His salary, as fixed at the time of his ordination, was one hundred pounds. Mr. Chase was here during the exciting period of the visit of Rev. George Whitefield, the celebrated English revivalist. Rev. Mr. Henchman was then minister of the First Parish of Lynn, and while he personally treated the eminent stranger with great courtesy, and even cordiality, strongly opposed his course of ministration, and refused the use of his meeting-house for one of his meetings. Mr. Henchman addressed a letter, printed in pamphlet form, to Mr. Chase, giving reasons for his opposition to Mr. Whitefield.

Some of these reasons, as clearly enumerated by Mr. Lewis, were, that Mr. Whitefield had disregarded and violated the most solemn vow, which he took when he received orders in the Church of England, and pledged himself to advocate and maintain her discipline and doctrine—that he had intruded into places where regular churches were established—that he used vain boasting and theatrical gestures to gain applause—that he countenanced screaming, trances and epileptic fallings—that he had defamed the char-

acter of Bishop Tillotson, and slandered the colleges of New England.

It does not appear that Mr. Chase publicly answered the letter of Mr. Henchman, nor, indeed, what his precise views regarding Mr. Whitefield were. The letter was, however, answered by Rev. Mr. Hobby, of Reading, who became a warm defender of Mr. Whitefield. And to Mr. Hobby's answer Mr. Henchman made a rejoinder. The controversy was protracted and warm, and perhaps some good resulted.

The wife of Mr. Chase was Jane Winget, of Hampton, and they had five children. After leaving Lynn he settled in Newcastle, N. H., remaining there till his death.

The third minister of the Lynnfield Parish was Rev. BENJAMIN ADAMS. He was born in Newbury May 8, 1719; graduated at Harvard in 1738; settled here November 5, 1755; died May 4, 1777. His wife was Rebecca Nichols, and they had seven children.

The fourth minister was Rev. JOSEPH MOTTEY. He was born in Salem, May 14, 1756; graduated at Dartmouth, 1778; settled here September 24, 1783; died July 9, 1821. His long pastorate would indicate that he was beloved by his people, though it was a period when ministerial changes were not by any means so frequent as now. He was of a retiring and sensitive disposition, had marked eccentricities, and withal a humorous vein. As a preacher he was mild and persuasive; not given to "ecstasy and holy frenzy." At times he was subject to strange fancies and singular apprehensions. The following instance is related in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," where a notice of him appears: "One extremely cold night, after going to bed, he came to the conclusion that he should certainly die before morning. While reflecting upon being found dead in his bed, he bethought him that his appearance, as he then was, would not be just what he should like; so, getting up in the cold, he put on clean linen and jumped into bed again. Very soon he fell asleep, slept soundly till morning, and on waking was quite astonished to find that he was not dead." This certainly indicates that he had little fear of death. But he was a man of high character, and, notwithstanding his eccentricities, or "oddities," as they were called, continued to enjoy the respect of his people, who seem never to have doubted his piety and conscientiousness. His reply to one who called him "odd" was witty as well as characteristic: "Yes," said he, "I set out to be a very good man, and soon found that I could not be without being very odd."

Mr. Mottey was not accustomed to exchange with his brother clergy so often as did most of the ministers of that period; neither did he take anything like so active a part in the temporal affairs of his parish as some of them, especially Mr. Treadwell and Mr. Roby, of the other Lynn parishes. This trait was sometimes commented on in a manner unfavorable to

him. But the fact was, no doubt, rather attributable to his naturally shrinking disposition than to lack of interest in public affairs. That he was industrious with his pen cannot be doubted, for it is asserted that he wrote more than two thousand, if not fully three thousand, sermons, which, if they were of the usual length of the sermons of that period, must have covered many more sheets of paper than most of the preachers of our day find it in their way to cover.

"In regard to doctrines," quotes Mr. Parsons, in a paper read before the Essex Unitarian Conference, September 8, 1881, "Mr. Mottey, in the first years of his ministry, was much inclined to what is now termed orthodoxy. Afterwards, and until the end of his life, there was a general coincidence in his opinions with what is now termed liberal Christianity." But "liberal Christianity" is a term so indefinite as to cover a wide field. And it cannot be admitted that Mr. Mottey ever became what is now known as a Unitarian or Universalist; nor was his successor, Mr. Searl, of either of these denominations. There are many shades of belief among the individuals of all denominations. And no doubt some of the theologians of Andover and Princeton are quite as well entitled to be called liberal Christians as was Mr. Mottey.

The fifth minister of Lynnfield Parish was Rev. JOSEPH SEARL. He was born in Rowley December 2, 1789; graduated at Dartmouth in 1815; settled here January 21, 1824; resigned September 27, 1827. He removed to Stoneham. Mr. Searl was the last preacher of the old orthodox faith in this, the First Lynnfield Parish. Rev. LUTHER WALCOTT, his successor, was of the Universalist persuasion. The ministerial succession was as follows:

1720. Nathaniel Sparhawk.	1783. Joseph Mottey.
1731. Stephen Chase.	1824. Joseph Searl.
1755. Benjamin Adams.	1854. Luther Walcott.

After Mr. Walcott left the society was supplied by different ministers for a few years, and then services were discontinued.

It would be needless to repeat that this, the First Church of Lynnfield, was originally of rigid Puritanical stamp. And in its history appears another instance of the tendency to swerve from that faith, and by the force of a mere vote adopt one of a different character. Where no superior ecclesiastical authority is acknowledged there seems nothing to prevent this. This Lynnfield society changed its faith as an organization by voting to settle Mr. Walcott. The First Church of Lynn is one of the three or four of the early churches in Massachusetts that have preserved their integrity, through good report and evil, to the present day, they never having yet voted themselves out of the old faith. The right of individual interpretation may be very precious, but its tendency is to instability.

The following are the other religious societies of Lynnfield:

ORTHODOX EVANGELICAL SOCIETY (Centre Village). [Trinitarian Congregational, formed September 27, 1832.]

1833. Josiah Hill.	1863. M. Bradford Boardman.
1837. Henry S. Greene.	1871. Oliver P. Emerson.
1850. Uzal W. Condit.	1874. Darius B. Scott.
1856. Edwin R. Hodgman.	1883. Henry L. Brickett.
1859. William O. Whitcomb.	

SOUTH VILLAGE CONGREGATIONAL. [Trinitarian, formed in 1849.]

1849. Ariel P. Chute.	1865. Jacob Hood.
1858. Allen Gamett.	

METHODIST.—A society of this order was formed here in 1816, and a house of worship erected, in the Centre Village, in 1823. But regular meetings have not been held for several years.

OLD FAMILIES AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

NEWHALL FAMILY.—*Joseph Newhall* was an early settler of Lynnfield. He was a grandson of Thomas Newhall, the first of the name in Lynn, and a son of Thomas, the first white child born here. He was born on the 22d of September, 1658, and married Susanna, daughter of Thomas Farrar. He was a man of considerable importance in his day, and was often in places of public trust. He settled, as a farmer, in Lynnfield, his homestead farm, as it was called, consisting of some thirty-four acres. He also had another estate, known as the Pond farm, consisting of a hundred and seventy acres, lying on the west of Humphrey's Pond, and being a part of the grant made to Mr. Humphrey in 1635. It is thus seen that Mr. Newhall possessed many "broad acres," comprehending woodland, tillage and meadow. But his most valuable possession was a family of eleven children—eight sons and three daughters. Just when he took up his abode in Lynnfield does not distinctly appear; but it was probably soon after he came of age, his marriage taking place at about the same time. He seems to have been a good man and a regular attendant on public worship, for by the record, November 4, 1696, it appears that the town did grant liberty for Joseph Newhall to "sett up a pewe in y^e east end of y^e meeting house [the Old Tunnell] Between y^e east dowre & the stares; provided itt does nott prejudice the going up y^e stares into y^e gallery, & maintains so much of the glas window as is against s^d pewe." He was a member of the General Court, and died while in office. And in this connection it may be remarked that the pay of representatives, and indeed of all public officers, was at a rate that did not encourage that degree of hankering for official position so lamentably prevalent in our time. Upon the records is found this item: "Dec. 1706, to his serving a Representative at the generall court in the year 1705, until his death, 76 days at 3s per day—11£ 8s 0d." Mr. Newhall perished while on his way from Boston to Lynn, in a great snow-storm, in January, 1705-'06. His grave-stone is in the old burying-

ground, near the westerly end of the Common, Lynn, and gives his age as forty-seven, and his title, ensign. All his eleven children survived him.

ELISHA NEWHALL, the third son of Joseph, born November 20, 1686, was a farmer in Lynnfield, and owned a tract on the northwest of Humphrey's Pond. He also owned a tract on the southeast of the pond, and on the latter his house stood. He was something of a military man and attained the rank of captain. His death took place on the 19th of March, 1773, at the age of eighty-seven. He married, February 27, 1710-11, Jane, daughter of Joseph Breed. She was of his own age and survived him but three days. They had eight children—three sons and five daughters. The church record says, "They lived very happily together as man and wife, almost sixty-five if not almost sixty-six years, then died, but three days difference between y^r deaths. Thus were they lovely and pleasant in their lives and in their death they were not divided."

DANIEL NEWHALL, a younger brother of Elisha, just spoken of, was born February 5, 1690-91. His wife was Mary, daughter of Allen Breed. His widow, says Mr. Waters, died suddenly January 1, 1775, in her eighty-fourth year. In a notice of her death published in the *Essex Gazette*, she is said to have left eleven children, sixty-six grandchildren, thirty-two great-grandchildren—in all, one hundred and nine.

BENJAMIN NEWHALL, another son of Joseph, and brother of Elisha and Daniel, was born April 5, 1698. He did not pursue farming, but engaged in shoemaking, and located on Lynn Common. In 1729 he sold his remaining interest in the Humphrey farm, evidently intending not to return to Lynnfield. He seems to have been successful in his vocation and was one of the three mentioned as doing sufficient business in 1750 to require the employment of journeymen. He, like his brother Elisha, had military aspirations, and in the French and Indian War was a captain. He was a Representative, first in 1748, and several times thereafter. He married Elizabeth Fowle January 1, 1721, had fourteen children, and died June 5, 1763. His son Benjamin, born September 6, 1726, was probably the same who was town clerk at the opening of the Revolution, and who died in 1777.

SAMUEL NEWHALL, the youngest son of Joseph, and brother of Elisha, Daniel and Benjamin, was born March 9, 1700-1. He was adopted by his uncle, Thomas Farrar, who was a farmer, lived on Nahant Street, Lynn, and was a son of Thomas Farrar, known as "Old Pharaoh," who was one of those accused of witchcraft in 1692.

ASA TARBEL NEWHALL was born in Lynnfield June 28, 1779; his father, Asa, was born August 5, 1732; his grandfather, Thomas, was born January 6, 1681; his great-grandfather, Joseph, was born September 22, 1658, and was the first of the Lynnfield Newhalls; and his great-great-grandfather was Thomas, the first white person born in Lynn.

Mr. Newhall was bred a farmer, and followed the honorable occupation all his life. He was a close observer of the operations of nature, and brought to the notice of others divers facts of great benefit to the husbandman. He delivered one or two addresses at agricultural exhibitions, and published several papers which secured marked attention and elicited discussion. His mind was penetrating and possessed a happy mingling of the practical and theoretical; and he had sufficient energy and industry to insure results. Such a person will always make himself useful in the world, though he may be destitute of that kind of ambition which would place him in conspicuous positions.

He was liberal in his views, courteous in his manners; and by his sound judgment and unswerving integrity secured universal respect. In his earlier manhood he was somewhat active as a politician, and was judicious and trustworthy. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and a Senator in 1826. He was also a Representative in 1828.

His wife was Judith Little, of Newbury; and he had nine children—Joshua L., Asa T., Thomas B., Sallie M., Eunice A., Judith B., Caroline E., Hiram L. and Elizabeth B.

Mr. Newhall died at his residence, in the southeastern part of Lynnfield, on the 18th of December, 1850, aged seventy-one, and was buried with Masonic honors.

GENERAL JOSIAH NEWHALL was born in Lynnfield on the 6th of June, 1794, and was a lineal descendant from Thomas, the early Lynn settler, his nearer ancestor probably being Joseph, the first of the family who pitched his tent in Lynnfield.

The long and active life of General Newhall closed on the 26th of December, 1879. During several years of his earlier manhood he followed the profession of teaching, but, as time advanced, grew weary of that exacting employment, and retired to the more congenial one of agriculture. He however retained his love for study, and became quite proficient in some branches, his attainments bearing his fame even to the other side of the Atlantic, where, in 1876, he received the honor of being elected a fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain. He served in the War of 1812, and was afterwards much interested in military affairs, attaining the rank of brigadier-general in the Massachusetts militia. When General Lafayette reviewed the troops on Boston Common, during his visit to America in 1824, he was present in command of a regiment.

Lynnfield was incorporated as a separate town in 1814, and General Newhall was her first representative in the General Court. He served also in 1826-27 and again in 1848. During the administration of President Jackson he held an office in the Boston Custom-House. He also, at different times, filled important local offices. But his most congenial and satisfying resort was the honorable occupation of farmer

and horticulturist. There, the results of his experiments and suggestions were often of much value. He was kind-hearted, genial in manners and ever ready to lend a helping hand to the deserving who needed assistance. The last time the writer had the pleasure of meeting him was on the occasion of the celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Lynn, June 17, 1879. He seemed greatly to enjoy the proceedings, and as the open carriage in which he sat moved along in the procession, on that pleasant forenoon, was in fine spirits and highly interested in observing the many evidences of thrift and improvement.

His wife was Rachel C., a daughter of Timothy Bancroft. They were married October 28, 1824, and became the parents of nine children, only two of whom survived him. As has appeared, even from the little that has been said here, the early fathers and mothers of the Newhall family of Lynn did their full share to increase the native population. Perhaps no family is deserving of higher praise than this in that direction. And it is found that the name soon began to prevail far and near as emigration kept pace with the rolling tide of population, till at this day representatives are to be found in every part of our broad land, some in commanding positions; but the great multitude, as in all other families, plodding "along the cool, sequestered vale of life." Henry F. Waters, Esq., of Salem, has performed praiseworthy labor in gathering so much genealogical information in his little work entitled "The Newhall Family of Lynn, Massachusetts," collating it so carefully and presenting it in such intelligible form.

DOCTOR JOHN PERKINS.—Among the residents of Lynnfield who have from time to time adorned her history may be named Dr. John Perkins, who died in 1780, at the age of eighty-five. He was well educated, having studied two years in London, and practiced forty years in Boston. He was quite a scientist, and proposed some theories that attracted considerable attention among the savants of the day. The greatest earthquake ever known in New England occurred on the 18th of November, 1755, near the time when Lisbon was destroyed. The same year Dr. Perkins published a tract on earthquakes, probably induced by the terrible commotions of that time. Other writings of his received much commendation, especially an essay on the small-pox, published in the *London Magazine*. Vaccination, it will be borne in mind, was not then practiced. It is said he left a manuscript of three hundred and sixty-eight pages, containing an account of his life and experience. It would, however, probably have long since been published had it contained much of real value, as it was in the custody of the American Antiquarian Society. Among other things, it is alleged to have contained a long and particular relation of a singular encounter of wit between Jonathan Gowen, of Lynn, and Joseph Emerson, of Reading. They met by appoint-

ment at the tavern, in Saugus, and so great was the number of people that they removed to an adjacent field. The Reading champion was foiled, and went home in great chagrin. Dr. Perkins says that the exercise of Gowen's wit "was beyond all human imagination." But he afterward fell into such stupidity that the expression "You are as dull as Jonathan Gowen" became proverbial. This intellectual encounter seems to have been enjoyed by the neighbors of the champions almost as keenly as are the elevating yacht or even base-ball contests of our day.

The doctor appears to have been an interested observer of passing events, active and cheerful as well as prompt and efficient in the practice of his profession.

This Dr. Perkins has been mentioned in connection with the invention of the "Metallic Tractors," which were so much ridiculed by the profession at the time they were produced. But the inventor of them was quite another man, a Dr. Elisha Perkins, of Connecticut. He was a learned man, and one of much ability and boldness in experimenting; and proved his sincerity by going to New York in 1799, when the yellow fever was prevalent there, to test the virtue of a medicine he had prepared for its cure, and falling himself a victim to the disease.

DANIEL TOWNSEND, of Lynnfield, who was killed in the battle of Lexington, was a lineal descendant of Thomas Townsend, or Townshend, as he and others of the family sometimes spelled the name, who came to Lynn as early as 1635, and in the records is called a husbandman. He owned a lot of some seven acres, on the southerly side of Boston Street, a short distance west from Franklin; and upon this lot his dwelling is thought to have stood, though Mr. Lewis says he lived near the iron works, in the present bounds of Saugus. Perhaps he lived in both neighborhoods, for he is known to have owned lands near the southwesterly border of Lynnfield, and in other places. He died December 22, 1677, at about the age of seventy-seven years. His son John was a wheelwright, and belonged to the church in Reading, though he seems always to have been called of Lynn. Perhaps the Reading church was more convenient to his home than that of Lynn. He died December 14, 1726, leaving a son, Daniel, born April 1, 1700. And this Daniel was father of the Daniel who is the subject of this notice, and was one of the first to lay down his life in the great struggle for American independence.

The Townshends were an ancient and celebrated family, whose seat had, from time immemorial, been in Norfolk, England, near the town of King's Lynn, from which our own Lynn received its name, through Rev. Mr. Whiting, who at one time was chaplain to Sir Roger Townshend. And for many generations they maintained their lordly position.

On the 24th of May, 1723, Charles Townshend was by writ, says Mackerell, "called up to the House of

Peers by the style and title of the most Noble and Right Honorable Charles Townshend, Lord Lynn, of Lynn Regis, in the County of Norfolk."

It would hardly be in place here to attempt an enumeration of the many statesmen and military heroes who have made the name of Townsend illustrious, or at least conspicuous, in the Old World. One or two, however, whose names became connected with American affairs, may be named. There was Marquis George Townsend, eldest son of the third viscount, who commanded a division under Wolfe in the Canada expedition, and after the death of Wolfe took command, and received the capitulation. He subsequently rose to the highest rank in the British army, was an active member of Parliament, and a Privy Councillor. His younger brother, Charles, though a statesman of acknowledged ability, was evidently extremely fond of popularity; insomuch that he seems at times to have been on either side of the American cause during the agitating times immediately preceding our Revolution. It was he who introduced the resolutions that did much to precipitate the war, the resolutions imposing a duty on glass, tea, paper and certain other articles. Macaulay says of him: "He was a man of splendid talents, of lax principles and of boundless vanity and presumption."

But enough of the foreign pedigree. Although it may be well to mention that in the ancient church of St. Margaret, in King's Lynn, the stately edifice in which devout worshippers have been accustomed to assemble for almost eight hundred years, and from which was taken the time-worn stone now in the vestibule of St. Stephen's in our own Lynn, there is a black marble in the north alley, bearing this inscription: "Here lieth the Body of Mr. James Townshend, who was Organist of this Church 36 Years, and died the 8th of Jan. 1724. Aged 54 Years. Also Elizabeth, his Mother, who died the 21st of April, 1733. Aged 84 Years."

The American branch of the Townsend family can boast of a full share of such as became conspicuous in various departments—of poets, scientists, legislators, and especially those who shone in the military calling. And in the circumscribed sphere of village life were many whose virtues might have adorned any position. Of this latter class seems to have been Daniel Townsend, whose memory has occasioned this notice, and who met a patriot's death at Lexington on that pregnant April day in 1775. His life was not an ambitious or adventurous one, and not much can be gathered of his history. He was born December 26, 1738, and consequently, at the time of his death, was in the prime of life. He left a wife and five young children; was sober and industrious, pious and a consistent member of the Lynnfield church. He was prompt at the call of duty on that memorable morning, and with the company of minute-men reached the scene of action soon after daylight. Mr.

Lewis says Townsend was with Timothy Munroe, another Lynn man, standing behind a house "firing at the British troops, as they were coming down the road, in their retreat toward Boston. Townsend had just fired, and exclaimed, 'There is another redcoat down,' when Munroe, looking round, saw, to his astonishment, that they were completely hemmed in by the flank-guard of the British army, who were coming down through the fields behind them. They immediately ran into the house, and sought for the cellar; but no cellar was there. They looked for a closet, but there was none. All this time, which was indeed but a moment, the balls were pouring through the back windows, making havoc of the glass. Townsend leaped through the end window, carrying the sash and all with him, and instantly fell dead. Munroe followed, and ran for his life. He passed for a long distance between both parties, many of whom discharged their guns at him. As he passed the last soldier, who stopped to fire, he heard the redcoat exclaim, 'Damn the Yankee! he is bullet-proof—let him go!' Mr. Munroe had one ball through his leg, and thirty-two bullet-holes through his clothes and hat. Even the metal buttons of his waistcoat were shot off." Townsend was found to have had seven bullets through his body. His remains were taken to Lynnfield, and "lay the next night," says Captain C. H. Townsend, "in the Bancroft house, where the blood-stains remain on the old oaken floor to this day" [1875]. The *Essex Gazette*, of May 2d, in a brief obituary, speaks of him as having been a constant and ready friend to the poor and afflicted; a good adviser in cases of difficulty; a mild, sincere and able reprover. In short, it adds, "he was a friend to his country, a blessing to society, and an ornament to the church of which he was a member." And then are added, as original, the lines given below. The notice and lines were written by some sympathizing friend, the latter being transferred to the stone when erected, some time after, at his grave:

"Lie, valiant Townsend, in the peaceful shades; we trust,
Immortal honors mingle with thy dust.
What though thy body struggled in its gore?
So did thy Saviour's body, long before;
And as he raised his own, by power divine,
So the same power shall also quicken thine,
And in eternal glory mayst thou shine."

To show with what alacrity the rural population responded to their country's call, it may be remarked that thirty-one towns were represented on that dawning day of the Revolution. The loss upon the side of the British was much greater than on the side of the Americans,—a fact that may be accounted for in various ways, without supposing cowardice or remissness on either side. On the part of the British, seventy-three were killed, one hundred and seventy-two wounded and twenty-six missing. On the part of the Americans, forty-nine were killed, thirty-six wounded and five missing.

John P. Townsend, of New York, and Captain

Charles H. Townsend, of New Haven, have published much valuable matter pertaining to the family history, collected both here and in England, for which labor of love they deserve many thanks. Whether the family here have kept up a correspondence with their English cousins is not known. Perhaps in some future generation, one of those agitating dreams of an immense fortune waiting in England for American heirs may be entertained by some ambitious one of the line; if so, it is to be hoped that it may not, like so many similar dreams, prove but alluring romance.

THOMAS WOODWARD.—Mr. Woodward was well known by the shoemaking fraternity of fifty years ago throughout this region by his famous awls. He was born in Lynnfield in 1773, and died in 1860, at the great age of eighty-seven years. His manufactory was in that part of Reading now known as Wakefield. He was a remarkably ingenious mechanic, and has been credited with a number of useful inventions. The Emerson razor-strop, which was so popular fifty years ago, when men generally kept their faces closely shaved, is said to have been a device of his. But his ingenuity does not seem to have been directed to any achievement of much magnitude, as was that of his neighbor, Dixon. His awls, however, though not strictly an invention, gave him a name and a substantial income, and probably, in a negative way, had a saving effect on the morals of many an operative who, irritated by the brittleness or rough movement of other awls, might be led to call in the aid of lubricating profanity. Mr. Eaton, in his "History of Reading," says of Mr. Woodward: "He was an honest, industrious and kind-hearted man, but possessed some peculiarities of character. He had an inquiring and rather credulous mind; any new idea, either in physic, physics or ethics, he was ever ready to adopt, and if he thought it valuable, he was disposed to pursue it with great sincerity and pertinacity of purpose; hence we find him ever trying some new experiment in manufacturing, using some newly-invented pills or cordial, making a 'tincture' that becomes, and still continues, a popular medicine; becoming an anti-Mason and abolitionist of the most approved patterns, and an honest and sincere believer in Millerism. He was, however, a very useful citizen. He lived to be aged, and his body outlived his mind."

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

NEWBURYPORT TURNPIKE.—The turnpike from Newburyport to Boston was finished in 1806 at a cost of four hundred and twenty thousand dollars. But it did not prove a successful enterprise pecuniarily. A few stages ran over it, but not much of the travel was diverted from the large seaboard settlements. It ran through the southerly section of Lynnfield, and was expected to bring great prosperity to the place. Disappointment followed. The capacious and well-appointed hotel was built, and for many years, in-

deed excepting a few intervals of private occupancy, till the present time, has furnished a pleasant resort for summer visitors as well as winter parties. The surroundings are picturesque, one of the most charming features being the beautiful pond near the border of which it stands. The drives in all directions are attractive, and the quiet all that the most retiring can desire. Lynnfield Hotel (South Village) is four miles and two hundred and eighty rods from Central Square, Lynn.

FIRES IN THE WOODS.—During her whole history Lynnfield has periodically been subjected to extensive fires in her woods. Down to the present day such fires occur, frequently in the most mysterious way. And it has been suggested, perhaps with some reason, that under peculiar circumstances the pitch exuding from a pine may accumulate in such a manner as to act as a lens, and in an excessively hot sun so concentrate the rays as to produce fire. From the earliest times the attention of the authorities has been directed to this matter. But though legislation has done something, it has never succeeded in suppressing the dreaded evil, and never will while friction matches continue to be used, and careless boys, heedless smokers and thoughtless gunners range the woods. In November, 1646, the General Court passed this order concerning "kindlinge fires in wuds": "Whosoever shall kindle any fires in y^e woods, before y^e 10th day of y^e first mo." [March] "or after y^e last day of y^e 2th mo., or on y^e last day of the weeke, or Lords day, shall pay all damages y^e any person shall loose thereby, & halfe so much to y^e comon treasury." And the same year the court generously allowed the use of "tobacco," under certain restrictions, saying, "It shalbe lawfull for any man y^e is on his journey (remote from any house five miles) to take tobacco, so that thereby hee sets not y^e woods on fire to y^e damage of any man."

During the severe drought which prevailed in 1864 very destructive forest fires raged. And also during the severer drought of the next year, 1865, which continued from July 5th to October 15th. And almost every season many acres are burned over, destroying not only standing wood, but that cut and corded. The Massachusetts Legislature, in 1885-86, passed "An Act for the better protection of Forests from Fires," and it is hoped that the provisions will be energetically enforced; if they are, some good may result.

OLD CURRENCY.—About the close of the Revolution, the currency, what there was of it, was in a sad state of confusion. The Continental money, so called, the paper issued by Congress, had depreciated to such a degree that a thousand dollars of it were sold for less than twenty dollars in silver. Mr. Lewis gives the following description of different denominations of these fiscal pledges, many of which are still preserved among antiquarian collections. Doubtless many specimens are to be found among the old Lynn-

field families. The pieces of paper were about two inches square: "The one-dollar bills had an altar with the words *depressa resurgit*, the oppressed rises. The two-dollar bills bore a hand, making a circle with compasses, with the motto, *tribulatio dicitur*, trouble enriches. The device of the three-dollar bills was an eagle pouncing upon a crane, who was biting the eagle's neck, with the motto, *ecitus in dubio*, the event is doubtful. On the five-dollar bills was a hand grasping a thorn bush, with the inscription *sustine vel abstersine*, hold fast or touch not. The six-dollar bills represented a beaver felling a tree, with the word *perseverando*, by perseverance we prosper. Another emission bore an anchor, with the words, *In te Domine speramus*, In thee, Lord, have I trusted. The eight-dollar bills displayed a harp, with the motto *majora minoribus consonant*, the great harmonize with the little. The thirty-dollar bills exhibited a wreath on an altar, with the legend, *si recte facies*, if you do right you will succeed." In a few years, however, the government succeeded in so regulating matters that confidence began to be felt. And soon after Albert Gallatin, who was perhaps the most able financier of the age, was called to the Treasury Department, things began to wear an encouraging aspect. But still there remained for many years a great diversity in the mode of reckoning, if not in real values, in different sections of the country; and the coins in circulation were variously denominated. But little was as yet coined here, and the chief silver in circulation, down to a time quite within the recollection of multitudes now living, was Spanish. Who does not remember the four-pence-halfpennies (6½ cents), the nine-pences (12½ cents), the pistareens (at first 20 cents, and then suddenly reduced to 17 cents)?

GOLD AND PAPER CURRENCY.—In this connection, perhaps as appropriately as in any other, a word may be said regarding the value changes in the currency consequent on our late Civil War. On the 17th of December, 1878, for the first time in sixteen years, gold stood at par,—that is, \$100 in gold were worth just \$100 in greenback government notes. The extreme of variation was on July 11, 1864, when \$100 in gold were worth \$285 in bank bills. From this last date the difference in values began slowly to fade away. In the gold room of the New York Stock Exchange there was much enthusiasm manifested on the day when par was reached, and great cheering.

SIAMESE TWINS.—During the warm season of 1831 the famous Siamese twins, Chang and Eng, so mysteriously united in person, were for a short time rusticated in Lynnfield. It was about the time that they were first exhibited in this vicinity. They were one day out on a gunning excursion, and becoming so irritated by being followed and stared at by men and boys, they committed a breach of the peace, were taken before a magistrate and put under bonds. It came near becoming a serious question how one could be punished by imprisonment, should it come to that,

if the other were innocent. The difficulty vanished, however, when it appeared that both were guilty. They died in North Carolina in the winter of 1873, within two hours of each other, aged sixty-three years.

PRIZE-FIGHTERS.—Edward O'Baldwin, known as the Irish Giant, and Joseph Warmuld, an Englishman, noted prize-fighters, were arrested by the police just as they had commenced a battle in Lynnfield, on the morning of October 29, 1868. A crowd of those who delight in such demoralizing contests had assembled from Boston and neighboring places, but they very suddenly dispersed in dismay when the police appeared. O'Baldwin and Warmuld were arraigned before the Lynn Police Court and bound over for the action of the grand jury. The former was finally sentenced to the House of Correction for two years, but the latter escaped, forfeiting his bail.

GOLDEN SPIKE.—May 10, 1869, was the day on which the last spike was driven in completion of the first continuous railroad line connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. It was an eventful occasion, far away there in the Rocky Mountain shadows, and drew together many prominent persons from different parts of the country. The spike was of solid gold, and what renders the occurrence of special interest to the people of Lynnfield is the fact that it was driven by David Hewes, a native of the town, and a contractor on the road. It was, however, soon withdrawn and deposited in a museum in San Francisco, under the well-grounded apprehension that if allowed to remain, some straying traveler, curious or covetous, would appropriate it.

EPIZOOTIC.—A strange disease called epizootic prevailed among horses during the latter part of the autumn of 1872; so many were disabled that such wheel-vehicles as were drawn by horses almost ceased to run. In Boston the United States mail was carried to and from the post-office in ox-teams. Various expedients were resorted to. Goats and dogs, in many instances, were harnessed for labor; and sometimes men and boys undertook the duties of the disabled animals. The disease was not usually fatal, but such as survived were left in a weakened condition.

SURPLUS REVENUE.—In 1837 the surplus United States revenue was distributed. The amount received by Lynnfield was \$1328.29, and it was appropriated to the payment of the town debt. Other towns, by vote, devoted their shares to different purposes, some even distributing it per capita. Saugus received \$3500, and appropriated it to the building of a town-hall. Lynn received \$14,879.00, and applied it to the payment of the town debt. Judging from present appearances, it will be a long time before the municipalities will receive another such dividend.

FOREST HILL CEMETERY.—This endeared resting-place for the dead was consecrated on the 14th of October, 1856. Addresses were delivered by Rev. Edwin R. Hodgman, of the Trinitarian Congregational

Church, Centre Village, and Rev. Ariel P. Chute, of the South Village Church.

FARM PRODUCTS—MANUFACTURES—STATISTICS.
—Lynnfield is essentially a farming town, and certainly an industrious one, as the following items from the latest returns show.

FARM PRODUCTS.

Number of farms.....	55
Tons of hay raised.....	970
Gallons of milk.....	141,329
Pounds of butter.....	5,228
Ducens of eggs.....	18,486
Bushels of potatoes (on 36 acres).....	3,622
Bushels of Indian corn (on 48 acres).....	1,809
Total value of products.....	\$64,415

MANUFACTURES.

Average number of employees (males, 41; females, 33).....	74
Wages paid during the year.....	\$25,000
Capital invested.....	12,300
Stock used.....	70,350
Value of products.....	120,500

Boots and Shoes.—Included in the above is that of boots and shoes, the productive value of which is much larger than that of all the other manufactures combined, and foots up as follows :

Average number of employees (males, 35; females 33).....	68
Total wages paid during the year.....	\$23,800
Capital invested.....	6,300
Value of stock.....	67,000
Value of products.....	112,500

POPULATION.—The population at different periods is shown by the following short table :

Years	1820.	1850.	1870.	1885.
Population	596	1723	818	706

In 1885 the number of families was 185; number of ratable polls, 245; number of voters, 180; number of dwelling-houses, 167.

SCHOOLS.—There are three public schools, known as Centre School, South Grammar School and South Primary. Expenditures for schools during the year ending March 1, 1887, \$1235.20. Whole number of scholars, May 1, 1886, between the ages of five and fifteen, 115.

TOWN EXPENSES.—The town expenses for year ending March 1, 1887, amounted to \$7949.42, divided as follows: Highways, \$1423.70; schools, \$1603.82; town officers, \$432.90; miscellaneous, \$245.05; State and county tax, \$1036.15; printing, \$70.10; State aid, \$216; abatements, \$42.32; interest and debt, \$1710; poor, \$1044.56; discount on taxes, \$123.82.

VALUATION AND TAXATION.—The total valuation for 1886 was \$545,964; real estate, \$474,097; personal, \$718,67; rate of taxation, \$9 on \$1000.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS, 1886.—Births, 11—4 males, 7 females. Marriages, 17. Deaths, 15—5 males, 10 females; four were over 80 years old; Rev. Jacob Hood was 94 and Sophia N. Hood 90, lacking a month.

Representatives.

1826-27. Josiah Newhall.	1844. Enoch Russell.
1828. Am. T. Newhall.	1848. Josiah Newhall.
1829-32. John Upton, Jr.	1850-51. William Skinner, Jr.
1832. Bowman Viles.	1852-53. John Danforth, Jr.
1833. John Upton, Jr.	1856-57. David A. Titcomb.
1834-35. Joshua Hewes.	1860. John Danforth.
1836. John Perkins, Jr.	1865. George I. Hawkes.
1837. William Perkins.	1869. James Hewes.
1838-41. David N. Swasey.	1874. Wm. R. Roundy.
1841. James Jackson.	1881. Andrew Mansfield.
1843. Joshua Hewes.	

Town Clerks.

1814. John Upton, Jr.	1841. Andrew Mansfield, Jr.
1818. Andrew Mansfield.	1842. Joshua Hewes.
1823. Bowman Viles.	1843. Andrew Mansfield, Jr.
1832. John Upton, Jr.	1844. John Perkins, Jr.
1833. Bowman Viles.	1857. John Danforth, Jr.
1834. Andrew Mansfield, Jr.	1878. Francis P. Russell.
1837. Joshua Hewes.	

Postmasters.

[South Village.]

Office established May 25, 1836.

1836. Theron Palmer.	1855. Henry W. Swasey.
1839. Charles Spinney.	1869. James Jackson.
1852. James W. Church.	

[Centre Village.]

Office established August 1, 1848.

1848. George F. Whittridge.	1868. Levi H. Russell.
1851. Samuel N. Newcomb.	1874. Francis P. Russell.
1856. Jonathan Bryant.	

RECAPITULATION AND HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

1635. May 6th, the General Court grants to John Humfrey five hundred acres of land, including what is now called Lynnfield Pond, or Humfrey's Pond, or Suttaug Lake.

1639. March 13th, "Linn was granted six miles into the country," by the court. This was the territory now forming Lynnfield and parts of adjacent towns, and was long called Lynn End.

1658. September 22d, Joseph Newhall, the first settler in Lynnfield of the name of Newhall, is born in Lynn. He was the father of eleven children, all of whom survived him; was known as Eusign Newhall; was a Representative in the General Court; and in January, 1706, perished in a great snow-storm, on his way from Boston.

1696. The winter of this year was the coldest for more than fifty years, and occasioned much suffering.

1706. Division of public lands among the settlers.

1712. November 17th, Lynnfield set off from Lynn as a separate parish.

1715. First meeting-house in Lynnfield built.

1719. December 17th, Northern lights observed for the first time. People greatly alarmed, some declaring that they could hear a rustling.

1720. August 17th, First Church of Lynnfield (the second of Lynn) formed, and Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk installed.

1730. August 31st, Andrew Mansfield killed in a well, by a stone falling on his head.

1731. November 24th, Rev. Stephen Chase, second minister of Lynnfield Parish, settled.

1732. May 7th, Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk, first minister, died, aged thirty-eight.

1733. The following entry appears on the Lynnfield Church records: "December 20, 1733, att a chh meeting, Voted that every communicant of this church shall pay three pence every sacrament day, in order to make provision for the Lord's table."

1749. Hot summer. Great drought. Multitudes of grasshoppers.

1755. November 5th, Rev. Benjamin Adams, third minister of Lynnfield Parish, settled. The most severe earthquake ever felt in New England occurred November 18th.

1759. Died in Lynnfield, June 4th, Margaret, wife of John Briant, of "something supposed to breed in her brain," as the church record says.

1764. On the public records of Lynn appears the following. It no doubt refers to a marriage that took place in Lynnfield Parish, as the Rev. Mr. Adams was minister there at the time, and Gowing was an early Lynnfield name: "Married, Daniel Gowing to Mary Bowers, Dec. 25, 1764, by Rev. Mr. Adams." And it is added that the bride was clothed only in a sheet and undergarment, and those "she borrowed." Probably the bride appeared in that remarkable outfit under the apprehension that if she brought nothing to her husband he could not be held for any debt of hers. But why might she not have borrowed a gown as well as the other articles? Or could it have been a Christmas frolic? Perhaps she was a widow and that her former husband died in debt, for it appears that by an old "legal custom" the new husband could in such case be held responsible for the liabilities of his marital predecessor. At all events, such was the reason given regarding a marriage that took place in Salem, April 21, 1818, where the record says the bride was even less clothed "while the ceremony was performed."

1766. June 22d. Ensign Ebenezer Newhall, aged seventy-three, died "of something supposed to breed within him."

1772. Extraordinary amount of snow in March. Storms on the 5th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 16th and 20th. In sixteen days there fell about five feet on a level. On the second Friday in April so violent a storm occurred that drifts twelve feet deep accumulated.

1775. April 19th. Battle of Lexington; Daniel Townsend, of Lynnfield, killed.

1780. May 19th. The memorable dark day, which extended all over New England, creating great alarm. The darkness was so great that at noon houses were lighted as at night. And the succeeding night was of indescribable darkness, many declaring that it could be felt. The occurrence has never been satisfactorily accounted for. The great astronomer, Herschel, said of it: "The dark day in Northern America was one of those wonderful phenomena of nature which will always be read of with interest, but which philosophy is at a loss to explain." Dr. John Perkins, of Lynnfield, a learned physician and author died, aged eighty-five.

1782. Lynnfield Parish made a district, September 24th. Rev. Joseph Mottey, fourth minister of Lynnfield, settled.

1786. Certain memoranda by Mr. Sparhawk, of Lynnfield, in an interleaved almanac of this year, are of interest in various ways. The mode of reckoning the currency is illustrated in this: "January y^e 30th. Bought two piggs by y^e hand of Mr. Reed, the barrow weighing 62 pounds, at five pence per pound . . . the other weighing 54 pounds att five pence per pound;" the whole amounting to "two pound, eight shillings and two pence—which is eight dollars and two pence." The following relates to the installation of Rev. Obadiah Parsons over the First Parish of Lynn: "Feb. y^e 4th: Then was Installed att y^e Old Parish, in Lynn, Mr. Obadiah Parsons. Y^e Revnd mr Cleaveland of Ipswich began with prayer, y^e Revnd mr. Forbes of Capan preached the sermon, y^e Revnd mr. Roby, of Lynn 3d parish, gave the charge, y^e Revnd mr. Payson, of Chelsea, made the concluding prayer, and the Revnd mr. Smith, of Middleton, gave the right hand of fellowship. The gentleman above mentioned was settled in peace, harmony, and concord." Still another memorandum says: "From y^e 14th of June until the 13th of July, a very dry time. And upon y^e 14th of July, early in the morning, Jove thundered to the left and all Olympus trembled att his nod. The sun about an hour high; a beautiful refreshing shower. Again, July y^e 15th, the latter part of y^e night, Jove thundered to the left, three times, and Olympus trembled. A shower followed." It will be observed that these memoranda were not made by Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk, the first minister of Lynnfield, as one or two historical writers have stated, as he died more than fifty years before.

1788. John Burnham chosen a delegate to the convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States.

1794. Early part of the winter unusually mild. Thermometer on Christmas day reached eighty degrees in the open air. Water in the ponds sufficiently warm for boys to bathe.

1800. June 11th, Samuel Dyer, a gentleman from Boston, drowned in Humfrey's Pond.

1803. May. Snow-storm; fruit trees being in blossom.

1804. July. Snow fell this month.

1806. Newburyport and Boston Turnpike completed at a cost of four hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

1814. Lynnfield incorporated as a separate town.

1815. September 23d, terrific southeasterly gale; ocean spray driven as far inland as Lynnfield.

1820. Asa T. Newhall elected a member of the Convention for revising the State Constitution.

1824. January 21st, Rev. Joseph Scarl, fifth minister of Lynnfield, settled. He was the last preacher of the old Puritanical faith settled over the first society, his successor, Rev. Luther Walcott, being a Universalist.

1833. November 13th, extraordinary shower of meteors. It occurred early in the morning, and continued several hours. As computed by Arago, not less than two hundred and forty thousand, some of great brilliancy, were at one time visible above the horizon of Boston. They radiated from a point near the zenith, and shot forth with great velocity, bending their course towards the horizon; were of various sizes, with well-defined trains. Their bodies were not very dense, and though some explosions were heard, most of them rushed noiselessly onward. The "shower," if so it should be called, extended all over the United States; indeed, over the whole of North America, if not over the whole world, invisible in some places on account of sunlight or clouds. No entirely satisfactory explanation has yet been given. It has, however, been ascertained that similar occurrences take place periodically, though there is no record of any that approached this in brilliancy.

1837. Surplus United States revenue distributed. Lynnfield received \$1328.29, and applied it to payment of town debt.

1840. January 4th, the house of Widow Betsey Newhall, in the South Village, burned.

1842. September 23d, the house of Warren Newhall, in the Centre Village, burned.

1843. Splendid comet; first seen about noonday, February 1st.

1850. A son of Joseph Ramsdell, aged ten, killed a rattlesnake in July, measuring five feet in length and having eleven rattles. A tornado passed through the westerly part of the town, about three in the afternoon, August 1st, sweeping all in its path. Its track was but a few rods in width, and fortunately no buildings stood therein. August 15th, thirteen persons of a picnic party drowned in Lynnfield Pond. August 31st, railroad through South Village opened. December 18th, Ann T. Newhall died, aged seventy-one, and was buried with Masonic honors.

1852. November 26th, first church-bell in Lynnfield raised, on the South Village Church.

1853. James Hewes elected a member of the convention for revising the State Constitution.

1854. Railroad through Lynnfield Centre opened October 23d. Boundary line between Lynnfield and Reading established. There was a long and unusually beautiful period of Indian summer, ending October 28th.

1856. October 4, Forest Hill Cemetery consecrated.

1857. Boundary line between Lynnfield and North Reading changed.

1858. Magnificent comet (Donati's) visible in the northwest, at evening, for several weeks, in the autumn. The tail was determined to be, on the 10th of October, fifty-one millions of miles in length.

1859. August 28th, brilliant display of northern lights; whole heavens covered. November 18th, large barn of John Mansfield, South Village, burned, two yoke of oxen and two horses perishing.

1860. Thomas Woodward, a native of Lynnfield, manufacturer of the celebrated Woodward awls, died, aged eighty-seven years. June 29th, the meeting-house in South Village was struck by lightning during a severe thunder-storm of three hours' duration. July 18th, muster of Essex County fire companies in Lynnfield.

1861. The great Civil War commenced early in April. Lynnfield furnished sixty soldiers. John P. Mead was mortally wounded at the battle of Bull Run, July 21st. A military encampment was formed in the South Village and a number of regiments there drilled preparatory to leaving for the seat of war. July 2d, a splendid comet suddenly appeared. It was a little west of north, extended from the horizon to the zenith and moved with extraordinary rapidity; insomuch that it was visible but few nights.

1862. May 4th, Captain Henry Bancroft's barn burned, together with carriage-house and other out-buildings. A horse and several cows perished.

1865. January 17th, Dr. Thomas Keenan, a skillful physician and much esteemed citizen, died, aged sixty-one years. He was an Irishman by birth and served as a surgeon in the British army before coming here. The town, at their next annual meeting, passed resolutions of respect for his memory. April 3d, news of the fall of Richmond received. April 15th, news of the assassination of President Lincoln received. During September destructive fires raged in the woods, the weather being very dry and warm.

1866. June 22d, bell on church in Centre Village raised; weight, eight hundred and thirty pounds.

1867. January 17th, a terrible snow-storm.

1868. During the summer a Lynnfield farmer killed thirteen rattlesnakes.

1869. April 15th, in the evening there was a magnificent display of beautifully tinted aurora borealis. During the month of September Captain Henry Bancroft graded the common land belonging to the First Congregational Society, and known as the "Common," at the cost of about thirteen hundred dollars, bearing all the expense himself. September 8th, severe gale in the afternoon, next in violence to that of September 23, 1815. A multitude of trees uprooted.

1870. October 20th, a very perceptible earthquake shock felt at about half-past eleven in the forenoon.

1871. December 18th, old mill on Saugus River, near residence of George L. Hawkes, burned. Tradition says the privilege was an ancient grant by the King of England, to ensure the grinding of grain.

1872. The summer of this year was remarkable for the frequency and severity of its thunder-storms.

1873. English sparrows began to make their presence known hereabout this year—probably the progeny of those imported into Boston. It was believed that they would benefit agriculturists by destroying ravaging insects, but they did not fulfill expectations, and were soon declared worthless.

1874. March, a Lynnfield lady gives birth to three

children at one time, making up a family of four infants, under the age of thirteen months, and eight children, all under twelve years. The parents, not being in very prosperous pecuniary circumstances, were deservedly the recipients of many useful gifts.

1876. The destructive potato bug or Colorado beetle first appears in this vicinity.

1879. December 26th, General Josiah Newhall died, aged eighty-five years. He was Lynnfield's first representative in the General Court.

1881. September 6th, the yellow day, so called. Early in the afternoon the air assumed a dim, brassy hue. The obscuration was so great that common newspaper print could not be easily read without artificial light; the faces of people were of a light saffron hue, and the grass and foliage had a marked golden tinge. The day was close and warm and the smell of smoke very perceptible. September 20th, news of the death of President Garfield received. He was shot by C. J. Guiteau, July 2d.

1882. During the latter part of the summer an extraordinary drought prevailed; crops were almost ruined, and in some places the landscape had a scorched appearance. A splendid comet was visible in the southeast for several weeks in October. It rose two or three hours before the sun; its speed was almost inconceivable and the nucleus had the appearance of partial disruption, as if it had met with some violent collision.

1885. July 23d, President Grant dies. News of his death received the same day.

1886. January 17th, Rev. Jacob Hood died, aged ninety-four years.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

GENERAL JOSIAH NEWHALL.

General Josiah Newhall was born in Lynnfield June 6, 1794, and was a lineal descendant of Thomas Newhall, the first white person born in Lynn, who was himself the son of Thomas Newhall, who came from England in 1630, and was the progenitor of the Newhalls of Lynn.

General Newhall's occupation was a farmer and horticulturist, his interest in these pursuits leading him to become one of the founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. During the war of 1812 he served in the American army. It was owing, perhaps, to his early experience in bearing arms that he became active in the State militia. In 1824 he commanded a regiment of nine companies which was among the forces reviewed on Boston Common by General Lafayette, at the time of his visit to Boston in 1824. Subsequently, he rose to the rank of Brigadier-general, and was six years in command of the First Brigade. He was also active in civil affairs.

Under the administration of General Jackson he was several years connected with the Boston custom-house. He was the first Representative elected to the General Court from Lynnfield after the incorporation of that town, and served in the Legislatures of 1826, 1827 and 1848. He was prominent in town affairs and served as chairman of school committee twenty-two years.

In November, 1876, General Newhall was elected a member of the Royal Historical Society of London and Great Britain.

General Newhall died December 26, 1879.

JOHN PERKINS.

Captain Perkins was born in the northwesterly part of Lynnfield, on the 18th of July, 1806. His father and grandfather were respectable and thrifty farmers; and farming has been his own life-occupation.

The Perkins family probably settled here somewhere about the year 1650. It is found that Luke Perkins was a soldier in the King Philip War, and marched against the Indians in 1675. He was a pious man, and before departure requested Mr. Cobbet, then of Ipswich, but previously of Lynn, a minister famed for his fervency in prayer, to pray for the safety of the detachment. And it is added, "they all returned in safety."

John Perkins, a later ancestor, married, August 29, 1695, Anna Hutchinson, and had five children,—Anna, John, Elizabeth, Mary and William. Elizabeth became the wife of Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk, who graduated at Harvard in 1715, studied divinity and was settled over the Lynnfield Parish, as its first minister, August 17, 1720. He had four children,—Elizabeth, Nathaniel, Edward Perkins and John. Of these, Edward seems to have become somewhat noted, and was the first person appearing on the Lynn records with three names, the fashion of giving two baptismal names then just beginning. The son John became a physician in Philadelphia.

Another of the family was Dr. John Perkins, who was born in 1695, and lived to the age of eighty-five, having spent much of his life in other homes. He was a skillful practitioner, but perhaps most widely known by his literary and scientific writings. He was well educated, having studied two years in London. And many years practice in Boston gave him an experience and reputation excelled by few physicians of the period. Some further notice of him appears in the historical sketch of Lynnfield.

It is sufficient, in this connection, to add that the Perkins family of Lynnfield has all along maintained a most respectable position. With few exceptions they have been prosperous and highly regarded.

The present Captain John Perkins, whose portrait accompanies this brief sketch, and who gained his title many years since by being commander of a



J. Newhall





Eng^d by A. H. Fatchie

John Perkins



military company, has led a quiet, unostentatious, but useful life. He has been a selectman, assessor and overseer of the poor more than twenty years, and for several years town clerk. He has likewise held a commission as justice of the peace twenty-one years, and represented the town in the General Court. His good judgment and neighborly kindness has always been much in requisition for the guidance and assistance of his less qualified neighbors. And in the settlement of estates of deceased persons, and as guardian of minors, his services and sympathies have been highly appreciated.

Captain Perkins was joined in marriage April 22, 1830, with Catharine S. Sweetser, of South Reading (now Wakefield), and they became the parents of five children,—Catherine E., born May 16, 1832; John H., born December 8, 1833; Mary F., born November 14, 1837; Addia J., born September 13, 1845; and Clara A., born July 17, 1849. All the children are now, 1887, living, excepting Mary Frances, the second daughter.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SAUGUS.

BY WILBUR F. NEWHALL, ESQ.

Situation—Boundaries—Area—River—Settlement—Set off from Lynn—Population—Saugus Centre—Liftable—East Saugus—North Saugus—Oaklandsale—Geology—Town Meetings—Town House—Almshouse—Cemetery—New Town Hall—East Saugus set off—Water-Pipes—Town Clerks—Representatives—Valuation, Taxation—Polls—Post-Office.

SITUATION.—Saugus is situated in the very southern corner of Essex County.

Should you open before you a map of the county, you will notice that its general shape is a square of about twenty-three miles on each side, with its opposite corners or diagonals pointing north and south and east and west. At the very southern corner you will find the township of Saugus. It is five and six-tenths miles long north and south, with a trend somewhat west of north, and two and four-tenths miles average width.

BOUNDARIES.—It is bounded northerly by Lynnfield and Wakefield, easterly by the city of Lynn, southerly by Revere and westerly by Revere, Melrose and Wakefield.

AREA.—Its area is about thirteen and one-half square miles, of which about two and a quarter square miles are salt marsh, occupying the very southern end of the township, and only separated from Massachusetts Bay by the narrow strip of land known as Revere Beach. Situated only nine miles from Boston, you will see at once that the traffic and travel to and with Boston of the whole county must largely

pass over some portion of its territory. Before A.D., 1800 Boston Street, or the old Boston road, so called, was the only thoroughfare. Soon after this the Salem turnpike and the Newburyport turnpike were built, and in 1838 the Eastern Railroad was opened for travel; and these now remain the only avenues of communication, through our town, with Boston for the county of Essex.

Saugus is an Indian name, and, as near as can be now ascertained, signifies "extended," suggested, no doubt, by its broad salt marshes.

The Indians applied this name to the whole territory lying between Boston on the south and Salem on the north.

The Indian name of our beautiful river was "Abousett," and it is to be regretted that this name was ever dropped; but the white settlers fell into the custom of calling it the river at Saugus, and finally, very naturally, Saugus River; thus it was we lost the beautiful Indian name of our river.

Our river takes its rise in Quannapowitt Lake, in Wakefield, passes through the broad meadows of Lynnfield and enters midway our northern boundary, when, continuing its southerly course through North Saugus to Saugus Centre, where just below Scott's factory, it meets the tide-water and thence flows in its crooked course through the narrow salt marshes southerly one mile to East Saugus, where it reaches, and thence becomes, the easterly boundary of the town for the remainder of its course to the sea.

SETTLEMENT.—The first political status of Saugus is found, October 19, 1630, when John Taylor was admitted freeman to the General Court.

In 1634 Nathaniel Turner, Edward Tomlins and Thomas Willis were Representatives from Saugus to the first Legislature.

In 1636 towns were given authority to choose not more than seven "prudential men" to manage town business.

At that time Saugus not only comprised its present territory, but also that which now forms the city of Lynn and towns of Swampscott, Lynnfield, Reading, Wakefield and Nahant.

But the early settlers, evidently dissatisfied with the Indian name of Saugus, very soon sought to find some more familiar name, and very naturally recalling the old English town of Lynn, from which, no doubt, some of them emigrated, it was decided to change the name; and the Legislature granted their petition, for, November 15, 1637, we find on its records an enactment, said to be the shortest ever passed, as follows: "Saugust is called Lin."

Thus it was that our name was set aside, so to continue until February 17, 1815, when, by a legislative act, our present territory was set off from Lynn and received again its original name of Saugus. For many years previously it had had a separate ecclesiastical standing, and was known as the "West Parish."

POPULATION.—The population of the town in 1815

was very near 700 persons. April 3, 1815, there were 150 votes cast for Governor. We find by the census of 1820 the population was 748. In 1885 it was 2855. The intermediate years show a pretty constant and regular increase. And although up to 1815 our town had been largely agricultural in its interests and pursuits, yet it was the approximate period of the increase in our manufacturing industries,—shoes and woolen goods in the centre of the town, tobacco in Cliftondale and shoes in East Saugus.

SAUGUS CENTRE.—This brings us to the division of the town into its several villages. Nature provided for these by its isolated sections of territory, suitable for farms and dwelling-houses, while separating these sections were, and still are, rocky and wooded hills, rising to no very considerable height and yet sufficient to divert our connecting roads into fixed and almost necessary locations.

Beginning with Saugus Centre, by far the largest section of intervale in the town, we find it located almost exactly in the geographical centre of the town, being bounded on the north by Pranker's mill-pond and on the east by the river. Few villages are so beautifully situated as this, commanding as it does from the top of Round Hill, looking easterly towards the ocean, one of the loveliest views of the river valley.

CLIFTONDALE.—Almost directly south of the Centre, and about one mile distant, is Cliftondale, formerly known as Sweetser's Corner, reached directly by Central Street alone. Recently this village has taken a wonderful start in the erection of dwelling-houses, there having been built within the past year about forty, mostly by business men and mechanics employed in Boston and Lynn, while some are built by speculators who hope to sell. This section already promises to be a populous portion of the town.

EAST SAUGUS.—Coming back to the Centre again, we shall find southeasterly therefrom, about one mile distant, the village of East Saugus, situated in the river valley, and only reached by one road, now called Winter Street, on the southerly side of the valley. On account of the small area of eligible territory for building purposes, this village is compactly built, and consists principally of two streets—Chestnut Street and Lincoln Avenue—leading up from the bridge to the hill at the south of the village, where stands the village church.

The crooked reach of the river, between the Centre and the East Village, through the narrow strip of salt marsh, is usually kept filled with water by the mill-dam at the East Saugus Bridge, and so serves as a mill-pond, replenished by successive flood-tides and receiving in addition thereto the fresh water from the river flowage.

Almost directly west of East Saugus is Cliftondale, one mile away, and only reached by Lincoln Avenue, formerly called the old Boston road.

Thus we see that these three principal villages of

Saugus are respectively about one mile from each other, occupying the points of an equilateral triangle, across the interior of which no road passes.

It would almost seem that this triangular district, although made up mostly of rocky hills and heretofore neglected, will, some future day, be intersected by winding avenues and dotted with beautiful hillside residences. It remains to mention two smaller villages of our town.

NORTH SAUGUS.—Some more than two miles from the Centre, and in the extreme northerly end of our township, is the village of North Saugus, a section of very excellent farming land. It is reached by Central Street, passing Pranker's factory, and also by the Newburyport turnpike. Saugus River flows beside this village, and its two tributaries, Penny Brook and Hawkes Brook, flow directly through the village. These two brooks have recently been taken for a water supply by the city of Lynn; their waters have been diverted by an artificial canal and carried into Birch Pond, so called, on the eastern boundary of our town.

OAKLANDVALE.—The last village to be mentioned is Oaklandvale. This is situated a mile and a half from the Centre, northwesterly, and is only reached by the road leading to Wakefield and Melrose. This is also an agricultural district, through which flows a stream sometimes called Strawberry Brook, which empties into Saugus River below North Saugus.

GEOLOGY.—The geology of Saugus is a continuation of that of Lynn. The rock formations in both places belong to the east and west system of Hitchcock, as given in his report of the geology of Massachusetts.

Approaching the town from the ocean side, we come to a broad belt of alluvium, beneath which is a thin stratum of sand or gravel, and underlying all is a bed of tough blue clay of unknown depth.

Succeeding this is a broad belt of felsite, generally known as porphyry. It is composed of the finely-communited remains of older rocks hardened by heat and pressure to a flint-like substance. It is known to scientists as the Lower Laurentian series, or the rocks that contain the remains of the earliest forms of life.

On the northern side of the felsite the formation has not been sufficiently studied. Much of it, however, is syenite, and the curved lamination in some portions of the rock indicate gneiss. Trappean dykes frequently occur in this rock and in the felsite. The dividing line between the two formations is very obscure, being generally covered by drift. On the hill one-half mile east of Pranker's mills, and at the railroad cut near the centre of the town, the junction of the two formations may be noticed. Also near the Lynn line, on Vinegar Hill, syenite is found obtruding through the felsite, which is here composed of rounded felsite pebbles, cemented by a hardened matrix of the same material.

The jasper bed, near Round Hill, in the Centre,

is undoubtedly a fine variety of felsite, the banded variety of which furnishes very fine specimens.

Round Hill is a conspicuous object, and is of undoubted volcanic origin. Hitchcock calls the composition of the rock which forms the hill "Varioloid Wacke." The base of the rock is of a pleasant green color, and is filled in places with rounded nodules of quartz, varying in size from that of an ordinary shot to that of a pea. On the north side of the hill the base of the rock is of a chocolate color; this, together with the white nodules of quartz, forms very pretty specimens.

But few minerals or metals have been found in Saugus. The jasper locality is well known and many specimens have been taken from the bed.

Epidote is common, but the crystals are too small and imperfect to be valued. Good specimens of asbestos, associated with epidote, are found near East Saugus, and calcite (nail-head spar) has been found in the deep railroad cut near the Centre.

Hematite (specular) is found in the hill near the railroad cut, also in boulders in the northwest part of the town. Pyrite has been found near the head of Birch Pond, but the specimens are poor.

Bog iron-ore was discovered soon after the first settlement, in different parts of the town, but mostly in North Saugus, where very good specimens can now be found. This was the ore used by the old Iron-Works from 1643 to 1680.

As heretofore stated, Saugus was set off from Lynn by act of Legislature passed February 17, 1815.

TOWN-MEETINGS.—The first town-meeting was held in the parish church March 13, 1815, and subsequent ones continued to be held there until 1818, after which time the school-house in the Centre generally served as the gathering-place for the town, although, occasionally, they were gathered at the Rock School-house, so-called, in the South District.

TOWN-HOUSE.—In 1837 a town-hall was built, arranged for hall above and two school-rooms below. This building is still standing, and since 1875, when our new town-hall was built, it has been used for school purposes.

It may be interesting to notice some of the circumstances of the building of this first hall.

Some two thousand dollars had been given to the town as their portion of the United States revenue surplus, distributed by General Jackson.

The question was, how this should be disposed of. Five town-meetings were held from May 12 to July 8, 1837, and as may well be imagined, very strong feelings swept the town. It was first voted to divide it among the inhabitants; then this was reconsidered, and it was voted to pay it over to the treasurer.

Then this was reconsidered, at a third meeting, and finally voted again to pay to the town treasurer.

At a subsequent meeting it was voted *not* to build a town-house; and, at a still later meeting, it was voted to build,—yeas, 90; nays, 74. Two thousand dollars

was appropriated, and a committee of seven chosen by ballot, to obtain a location and contract for and superintend the building of said town-house.

March 12, 1838, the town appropriated six hundred dollars more to finish the town-house.

ALMSHOUSE.—In 1823 the present almshouse, with farm formerly owned by Mr. Tudor, was purchased.

CEMETERY.—In 1844 the town bought one acre of Salmon Snow, for a new cemetery. This proving too small was enlarged in 1858, by the purchase of adjoining property of Roswell Hitchings.

Again, in 1874, the two estates east were purchased of Henry Newhall and others, so as to further enlarge the cemetery substantially as it is at present. During these years the town has taken excellent care of the grounds, which have grown in attractiveness and beauty, year by year, through the interest of our townsmen and very much to their credit. Few things speak louder of the tenderness, sympathy and love of a people than its care for the resting-place of the departed.

In the most eligible part of the cemetery is the "Soldier's Lot," surrounded by hammered granite border fence and entrance-steps, ornamented with appropriate war emblems, all carved in solid granite. This was built by the town.

Our cemetery is beautifully situated on the sloping ground between Winter Street and Shute's Brook.

NEW TOWN-HALL.—In 1875 the town built their new town-hall, on the eastern side of Central Street, purchasing of Mr. Samuel A. Parker a low, wet piece of land, and at great expense filling up and grading the same. There was a great difference of opinion in the town in regard to the expediency of erecting such a building.

A number of town-meetings were held, in which adverse action was taken, but the building party finally prevailed, and the town was loaded with a debt of fifty thousand dollars in consequence. The first story is occupied for rooms for town officers, High School and public library, the second for assembly room.

EAST SAUGUS SET OFF.—While the new hall was buikling the inhabitants of East Saugus made a vigorous effort before the Legislature to be set off from Saugus and annexed to the city of Lynn, but they did not succeed in getting a bill through both branches of the Legislature. Soon after this, in deference to the feelings and wishes of East Saugus, the town voted an appropriation of five thousand dollars for the laying of water-pipes through the village of East Saugus, connecting with the Lynn Water-Works for a supply. This work was done, and August 10, 1878, the water was let into the pipes and a public celebration made of it by the citizens of East Saugus.

WATER-PIPES.—The town has just voted, July 8, 1887, to extend this system of water-pipes through

Cliftondale and the centre of the town, and for that purpose made an appropriation of thirty-five thousand dollars to lay seven miles of pipe, and chose Wilbur F. Newhall, Edward Pranker and Charles H. Bond, water commissioners, to carry out the action of the town, and said commissioners have just given the contract to Messrs. Goodhue & Birnie, of Springfield, for the laying of the cement pipes, the work to be commenced forthwith and completed this season.

TOWN CLERKS.—The following is a list of the town clerks, with their terms of office:

1815-18. Richard Mansfield.	1834-40. Wm. W. Boardman.
1819-27. Thomas Mansfield, Jr.	1841-47. Benj. F. Newhall.
1828-30. Zachæus Stocker.	1848-51. Harmon Hall.
1831-33. Isaac Childs.	1852-57. Wm. H. Newhall.

REPRESENTATIVES.—The following is a list of the Saugus Representatives to the General Court. Until about 1857 it required a majority of all the votes cast to elect a Representative, and this explains why oftentimes no one was sent. In 1835 the town-meeting adjourned twice and balloted six times without making any choice:

1816, '17, '20. Joseph Cheever.	1841. Stephen E. Hawkes.
1821. Dr. Abijah Cheever.	1842-43. Benj. F. Newhall.
1823. Jonathan Makepeace.	1844. Pickmore Jackson.
1826. John Shaw.	1846-47. Sewall Boardman.
1827-28. Wm. Jackson.	1850. Charles Sweetser.
1829, '30, '31. Dr. Abijah Cheever.	1851. George H. Sweetser.
1832-33. Zachæus N. Stocker.	1852. John B. Hitchings.
1834. Joseph Cheever.	1853. Samuel Hawkes.
1836-37. Wm. W. Boardman.	1854. Richard Mansfield.
1838. Charles Sweetser.	1855. Wm. H. Newhall.
1839. Francis Dizer.	1856. Jacob B. Calley.
1840. Benj. Hitchings, Jr.	

In 1857 the district system went into operation, and Saugus was united with Lynnfield, Middleton and Topsfield. We give below the names of the Representatives from Saugus alone:

1857. Jonathan Newhall.	1872. Jacob B. Calley.
1860. Harmon Hall.	1875. Otis M. Hitchings.
1862. John Howlett.	1877. Joseph Whitcomb.
1863. Charles W. Newhall.	1879. J. Abbot Newhall.
1866. S. S. Dunn.	1882. Albert H. Sweetser.
1869. John Arncliffe.	1885-86. Chas. S. Hitchings.

VALUATION AND TAXATION.—The valuation of the town this year (1887) is:

Real Estate	\$1,906,061
Personal Property	202,835
Total valuation	\$2,108,896
Rate of taxation per thousand	\$13.50
Number of polls	852

POST-OFFICES.—The first post-office was established in the village of East Saugus in 1832. This remained the only post-office in town until 1858, when two others were established—one in Saugus Centre and one in Cliftondale. The following are the names of the postmasters of each office:

East Saugus.—1832, Henry Stale; 1832, George Newhall; 1856, Herbert B. Newhall; 1863, Charlotte M. Hawkes; 1873, Charles Mills; 1885, Henry J. Mills.

Saugus Centre.—1858, Julian D. Lawrence; 1870, John E. Stocker.

Cliftondale.—1858, Wm. Williams; 1860, George H. Sweetser, A. H. Sweetser; 1877, M. A. Putnam; 1883, M. S. Fisk.

CHAPTER XXV.

SAUGUS—(Continued).

Early Settlers—Indians—Fish—Marshes—William Ballard's Farm—Landing Road—Edward Baker—Nicholas Brown—Samuel Bonnet—Thomas Dexter—Thomas Hudson—Captain Walker—Adam Hawkes—Richard Leader and Others—Appleton's Pulpit.

EARLY SETTLERS.—The year 1630 brought a great many hundred people to our shores, and of this number some found their way to our town either through the primeval forests or, more likely, by boats; and it is not surprising that they should enter our river and select along its banks favorable spots for their rude houses, around which they were to commence their clearings.

INDIANS.—Long years before this the Indians had been attracted to this river, and upon its sunny banks and in its sheltered vales had built their wigwams, reared their families and cultivated their small fields of corn and pumpkins.

On the south side of the hills, in East Saugus, on both banks of the river, are found the relics of their settlements, consisting of shell-heaps, pestles, hatchets, arrow-heads and bones.

FISH.—Our river at that time abounded with fish of many varieties, some of which, on account of our mills and their obstructions, are now no longer found in our waters; but not the least attraction was the abundance of clams found in the sandy shores of our river, and, at low tide, accessible at all seasons of the year.

MARSHES.—Whatever may be the changes in the aspects of the country since those early days, in consequence of the removal of forests and the incoming of civilization, yet we have one feature of our landscape presenting substantially the same appearance as then, namely, our salt marshes.

Our early settlers looked very kindly on these marshes as furnishing a sure supply of food for their horses and cattle, while they were toiling to bring into arable condition the uplands then covered with timber. These marshes certainly afforded them abundance of fodder. And even to-day they still continue to yield their crops to our farmers, as shown by the numerous stacks of hay annually gathered in the summer, to be removed in the winter when the marshes are covered with ice and snow.

WILLIAM BALLARD was one of our early settlers. He was a farmer, and received sixty acres in the allotment of lands in 1638. He was also admitted a freeman in 1638. His farm comprised what is now the village of East Saugus. His first house stood in the rear of the dwelling now owned by George Oliver. His two sons, John and Nathaniel, divided the farm in 1697.

It was sold to Dr. Oliver in 1710, and in 1720 to Colonel Jacob Wendell, and about 1760 to Zaccheus Norwood, who died about 1768, leaving a widow and

three children. On this farm stood the Anchor Tavern, then kept by Mr. Norwood, and at his decease by his widow, until 1773, when Landlord Jacob Newhall took charge.

About 1725 a town way was laid out by the selectmen through the farm from the old Boston road to the Lower Landing, so called.

After almost a hundred years of alienation from the Ballard family, one-half of this farm was bought back by William Ballard; the other half continued in possession of the heirs of Norwood until about 1800, when this was bought by John Ballard, Esq., of Boston, who then became the owner of the entire farm. In 1802 he built a new hotel a few rods south of the old tavern, and from 1815 to 1822 he made this house his residence.

During subsequent years the farm was partly cut up into house-lots and sold, making the present village of East Saugus,—and it was not till a few years ago that the remaining portion of the farm, on either side of Ballard Street, was sold by the Ballard family to Mrs. John Pike and Henry W. Johnson.

EDWARD BAKER was another early settler. In the allotment of 1638 he was given forty acres. His farm was on the south side of Baker's Hill, so called. He was admitted a freeman in 1638 and died in 1687.

NICHOLAS BROWN received in the allotment two hundred acres. His farm was on the road to North Saugus. He early removed to Reading.

SAMUEL BENNET, a carpenter and a member of the Ancient Artillery Company in 1639; he received in the allotment twenty acres. His farm was in the westerly part of the town.

THOMAS DEXTER, a farmer, was admitted a freeman in 1631, and in the allotment was given three hundred and fifty acres. He lived in the centre of the town, near the iron-works, and was generally known as "Farmer Dexter." He was an active, stirring man in the plantation, although frequently getting into trouble with his neighbors, and even quarreling with the Governor of the colony. He must have possessed an irritable disposition as well as fighting qualities.

He built a mill on the river, for the grinding of corn, and also a fish-weir in 1632, wherein were captured large quantities of alewives and bass; one hundred and fifty barrels were cured the first year.

THOMAS HUDSON lived on the westerly side of the river, near the iron-works. He received sixty acres in the allotment.

CAPTAIN RICHARD WALKER, a farmer, was located on the west side of the river, and in the allotment received two hundred acres. Born in 1593, admitted a freeman in 1634 and died at the age of ninety-five years.

ADAM HAWKES, a farmer, settled in North Saugus about 1634. He landed in Salem with Endicott's company in 1630, and probably soon after went to

Charlestown, as his wife Sarah's name is there found on the church records. Undoubtedly he reached this remote section of land by following up the river in his boat, and his location was well selected.

In the allotment of 1638 he was given one hundred acres, but before his death, which occurred in 1671, he acquired a great deal more land, for in the division of his property, March 27, 1672, we find him possessed of five hundred and fifty acres, one-half of which was given to his son John, and one-half to his grandson, Moses. A true inventory of his estate was made by Thomas Newhall and Jeremiah Swayen, March 18, 1672, which contains many curious and interesting items, which we would like to give here, but for its length. The total value of his property, real and personal, was £817 11s.

Adam Hawkes had only two children, John and Susannah. John married Rebecca Maverick, daughter of Moses Maverick, and what is very unusual, the homestead farm has continued in the Hawkes family, in an unbroken succession, down to the present time, and is now owned and occupied by Samuel and Louis P. Hawkes, and the family of Richard Hawkes.

Adam Hawkes built his first house on the hill, a few hundred feet north of the present house of Louis P. Hawkes; this house was burned down soon after it was built. Much of the iron-ore which was obtained by the old iron works, in the centre of the town, for forty years or more, was, without doubt, dug in the meadows of Mr. Hawkes. And it seems he was troubled with the flowage of his lands by the iron works, the dam being raised much higher than the present one. He obtained damages for this flowage at several different times.

The above-mentioned early settlers were all farmers, and it is to be regretted that there is not more definite knowledge of their locations and history. Could sufficient time be given, undoubtedly much more might be gleaned concerning them and others who have escaped notice.

But there were also many men connected with the iron works industry, in the Centre, some of whose names we have preserved to us. Among these were Richard Leader (general agent till 1661, after which John Gifford was agent), Joseph Jenks, and Joseph Jenks, Jr., Henry Leonard, Henry Styche (who lived to the great age of one hundred and three), Arzbell Anderson, MacCallum More Downing, John Turner, John Vinton and Samuel Appleton, Jr., who owned the works after 1677.

APPLETON'S PULPIT.—An interesting incident in our early history is recorded on a bronze tablet fastened to the perpendicular face of a rocky cliff on Appleton Street, in the centre of the town, a few years ago, by some of the descendants of the Appleton family. The tablet is about two and a half feet square, and firmly bolted to the rock just beneath the place where the stirring harangue is supposed to have

been made. This cliff forms the abrupt side of a prominent hill, known as Calemound or Catamound Hill.

Tradition says that in those troublous times a watch was stationed on the hill to give alarm of any approach of the Crown officers to arrest their man. The watch was to signal their approach by crying, "Caleb, mount!" and from this cry came the name of the hill.

The following is the inscription on the tablet:

"APPLETON'S PULPIT.

"In September, 1687, from this rock, tradition asserts that, resisting the tyranny of Sir Edmund Andros, Major Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, spoke to the people in behalf of those principles which later were embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

CHAPTER XXVI.

SAUGUS—(Continued).

FARMS, &C., A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

East Saugus—Old Mill—Moore Farm—Tavern—Major Parker's—Thomas Florence—Amos Stocker—Lewis Place—Thomas Stocker Place—John Stocker Farm—Hayton Farm—Jacob Rustis Farm—Bredon Place—Allen Place—Colonel Abner Cheever—Dr. Cheever Place—Ezra Brown Farm—Tudor Farm—Josiah Rhodes Farm—Asa Rhodes Farm—Master Hitchings Place—Samuel Boardman—Aron Boardman—Leory Boardman Farm—John Dampney—Deacon Pratt Farm—Elkanah Hawkes Farm—Hitchings Place.

It may be interesting to the reader to take a look at some parts of the town, but more especially at the farms as they appeared a hundred years ago or thereabouts.

EAST SAUGUS.—Let us begin at the bridge in East Saugus, now compactly built and covering the entire slope from the hill to the river; but, one hundred years ago very few houses were standing here. In 1775 the old one-story shed-like mill building, then used as a grist-mill, was standing on the west side of the bridge, leaving a very narrow roadway over the bridge. Adjoining the mill on the south was a two-story dwelling-house, of good size, built by Joseph Gould, who having died the year previous, the house was then occupied by his widow.

Let us proceed southerly up the hill by the only road, and a few rods will bring us to a two-story dwelling, occupied by Colonel Ebenezer Stocker, of subsequent Revolutionary fame. This house was torn down in 1851 to give place to the present house, built and owned by H. W. Brackett.

A few rods further south we find an old-fashioned two-story house, where now stands the house of Fales Newhall. Jacob Newhall, the grandfather of Fales Newhall, then lived there and he was a farmer and shoemaker.

This house was torn down about 1825.

Continuing up the hill, and near the top, we come to a two-story dwelling, which is still standing and owned by the heirs of the late Frederick Stocker. In

1775 it was owned by a Mr. Moore. His large barn then stood on the present site of the Methodist Church.

The road soon comes to the rocky hill, where it turns to the left, and a few rods bring us to the famous tavern kept by Landlord Jacob Newhall. It stood on the left or northerly side of the road, facing the south; it was a two-story gambrel-roof house, with a long sloping roof in the rear covering the kitchen.

From the bridge we have found only five houses, including the tavern.

Should we continue along under the hill on the Boston road southerly a few rods, we should pass on the right, Major Parker's blacksmith-shop in full blast, and just beyond this his dwelling-house. This house has recently been torn down and a large two-story double dwelling built on the site.

Major David Parker came from Malden to Saugus when quite a young man—about 1760. Having married a Miss Hunnewell, of Charlestown, he settled himself in a house which stood a few rods south of the old tavern. A short distance north of the house he built his long blacksmith-shop and carried on a brisk business. He was industrious, capable and enterprising. He held an honorable rank among the people and was early honored with the office of captain of the West Parish Militia, one of the largest companies in Lynn. This was previous to the Revolutionary War, for we find that Captain David Parker mustered his company at an early hour on the day of the Concord fight and marched them with all speed to the scene of the conflict, where his company did gallant service. The courage and bravery shown by Captain Parker led immediately to his promotion as major. He was a man of great benevolence of feeling, kind and affable to strangers. He continued to work at his blacksmith-shop up to the period of his death, which occurred in the early part of this century.

The next house south of Major Parker's was Samuel Oliver's, a blacksmith who worked for Major Parker. In 1805 Solomon Brown purchased this house of Mr. Oliver and lived in it until his death. It was afterwards removed to the Centre.

Some rods still south we come to Thomas Florence's small one-story house standing on the side of a ledge to the right, just where it is to-day, in 1887.

Thomas Florence was a hero of the Revolutionary War. He was a gardener by trade, working most of the time for Landlord Newhall.

His great-grandson, Charles Florence, now lives in the house.

A few rods south of the Florence house we reach a large dwelling occupied by Amos Stocker, another Revolutionary soldier, and by trade a cooper. This house is still standing.

Still going south a short distance, just where the road turns to the west, on our right is a large two-story dwelling, built as early as 1740; it was considered in that day one of the best houses. It was the

birth-place of John Ballard, Esq., he who built the new hotel on the Ballard farm. This house is still (1887) standing, and is owned and occupied by William A. Trefethen, farmer.

Just opposite the last house there was a lane, sometimes called "Lewis Lane," leading south; some rods down this lane there was an old dwelling-house, in front of which were noble elms. This was the "Lewis Place," one of the earliest settled farms in this section.

In 1800 it passed to the ownership of Landlord Newhall.

The house was torn down a few years ago.

Coming back to the old Boston road and continuing westerly from the Trefethen house, we soon come to a dwelling known in the Revolutionary times as the "Thomas Stocker Place," then occupied by himself. This house is still standing, in 1887, and is owned by Charlotte M. Mills. Some forty rods further on we find a large dwelling on the right hand side. It stood where now, in 1887, the "Sunnyside House" is found, and a part of the old house was undoubtedly used in the erection of the new one.

In coming thus far from the tavern we have found nine dwellings, while from the bridge to the tavern we found only five.

The large tract of land lying west of Lincoln Avenue, in Cliftondale, extending down to the Revere line, and intersected by the Saugus Branch Railroad, and now very recently bought and laid out into town lots by C. H. Bond, Henry Wait and E. S. Kent, was formerly a noted farm.

Previous to the War of 1812 John Stocker owned this farm, and built himself a house. Subsequently it passed into the possession of Captain Daniel Bickford. In about 1826 Isaac Carleton became the owner. His native place was Andover. He cultivated the farm until his death, in 1841.

Anthony Hatch became the owner in 1847, and continued such up to his death, in 1879.

Mr. Hatch, formerly a ship carpenter in Medford, did an extensive market gardening on his farm. A man of great industry; his broad well-tilled acres always presented a pleasant sight to the passer-by.

About one-half mile south of Cliftondale, on the old traveled road which bore to the east of Lincoln Avenue as now traveled, was a famous farm of olden time, being situated partly in Saugus (then Lynn) and partly in Chelsea. The road passed between the barn and farm-house, which stood at the foot of the hill then known as Boynton's Hill. This was the hardest hill between Salem and Boston, and was much dreaded by the drivers of heavy teams. Mr. Boynton was often called upon for an extra lift, and Landlord Newhall often sent extra horses or oxen to help teams which were to stop at his tavern.

Mr. Boynton lived to an advanced age, and the farm passed to his son, Ellis Boynton. The farm was soon sold to Eben F. Draper and John Edmunds,

who owned it for a few years and sold to Dr. Smith, of Boston. A large part of this farm was utilized by the Franklin Trotting Park some years ago, and is still used somewhat for horse-racing.

Leaving Lincoln Avenue at Cliftondale, and taking Essex Street, a short distance brings us to a fine residence on the right, facing the depot, now owned (in 1887) by Pliny Nickerson. This dwelling-house has not always presented the beautiful appearance of to-day, for it has met with many changes since its first construction, in 1807, by Jacob Eustis, of Boston, a brother of Governor Eustis. The land in front of the house constituted his farm. Mr. Eustis was a man of untiring industry, especially scrutinizing all town expenses, and every irregularity received his scathing rebuke.

About 1830 he sold to James Dennison. It then passed to W. Turpin, and soon to Seth Heaton, who occupied it until 1853. Mr. Heaton sold to Daniel P. Wise and others, who then applied the name of Cliftondale to this section of the town, and began a scheme of improvement. Subsequently John T. Paine, Esq., of Melrose, bought a portion of the land, with the Eustis house. The location of the old road, which ran nearer the house and inside of the noble trees now standing, he caused to be relocated outside of the trees, where we find it to-day. Substantial stone walls were built around the place, and the house itself remodeled.

Continuing our way beyond Mr. Nickerson's, the road winding to the north, we pass soon on our right a tract of land (now being rapidly built over with houses) that was known seventy-five years ago as the "Breedon Place" among the old farm settlements of the town. Crossing the railroad, are fine tillage fields on the left. A large part of this farm was reclaimed from an extensive swamp by Timothy H. Brown, who settled here about 1830 and died in 1851. This was known years ago by the name of the "Allen Place," from its owner, Lemuel Allen, who married the daughter of Parson Roby. Mr. George N. Miller is the present owner, and may be reckoned one of our prosperous farmers.

Still going westerly a short distance to the corner of Felton Street, we come to an old house now owned and occupied by Mr. Walter V. Hawkes. This was the home and farm of Colonel Abner Cheever, of Revolutionary memory. The farm was one of the best of that early day. On the death of the colonel, about 1820, it passed into the hands of his son, Major Henry Cheever, who occupied it till his death in 1858.

About sixty rods to the north we come to the once famous "Dr. Cheever Place," for many years considered the most elegant residence in Saugus. A broad high two-story verandah supporting the roof on massive columns gave it at once an elegant and southern air. It was built about 1808. Noble shade-trees surrounded the house, the grounds were kept neat and

trim, ponds were formed in the rear of the house for fish, boats and bathing. He built a fine avenue, bordered with shade-trees, leading direct from his residence to the turnpike, protected by gates at either end. Dr. Cheever was a surgeon in the Continental army. In politics a Federalist, in religion a Unitarian, and for many years attended public worship with that society at Lynn.

He died about 1842, leaving two children,—Dr. Charles Cheever, of Portsmouth, N. H., and Eliza S. Cheever, both now deceased. The doctor owned about two hundred acres of land, forty acres being tillage.

About forty rods west of the Dr. Cheever place is an old house, now somewhat modernized, and owned by Mr. William H. Penny. It was formerly the house of Ezra Brown, and in the Revolution days was the abode of his father. More recently the farm was owned by Stephen Hall, who lived there many years. His daughter is the wife of Mr. William H. Penny.

About one hundred rods north of Mr. Penny's house, on the Newburyport turnpike, is the farm now owned by the town of Saugus, and occupied for its almshouse. This was one of the farms of the olden time. It was formerly known as the "Tudor Place." The old road from Sweetzer's Corner (now Cliftondale) to South Reading passed through this farm for about sixty rods south of the present house, substantially where the turnpike was afterwards built and is now traveled. Before the present house was built there was a venerable old farm-house upon the same spot. That old farm-house was owned by William Tudor, Esq., known as Judge Tudor. He inherited this place from his father, John Tudor. The late Frederick Tudor, Esq., of Nahant, was the son of William Tudor, Esq. The improvements made by William Tudor, Esq., upon this place began about the year 1800. The old house was not torn down entirely, but was made the nucleus of the new house by doubling the size of the old house and modernizing the whole structure. Judge Tudor no doubt intended to make it his permanent family residence. Its fine situation, its rich fields around the dwelling, its picturesque wooded hills, all afforded him the opportunity to display his taste. An artificial pond was formed south-westerly of the house, and into it was conducted the water from Long Pond by an artificial canal which he excavated, partly through solid ledge, at great expense. This canal can now be seen, and through it is now running a portion of the waters of Long Pond. The magnitude of this work and its speedy completion testify to the energy of Mr. Tudor.

In 1807 the house was vacated by the Tudor family, and for years was occupied by different families. In 1818 it was leased to Robert Eames, who lived there until 1822, when it was purchased of Henry I. Tudor by the town of Saugus for a poor farm.

On Central Street, near the junction of Denver Street, on what was then the traveled road to Reading, were two very old farms, one on the south side of the

old road, owned by Josiah Rhodes, who died about 1794. This dwelling, which was a small one-story house, stood upon the elevated ground east of the house now standing and recently occupied by the late Salmon Snow. Mr. Rhodes' barn was upon the opposite side of the old road. The widow of Josiah Rhodes soon after her husband's death married Richard Shute, who came from Malden. He combined farming, mercantile business and school-teaching. He bought the old school-house, attached it to the farm-house as an ell and made of it a store. These buildings were all burnt one pleasant autumn afternoon, about 1820, with all their contents. Mr. Shute was an active man, and being lame, rode a great deal on horseback, even sowing his grain from the back of his bay mare. He was also tax collector for Lynn for some three years. After his death the farm passed into the possession of Benjamin Swain, and by him was sold to Salmon Snow, about 1833.

The second farm above referred to was on the northerly side of the Reading road and the westerly side of the road leading to the meeting-house. This farm was owned about eighty years ago by Deacon Asa Rhodes.

More recently it was owned by the late Deacon James Roots. The Deacon Asa Rhodes house was a venerable relic of the olden time, two stories high, with a chimney in the centre occupying a large part of the house. A little east of the house stood his small shoemaker's shop, where the deacon could always be found at his craft. The deacon was born in the old house, March 1749, and lived there all his days, dying at the age of ninety-three years. Though a farmer, yet his principal business was shoemaking. He worked his own stock and made shoes for the Marblehead market. He would repair to Marblehead with his saddle-bags, distribute their contents among his customers, take other orders and return home. His way of traveling was sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot with saddle-bags on his shoulder, and sometimes, with leather-apron on, he would wheel a barrow. The old house was torn down soon after his death, in 1842. Deacon James Roots, who married a daughter of Deacon Rhodes, owned and lived on the place until his death.

About eighty rods eastward of the Deacon Rhodes place was what was known as the Master Hitchings place. This place is now our cemetery. Thomas Hitchings moved from Lynn to the West Parish, about 1802, so as to lead the singing in the parish church, and also to teach the singing-school; hence he was called "Master Hitchings." He lived in the old homestead and reared a large family. This old house is still standing, although removed many rods towards East Saugus, on land known as the Bowler Field.

In the westerly part of the town, now called Oaklandvale, a little over a mile from the Town Hall, on the road to Wakefield, were a number of old farms

deserving some mention. Just before the road descends to the meadow and crosses the brook the location of the old Reading way can be seen leading off to the left or south, and making a wide sweep over the meadow; the present new location across the brook was laid out in 1818. Just after crossing the meadow an old house is still seen to the north, and some rods back from the road. This was in Revolutionary days occupied by Samuel Boardman.

Just here a road branches off to the left, leading to Melrose. A few rods on this road brings us to a venerable dwelling-house on the right, a good specimen of the old time house; it is fully two hundred years old. During the American Revolution it was occupied by Aaron Boardman, and afterwards it became his son's, Abijah Boardman's, who lived and died there. When the county of Suffolk extended up as far as this farm, the line dividing the counties passed through this house, and the court had to decide where Mr. Boardman should pay his poll-tax. Chelsea finally collected it, as his sleeping-room was in that town.

Coming back to the Reading or Wakefield road, and continuing westerly, we come to some excellent intervals, where were several very old farms. In the Revolutionary days there were four farm-houses here, one of which only is now standing. This is the house on the south side of the road, the homestead of the late Joseph Cheever, and more recently occupied by his son, Cyrus Cheever. It was formerly Ivory Boardman's house. Another of the old houses also stood on the south side of the road, before reaching the Joseph Cheever homestead. This was built about 1775 by John Dampney, formerly of Salem, grandfather of the late Joseph Dampney, Esq., of Lynn.

Another of the old houses stood on the north side of the road and west of the Joseph Cheever house. It was occupied by Daniel Floyd.

But another of these houses, and the most remarkable, was the Deacon Pratt house. It stood about one hundred rods east of the old road, upon a level plot of ground. The remains of the old fruit-trees can yet be seen.

Deacon Pratt was noted for his orderly habits, his place being always in the best of shape. He was a deacon in the West Parish Church, and a highly exemplary man.

Let us now retrace our steps as far as the Oaklandvale School-house. Directly opposite this school-house is a road leading northerly. We take this road, and about forty rods brings us to a modern two-story dwelling, built by Joseph Measury, Esq., in 1847. Subsequently he sold it to G. W. Phillips, Esq., who recently died there, when it was sold to the present owner, Mr. Ziegler.

A few rods beyond this house brings us to a gate on the left; through this gate, about twenty rods, stands a venerable farm-house, now owned by Mr. Bostwick. This was one of the ancient farm-sites of the West

Parish of Lynn. This farm then included all the land extending to the Wakefield road.

In 1775 it was owned by Elkanah Hawkes, who occupied it many years. He combined by occupation the blacksmith and farmer. His shop stood near the gate before-mentioned, wherein was executed what smith-work the neighborhood needed. When out gunning in the woods his hand was mutilated by an accidental discharge of his gun, rendering amputation necessary. With the aid of his son, he continued his business several years. He had a daughter, Love Hawkes, who for several years taught school in the neighborhood.

During the beginning of the present century the farm came into the possession of Nathan Hawkes, son of Nathan of the West Parish, who owned it till its sale to Mr. Saunders and Measury, in 1846. After the sale he moved to the old house farther east, near where the old road crosses the brook. He died here in 1862, at the advanced age of eighty-seven years. This old farm-house, where he died, was owned by Daniel Hitchings early in this century, and afterwards was owned by Ira Draper, Esq., until about 1840. It still stands and is occupied by Hannah Hawkes.

About one hundred rods eastward of this last farm, in a large field, stands an old farm-house, until very recently owned and occupied by the late Lott Edmunds. This farm, in the period of the Revolution, was called the "Hitchings Place." Its site is rather low, and all these fields and intervals, in the period of the old "Iron-Works," must have been covered with water to the depth of three feet and more.

To the northwest of these last farms, and contiguous thereto, is that tract of rough, wild woodland, long and still known as the "Six Hundred Acres." This was the lot of public land distributed among the settlers about 1706.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SAUGUS—(Continued).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

PARISH CHURCH: *Organization—Edward Cheever—Pew in Church—Parson Roby—His Salary—His Death and Epitaph—William Frothingham—Other Pastors—Secession of the Calvinistic Wing—New Church Edifice—Organization of Calvinistic Members—First Pastors—First Church Edifice—New Church. FIRST METHODIST CHURCH: Organization—Rock School-House—Pioneers—Pastors—First Church—Sunday-school—New Church. CLIFTONDALE METHODIST CHURCH: Formation, etc. METHODIST CHURCH IN CENTRE. ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL MISSION. CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY IN CLIFTONDALE.*

OLD PARISH CHURCH.—The first parish church in Saugus, known as the Third Church of Lynn, or the Church of the West Parish, dates its organization in the year 1738. Previous to that time the people in

the west part of Lynn attended meeting at the parish church on Lynn Common.

The first step was the union of all the principal men to build a meeting-house. The union was named the "Proprietors of the Meeting-House." In 1736 the work was commenced, and the best of oak timber was cut for the frame. The work made considerable progress during the year, although it was not probably finished till 1737. The finishing only extended so far as to build a pulpit and cover the floor with plain seats, one side called the "men's seats," and the other the "women's seats." At this state of affairs the parish records commence. The first book of records was a present to the parish from Thos. Cheever. It is a remarkable vellum-covered book, and served the parish ninety years. On the first page of the book is written: "This book is a gift to the Society of Proprietors of the new meeting-house, in the westerly end of the town of Lynn, by Thomas Cheever."

On the 5th of March, 1738, a warrant was issued by Ebenezer Burrill, Esq., of Lynn, addressed to Joshua Haven, and requiring him to call the first meeting of the Third Parish of Lynn for organization and the choice of officers.

(The Second Parish had previously been organized in that part of Lynn now called Lynnfield).

The meeting was held by adjournment at the meeting-house, the 28th day of March, 1738, and William Taylor was chosen parish clerk, and William Taylor, Jonathan Wait and Josiah Rhodes parish committee. After this organization the parish at once proceeded to provide their first preacher. Edward Cheever, a resident in the parish, an educated man and about entering the ministry, was invited to preach for three months.

It appears that the people were pleased with the preaching of Edward Cheever, and at a meeting held June 18, 1738, they voted to settle him as their minister. For some reason which does not appear, Mr. Cheever was not at once settled. In the following October the parish voted to send letters for ordination, although it does not appear that he was ordained till October, 1739. What salary he was to have does not appear from the records, although a certain gift of the General Court was appropriated to assist the settlement, and that forty members of the parish were each to carry to the house of Edward Cheever a half-cord of wood each year, and not fail. At the same time with this settlement several things came up for the decision of the parish. One was to accept the legacy from Theophilus Burrill of one hundred pounds (three hundred dollars, silver) "to be expended in furniture and vessels for the Lord's Table." It was voted to accept and appropriate. Another was to assign a lot of land for "horse-stables," each one to build his own stable. So about ten stables were built, probably in front of the burying-ground.

We cannot sufficiently admire the zeal of our ancestors—then few in number and widely scattered—to

undertake a work of such magnitude as the building of a church. It was forty-four feet long by thirty-six wide, with about twenty-foot posts. It had upper and lower windows all round, of common-sized glass. On its front, or south side, was the front door, with a large porch or vestibule, which was entered by three doors. It had, besides, a door on each end opening into the church. No doubt the model of this was found in the "Old Tunnel," so-called, on Lynn Common. Let us go into the church. The pulpit is upon the north side of the house, in the centre, raised high, with a seat in front for the deacons. A gallery runs around the front and two ends, the front gallery seats being appropriated to the singers. The floor of the church is seated with plain plank seats, divided into two sections.

What a pattern of plain Puritan simplicity must this church have presented, with its "men's seats" on one side and its "women's seats" on the other; and then the worshippers with their antique dresses!

The situation of this church was very pleasant. It was in the centre of the town, on a small elevation of land upon the west side of the road leading north to the "Old Iron Works," on a part of the "Taylor Farm," so-called, on the triangular green where now (1887) stands the flag staff. The road running westerly, now called Main Street, was not then made. For some years the people living on the old road to South Reading probably passed through the fields, opening bars, but afterwards a highway was built. This church edifice continued to stand on the same spot, although undergoing some alterations, until the year 1858, when it was moved about three rods north of its old site, and is now occupied for a grocery-store by Mr. Whitehead, with dwelling above. The elevated knoll has been graded down and is now an open square.

Let us now return to the old church in 1740. Another question was then brought up which proved in the sequel an encroachment on the "free-seat" plan. They voted to build a pew for the minister at the east end of the pulpit. Poor, blind mortals! They should have known enough of human nature to have taught them that it never would be endured to have the minister's family sit above the people. So, very soon after, it was resolved that the new church should have pews, in part at least. A committee was chosen to make a plan for the pews. At a meeting held on the 8th of December, 1740, the committee on pews made the following report in substance: "We are of opinion, there being room enough to erect twenty-nine pews in said meeting-house, nineteen wall pews and ten pews on the floor. All persons that make choice of a wall pew, they maintaining the glass against their own pews. The proprietors of the house to have the choice of pews. That each person having a pew shall pay for erection of his own pew. That the pews shall be taxed forty shillings per week as apportioned."

The foregoing report was accepted and a larger committee of seven of the best men was chosen to superintend the whole matter, and after the pews were built, to tax them.

This committee, finding that more pews were needed, made a plan to increase the number to thirty-four, by making five more. Their report read thus: "By taking two seats of the men's, and two hindermost seats of the women's, with five feet of the women's fore seat and second seat, will make room for five pews more, making thirty-four in all."

The report was accepted.

From what can be gathered, it appears that the Third Parish (now Saugus) was set off from the First Parish (Old Tunnel) on condition that the parish tax should be assessed and collected by the First Parish till the General Court should incorporate the West Parish. That during said time, the West or Third Parish might have separate preaching, and draw from the treasurer of the First Parish their ratable proportion of the money raised. Their proportion was thirty-five parts of every one hundred and eighty. It is thus seen that Saugus was no small part of Lynn, as to taxation at that day. The sum refunded, with forty shillings per week tax on pews, was deemed sufficient to meet the cash expenses of the new parish. But the young parish found very soon the same difficulties that religious societies have always found—the trouble of raising money. The people were remiss in paying the weekly assessments upon the pews, and also were negligent in supplying the yearly half-cord of wood each. Various votes were passed threatening to delinquents.

On March 6, 1745, the parish chose a committee to build the five additional pews on the lower floor, and twenty pews in the gallery, ten in the front gallery and five in each end gallery. They were also empowered to let, tax and sell, as they might judge best.

It was voted that every pew occupier should supply a half-cord of wood yearly, and more or less as the tax might be.

The course adopted by the West Parish about the construction of pews was an improvement on the "Old Tunnel" method. In that house every one made his pew to his own taste, but here the society built the pews uniformly and the pew-owner paid the cost.

In February, 1747, the parish again petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation.

The First Parish Church at Lynn stoutly opposed all these petitions for separation; but it was finally obtained.

In February, 1749, Ebenezer Burrill issued a warrant for organization under the charter. The meeting was held the 10th inst., and Jonathan Hawken was chosen as first parish clerk under the charter. (Rev. Edw. Cheever was dismissed December, 1748.)

At this meeting it was voted that the parish concur with the church in inviting Mr. Joseph Roby to

become their minister. In this vote of concurrence the parish voted all the particulars as to the payment of Mr. Roby. We here give the vote verbatim:

"Voted for the annual support of Mr. Roby so long as he shall carry on the work of the ministry in said parish, the improvement of a suitable house and barn. Pasturing and sufficient winter meat for two cows and one horse, and to put the hay, or winter meat into the barn—the improvement of two acres of land suitable to plant, and to be kept well fenced, and sixty pounds in lawful silver money at six shillings and eight pence per ounce, and also the house contribution."

On March 1, 1749, a committee was chosen "to inform Mr. Joseph Roby that he was chosen to settle in the ministry by the church and parish." Soon after this vote the subject of giving the meeting-house to the parish was discussed by the proprietors, and a meeting was held for that purpose, wherein it was voted that said "meeting-house, with all privileges and appurtenances, be given to the Third Parish, excepting pew No. 23, and the place where it stands; provided said parish wrong no person of their expense in building the pews in said house."

For reasons which do not appear, Mr. Roby was not settled on the foregoing vote, and at a meeting held April 21, 1750, a committee was chosen to supply the pulpit with "transient preaching." Also to see how the parish could purchase a house and land suitable for a parsonage.

From a subsequent vote it may be inferred that the support voted to Mr. Roby was not entirely satisfactory to him; we give verbatim the second vote, July 2, 1750:

"Voted, That if Mr. Joseph Roby accepts our Invitation and settles in the work of the ministry in this parish, his whole Salary as support annually to enable him to Carry on the work of the ministry in said Parish shall be as followeth: The improvement of a suitable House and Barn standing in a suitable place, Pasturing and sufficient Winter Meat for two cows and one Horse, the Winter Meat put in his Barn, the improvement of two Acres of land suitable to plant, and to be kept well fenced, Thirty Pounds in lawful Silver money at six shillings and eight pence per ounce. Twenty cords at his Door and the house contribution. And also the Following Articles or so much money as will purchase them, viz., Sixty Bushels of Indian Corn, Forty-one Bushels of Rye, Six Hundred Pounds weight of Pork and Eight Hundred and Eighty-eight Pounds weight of Beef, and that the Salary or annual Support as above expressed shall begin at the time of Mr. Roby's giving his answer of Acceptance, and continue so long as he continueth in the Work of the ministry amongst us, Said Parish Reserving the Term of one year and six months from the time of his giving his answer of Acceptance to erect complete and finish the House and Barn above mentioned."

Mr. Joseph Roby finally concluded to cast his lot with the resolute and benevolent little band which constituted the West Parish of Lynn. Although a Boston man by birth, he nevertheless met his humble and rustic friends with becoming dignity of character. We give his letter of acceptance:

"Boston, July 25th, 1750.

"Hon'd and Belov'd Brethren:—I am oblig'd to you for the respect you have shown me in the call you have given me to settle with you in the work of the ministry among you, and am extremely sorry that any difficulties have in time past prevented the accomplishing an affair so agreeable to you as well as myself. It is with freedom and much satisfaction that I now declare my acceptance of your call, hoping that an event so important to you and me will be overruled in great favor to each. I presume you will always consider my circumstances, and kindly supply my wants as there may be occasion. I hope we shall have an interest in

each other's affection, and that your love to me and mine to you may abound—that we shall live together in peace, and that the God of love and peace may dwell among us and bless us continually. I ask your prayers to God for me, and God forbid that I should cease praying for you, that the blessings of heaven may be your portion and that of your children after you, and that a preached gospel may be to you the power of salvation. I am, honored and dear brethren,

"Yours affectionately,

"JOSEPH ROBY.

"To the Third Church and Parish in Lynn."

Already in March, 1750, a house and barn, with thirty-three acres of land, had been purchased of John Hutchinson for three hundred pounds currency (about nine hundred dollars), for a parsonage and parsonage lands. In 1780 we find the first mention of dollars and cents—as then written, "dolers and sents." Pounds were fast becoming obsolete, their value having so depreciated that in the latter part of their use the parish voted eight hundred pounds, instead of the less sum, which appears in the settlement stipulation.

Between the minister's salary, house and barn, tillage land and pasture, wood and hay, corn and rye, beef and pork, which all had to have particular care every year, to which may be added the care of the church, the collections of rates, the building and taking up of pews, the establishing of horse-sheds, the fencing of burying ground, the building and keeping of pound, the establishing and providing for a school, with almost everything else that appertains to civilized life, it well may be judged that parish meetings were no dull or stale affairs. An old and somewhat amusing practice prevailed of recording the names of dissenters to a vote. For instance, Josiah Rhodes might dissent about the providing pork for the minister, and would at once request his name recorded as dissenting.

"Parson Roby," as he was familiarly called, had now been settled over a half-century. Peace and love had marked all his intercourse with his people. In July, 1802, the loved pastor, who had always enjoyed the best health, was suddenly attacked with disease while in his pulpit. He was taken therefrom to his home, never more to resume the duties so long and so faithfully discharged. In August a meeting was held on the matter, and Joseph Emerson was employed as a substitute for a few weeks. Thus matters went on, several ministers supplying till January 31, 1803, when the aged pastor died. The record reads thus: "January 31st, 1803, the Rev. Joseph Roby departed this life, in the 80th year of his life and the 53d of his ministry, and was buried the 4th day of February, at the expense of the parish." The following is the inscription on his gravestone, still standing in the old burying-ground:

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev^d Joseph Roby, who departed this life Jan'y. 31st, 1803, in the 80th year of his age and 53d of his ministry in this Parish.

"Through life a lover of learning and virtue, a sincere friend, a kind and affectionate husband and parent, and a devoted Christian.

"By a constant practice of the Christian and social virtues, he rendered himself greatly beloved and respected in the various walks of domestic life. Reader, would'st thou be honored in life and lamented at death, go and do likewise.

"No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Invade these bounds; no mortal woes
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here
Whilst angels watch his soft repose.
So Jesus sleeps, God's dying Son,
Past thro' the grave and blast the bed.
Thou rest, dear Saint, till from his throne
The morning break and pierce the shade."

In April, 1804, the church and parish gave a call to Rev. William Frothingham—his letter of acceptance was dated June 2, 1804, from which we give an extract:

"The office to which you have called me is greatly important and solemn. It is to be an ambassador of Christ to men—to be entrusted with the word of reconciliation—to be a guide and instructor in matters of eternal moment to you—to watch for your souls as one that must give an account—to be your spiritual steward, appointed to give every one his meat in due season—to be a worker together with Christ. How sacred an office! What peculiar talents, what spiritual graces are necessary to the right discharge of it!"

He was installed September 26, 1804. Mr. Frothingham continued as minister for thirteen years, until dismissed at his own request, May 7, 1817. The parish had become weaker through the withdrawal of several prominent members and other causes, and so were unable to support Mr. Frothingham—he left his charge with grief and the society parted with him with deep regret.

The parish voted the pulpit free to ministers of any denomination, no expenses being made to the parish. This state of things existed for three or four years, and very little was done to promote harmony of action.

From 1821 to 1826 Rev. Joseph Emerson and Rev. Hervey Wilbur, being principals of the Saugus Female Seminary, also generally supplied the parish pulpit.

This year, 1826, began that conflict of opinions which finally resulted in dividing the society. The Trinitarian and Unitarian elements could no longer coalesce.

Through the great influence of Dr. Abijah Cheever, the Rev. Ephraim Randall, a strict Unitarian, was installed minister October 3, 1826. His pastorate was short-lived, lasting until the following autumn in 1827, when it was dissolved and the parish left again destitute.

The controversy became bitter. From 1827 to 1832 very little was done,—occasional preaching in the old church, rarely orthodox, but more frequently Universalist and Unitarian.

In 1832 the Calvinistic members of the parish, seeing no prospect of ever gaining the ascendancy in the parish again, formally withdrew and organized a new society. This left the old parish in a crippled condition, which lasted up to 1836.

In the winter of 1835-36 the members of the old parish waked up and began a general repairing and remodeling the inside of the old church, which had now been built one hundred years.

The old high-backed latticed pews were removed, also the venerable pulpit with the sounding board,

also the deacons' seat, and the galleries on the south and east sides, leaving a small gallery on the west end for the singers.

The broad south porch did not escape, but was torn down and its doors closed, the only entrance now being on the west side. Such was the change that the old church could scarcely be recognized.

The first minister after the renovation was Rev. John Nichols. After Mr. Nichols the pulpit was supplied from 1838 to 1848 by Benjamin F. Newhall, Esq., James M. Usher and others.

In 1850 Rev. Josiah Marvin was settled and continued till 1852.

From 1852 to 1857, preaching by Rev. Henry Eaton, Sylvanus Cobb, D.D., Rev. J. W. Talbot and Hon. James M. Usher.

From 1857 to 1859, supplied by Rev. J. H. Campbell

It was at this time that most of the parish property was sold. In 1858 some movement was made for a new church. Soon the old parish church was sold for about two hundred and forty-two dollars to Miss Eliza Townsend, who removed the church to the northerly side of Main Street, near by, and made it into a store with dwelling above. The site of the old church was sold for five hundred and seventy dollars.

In 1860 a new church was built and dedicated in the autumn of the same year. It was located a few hundred feet west of the old site, at the corner of Main and Summer Streets, where it is now standing with its modest spire. An outside clock on its tower gives the time of day to observers.

Since 1860 the pulpit has been supplied as follows: From 1860 to 1861 by Rev. Benjamin W. Atwill; 1862 to 1865 by Rev. J. H. Campbell; 1866 to 1873 by Rev. Thomas J. Greenwood; 1875 to 1876 by Rev. Albert W. Whitney; 1876 to 1878 by Rev. Thomas W. Ilman; 1878 to 1884 by Rev. Charles A. Skinner; 1885 to April, 1887, Rev. J. H. McInerney. In June, 1887, Rev. Irving W. Tomlinson is engaged to supply for one year.

Having brought the old parish history down to the present time, let us return to that portion of the old parishioners who, although claiming to be the true successors in doctrine of the old parish church, were yet by the laws of the State made the seceders, being in the minority.

In 1832 the Calvinistic members of the parish formed a society and first held separate services in the secedary building, which stood on the parish property.

Law was resorted to by the old parish, and they were finally driven out from this building and went to the public school-house.

This rupture or secession from the old society was led by Joseph Emes, David Newhall and George Pearson. Their first pastor was Rev. Sidney Holman, who was installed January 16, 1833, and dismissed December 31, 1834. From this time till May, 1836, there was not a settled minister.

Worship was regularly maintained however, the lay brethren reading sermons and otherwise assisting in the services.

On May 1, 1836, Rev. Moses Sawyer commenced to supply the pulpit, and continued his ministry for six years.

On April 19, 1843, Rev. Theophilus Sawin was ordained pastor, and was dismissed April 30, 1848.

Rev. Cyrus Stone, a returned missionary from India, now supplied for a few years, and Rev. Levi Brigham was installed May 7, 1851, and continued until September, 1868.

On March 10, 1869, Rev. F. V. Tenney was installed, and by his request was dismissed May 24, 1877.

On April 17, 1878, Rev. Samuel T. Kidder was ordained, and continued until October, 1879.

On July 21, 1880, Rev. Edw. L. Chute was installed and continued until October, 1882.

Rev. C. H. Washburn supplied in 1885 until 1886, when he was followed in June by Rev. M. S. Hemenway, who supplied the pulpit for one year, and at the present time (1887) the society is without a settled pastor.

This society built their first church in 1835, Joseph Emes, Esq., being the chief planner and manager. This was a stone church of very plain appearance, and is still standing (1887), although occupied as a grocery-store and post-office.

The society worshipped in this stone church until 1854, when they built a larger and more commodious church edifice, which still stands, and is a commanding structure in this portion of the town. Originally, as designed by Arthur Gilman, architect, it had no vestry under the audience-room, but in 1871 the society raised the whole building, with its tower, and built under the same a vestry story.

While this gave the society better accommodations, it most certainly injured its excellent proportions and took much away from its former beauty.

THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH.—Methodism first gained a settlement in that part of the town now known as East Saugus, but then as the South Ward.

Jesse Lec, the pioneer Methodist preacher from the New York Conference, came to Lynn in December, 1790, and a church was built in Lynn in June, 1791.

Some of our inhabitants were attracted to these Methodist services, which brought to their hearts an earnestness and a consecration which they had not found in the more formal and cold services of the parish church.

Whole families were in the habit of walking down to the Methodist services on Sabbath mornings, carrying their luncheon with them, and returning at night.

We find that as early as 1810 members came up from the Lynn Church and held prayer-meetings in the old Rock School-house, so-called. This school-house, which proved to be the cradle of Methodism

in Saugus, deserves rather more than a passing notice.

The spot where this famous school-house stood is plainly to be seen to-day, although the house has long since disappeared.

It stood on the eastern brow of the rocky hill on the old Boston road, now called Lincoln Avenue, opposite to what was formerly the old Anchor Tavern. The spot was many feet above the level of the street, and being rocky and comparatively worthless, it was thought just the place for a school-house, and so here it was built in 1806.

Every one who entered must needs climb up a steep ascent and then ascend the long flight of steps into its side porch.

The building was about twenty-four feet square, one story high, with hipped roof. On the southerly side was a porch about six feet square, from which an aisle six feet wide ran through the middle of the house north and south. At the north end of the aisle stood the teacher's desk upon a raised platform: in the middle of the aisle stood a large, capacious cast-iron box-stove.

From this central aisle three narrow passages on each side sloped up to the sides of the house; between these passage ways ran long desks or forms for the accommodation of the scholars, each tier being higher than the one in front.

In 1838, a new school-house having been built, the old Rock School-house was sold, and during the attempt to remove it from its elevated plateau some accident occurred by which it was precipitated into the street below; this necessitated its demolition.

It was in this building that the Methodist services were held for many years, beginning about 1810 and continuing until their new church was built, in 1827. Among the early converts were Solomon Brown, John Shaw, Amos Stocker and Joseph S. Newhall—men who proved themselves worthy to uphold the banner of the cross amid the increasing opposition.

It was not long, in 1815, before Edward T. Taylor, then an illiterate young man, traveling as an itinerant peddler, found a place in this school-house to begin his preaching, which afterwards became so famous. About 1818 this occasional preaching-place was joined to the Malden Circuit, and among the preachers were Orlando Hinds, Isaac Jennison, Aaron D. Sargent, Frederick Upham, Jotham Horton, Leonard Frost, Eleazer Steel, Aaron Wait, Jr., and Warren Emerson. As the converts increased they were formed into a class and were first connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church at Lynn Common. The winter of 1819 and 1820 was a period of great religious interest; hardly a family in this village but shared in some measure in the work.

The first written church records begin in June, 1825, when Rev. Henry Mayo was the Conference preacher in charge.

He was appointed by the Conference June 6,

1824. For this year there was a subscription for his support of one hundred dollars, made up by forty-eight subscriptions ranging from five dollars down to forty-two cents.

Of this amount twenty-five dollars was contributed by friends in Lynnfield; also twelve dollars and twenty-two cents by the "Honorable Mite Society." This was a woman's society which met once a month at different houses for conversation and prayer and payment of dues. This money was expended in the following manner:

Presiding elder's bill	\$8.02
Preacher's traveling expenses	2.50
The table expenses	18.75
Quarterage	69.83
	<u>\$100.00</u>

The record of the names of the members of the church, as made by Henry Mayo June 4, 1825, is headed by Solomon Brown, and contains sixteen males and thirty-seven females, with twenty-five on probation. The First Quarterly Conference met in the South School-house (also called the Rock School-house), June 4, 1825.

The following official members were present: Edward Hyde, presiding elder; Henry Mayo, preacher in charge; John Shaw and Joshua Howard, stewards; and Solomon Brown and Joseph S. Newhall, class-leaders. At this meeting Jonathan Newhall and Joseph G. Goldthwait were added to the stewards.

FORMATION OF A PARISH.

"SAUGUS, June 30, 1825.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lynn and Saugus convened in said Saugus, it was voted first that we form ourselves into a society, to be called the 'First Methodist Episcopal Society in Saugus.' Second, that we petition William Jackson, Esq., a Justice of the Peace in and for the County of Essex, to grant a warrant calling a legal meeting of the members of said Society, for the purpose of choosing officers and transacting such other business as may be found proper."

PETITION AT LARGE.

"SAUGUS, June 30, 1825.

"To William Jackson, Esq., one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Essex:

"We, the undersigned Petitioners, at a meeting held in Saugus, Voted to organize ourselves into a Society called the First Methodist Society in Saugus, and we would therefore beg leave to request you to issue a warrant calling a legal meeting of the members of said Society, for the purpose of choosing officers and transacting such other business as shall come before the meeting.

John Shaw.	Benj. P. Oliver.
Benj. F. Newhall.	Benj. B. Hitchings.
Jona. Newhall.	Levi D. Waldron.
Jos. G. Goldthwait.	G. W. Raddin.
Solomon Brown.	James Howard.
Edmund Brown.	Stephen Smith.
James Hall.	Joshua Howard."

The warrant, as requested, was issued by William Jackson, Esq., July 15, 1825, and the legal meeting of the First Methodist Episcopal Society in Saugus was held at the Rock School-house on July 25, 1825, when John Shaw was chosen moderator, Benjamin F. Newhall secretary and parish clerk, Joshua Howard treasurer, and John Shaw, James Howard, Stephen Smith, Jonathan Newhall and Joshua Howard a com-

mittee. The yearly meeting was to be held on the first Wednesday in March, annually, at 7 o'clock, P.M.

This gave to the society a legal status.

Rev. Henry Mayo saw the church organized in all its departments and well started in its long career of service. That the church should have started at this time with so much matured strength clearly indicates that there had been for years previous a great deal of labor put forth in the interest of Methodism. This was the case, as has already been mentioned.

Many of our people had formed a congenial religious home with the Lynn Common Methodist Church, had become members therein and had attached themselves to a "class," which met in East Saugus.

The following are the successive pastorates :

1824. Rev. Henry Mayo.	1850-51. Rev. Daniel K. Bannister.
1825. Rev. Leroy Sunderland.	
1826-27. Rev. Aaron Joselyn.	1852. Rev. J. A. Adams.
1828. Rev. Nathan Paine.	1853-54. Rev. Ralph W. Allen.
1829. Rev. Ephraim K. Avery.	1855-56. Rev. Wm. H. Hatch.
1830. Rev. John J. Bliss.	1857-58. Rev. Daniel Richards.
1831. Rev. Hiram H. White.	1859-60. Rev. Jonas M. Clark.
1832. Rev. Ebenezer Blake.	1861-62. Rev. Cyrus L. Eastman.
1833. Rev. Joel Steele.	1863-64. Rev. Daniel Richards.
1834. Rev. John Lord.	1865. Rev. Thomas Marcy.
1835. Rev. Lewis Bates.	1866-68. Rev. Pliny Wood.
1836. Rev. Nowell S. Spalding.	1869-71. Rev. Jesse Wagner.
1837-38. Rev. Sanford S. Denton.	1872-73. Rev. M. B. Chapman.
1839-40. Rev. Daniel K. Bannister.	1874-76. Rev. Saml. Jackson.
	1877-78. Rev. P. M. Vinton.
1841-42. Rev. John D. Bridge.	1879-81. Rev. Henry J. Fox, D.D.
1843-44. Rev. William Rice.	1882-83. Rev. W. N. Richardson.
1845-46. Rev. Isaac A. Savage.	1884-86. Rev. David S. Coles.
1847-48. Rev. Edward Cook.	1887. Rev. Geo. W. Mansfield.
1849. Rev. Wm. M. Mann.	

At a meeting of the society held in the Rock School-house April 17, 1827, it was unanimously voted "to proceed immediately to erect a House of Worship for this society." Rev. Aaron Joselyn, George Makepeace and John T. Burrill was a committee to obtain subscriptions for the new church.

Accordingly, the work on their first church at once commenced, and was carried forward to completion with commendable dispatch, so that its dedication took place November 22, 1827.

This church was of very modest appearance, forty-six by forty feet, without spire or tower, bell or vestry. It contained forty pews and cost two thousand dollars. Its pulpit was high above the pews and was reached by two flights of stairs, at the head of which were doors through which to enter the box pulpit.

The church stood on the same spot where now stands the second church.

This edifice served the society until 1842, when it was lengthened by adding about twenty feet on the back end and building a basement vestry under the same. Twenty-two new pews were thus obtained, and fifteen hundred dollars spent. Rev. Jonathan D. Bridge was then pastor and much religious interest prevailed.

In 1854 the society sold their first church, and it was removed to the corner of Lincoln Avenue and Wendell Street, where it still stands under the name of Waverly Hall.

Active measures were taken in building their second church on the old spot, and in the meantime services were held in the school-house and in the old church.

The vestry of the new church was dedicated December 3, 1854, and public dedication services of the entire church were held February 22, 1855. Sermon by Rev. Bishop E. S. Janes.

In 1875 the exterior of the church edifice was thoroughly repaired, and the main roof and spire were slated.

In 1880 the interior was improved by stained-glass windows, new pulpit with enlarged platform and altar, frescoing, carpets and upholstering.

In 1835 the society built a parsonage just north of the church. It was a modest one-and-a-half-story dwelling, which made a home for the successive pastors until 1871, when the parsonage was sold and removed, and a new one was erected on the old site. This cost about four thousand five hundred dollars, and is still standing. It was built during the pastorate of Rev. Jesse Wagner, who raised sufficient money among this people to pay for its erection.

A flourishing Sunday-school has always been connected with this church, and even as early as 1819 we find a Sunday-school formed. George Makepeace was the first superintendent, succeeded by Harriet Newhall, Miss Brigdon, James Burrill, Fales Newhall, Martin W. Brown, George H. Sweetser, Joseph C. Hill, James S. Oliver, Alvah Philbrook, Rufus A. Johnson, Horace Lovering and Wilbur F. Newhall, who is the present superintendent, having held the same office since 1865, with the exception of two intervening years.

This church continues to be the only one in East Saugus.

CLIFTONDALE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The Methodist Episcopal Society of Cliftondale was organized March 20, 1856. There had been preaching, however, a part of each Sabbath by Rev. R. W. Allen during 1854 and every Sabbath by James Blodgett during 1855.

The new society at first held its services in the unfinished room in the school-house, now the grammar school room. In 1857 a chapel—a plain, but substantial, structure—was built, and in December of the same year was dedicated to the purposes of Christian worship.

The first pastor was Rev. James Blodgett, a local preacher, who died a few years since. He was followed, in turn, by Revs. George F. Poole, who remained as pastor from 1856 to 1859; Solomon Chapin, 1859-61; John S. Day, 1861-63; Daniel Waite, 1863-

66; Frank G. Morris, 1866-68; J. F. Bassett, 1868-69; George E. Reed, 1869-70; J. E. Richards, 1870-71; Joshua Gill, 1871-72; Ralph W. Allen, 1872-75; C. W. Wilder, 1875-77; A. O. Hamilton, 1877-78; C. M. Melden, 1878-80; W. P. Odell, 1880-83; George A. Phinney, 1883-86, the latter being succeeded by Charles A. Littlefield, the present pastor of the church.

This church is the daughter of the East Saugus Methodist Episcopal Church, granddaughter of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Lynn, and mother of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Saugus Centre, which latter church, in 1877, formed a society of their own, and a year later built and dedicated their present place of worship.

The Sunday-school connected with the society was formed in 1852 and organized in 1858. The superintendents of the school have been S. S. Dunn, Hon. George H. Sweetser, Horatio G. Herrick, Matthew Rawson and Albert H. Sweetser, who holds the position at the present time. The school is in a prosperous condition, its present membership being one hundred and eighty-six.

About the beginning of the year 1881 the pastor, Rev. W. P. Odell, conceived the idea of building a new church, in which plan he readily interested the members of the society, displaying commendable zeal and enterprise in the matter. The plan of building a new church was finally given up, and it was decided to remodel the chapel. The effort to solicit subscriptions met with such success that the building committee, consisting of A. H. Sweetser, J. A. Roddin, C. H. Bond, S. P. Coates and E. S. Kent, feeling assured of success, placed the matter in the hands of Henry W. Rogers, of Lynn, who submitted to the committee the plan of the present edifice, which was accepted, and work was commenced on remodeling the chapel in July, and was finished the day before its dedication.

The church is a very handsome one, giving entire satisfaction to the people and being an ornament to the community. Its seating capacity is about two hundred and twenty-five. There are two entrances in front by large double doors, surmounted with neat pitched roof hoods. The front gable is ornamented with tracery of a pretty pattern. The exterior is painted in shades of olive green, the spire, roofs and belts of cut shingles around the tower are painted red. The vestibule, audience-room and tower-room are lighted by beautiful stained-glass windows of a new and attractive design. The audience-room on the main floor is entered by two large doors, opening into aisles three and a half feet wide, with rows of ash pews, richly upholstered, on either side. The walls and ceilings are tastily decorated with rich frescos of the Pompeian style. Below the audience-room is a vestry, with a seating capacity of one hundred and twenty-five, also store-rooms, library and class-room.

The church is in a very prosperous condition. Both church and Sunday-school are growing rapidly. The present church membership (August, 1887) is one hundred and thirty-eight.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SAUGUS CENTRE.—In 1875 a few Christian men invited Rev. O. J. Pettegrew to assist in starting a Methodist mission in the Centre. A Sunday-school was formed; also a Ladies' Sewing Circle, and preaching Sunday afternoons.

The services were held in Flye's Hall at first, but this proving too small to accommodate the people, a removal was made in September to "Hitchings' Hall," near the depot. Mr. Pettegrew continued his labors with them until April, 1876, when Rev. J. Thompson came for a short time.

In November, 1876, the society united themselves with the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cliftondale, and in May, 1877, Rev. E. H. McKenney began his services with them, which continued three years.

July 23, 1877, Rev. Daniel Dorchester, presiding elder of the New England Conference, met with thirty-eight members of the society and organized them into a church. Rev. E. H. McKenney was made pastor and all the usual church officers elected, including a board of trustees. Steps were at once taken towards the building of a chapel.

A lot of land on Main Street, nearly opposite Vine Street, was given by William H. Penny, and during the winter a church, thirty-two by fifty feet, was erected, so that April 24, 1878, it was dedicated by appropriate services, Rev. V. A. Cooper, of Lynn, preaching the sermon.

The church was placed in the westerly portion of the village, so as better to accommodate the people living in the neighborhood, including Oaklandvale. The following are the Conference ministers who have had charge: April, 1880, Rev. Charles M. Melden; April, 1882, Rev. Samuel Plantz; April, 1883, Rev. Arthur W. Tirrill; April, 1884, Rev. Webster Miller; April, 1886, Rev. Daniel Richards; April, 1887, Rev. C. J. Mills.

ST. JOHN'S MISSION (Saugus Centre).—In the spring of 1883 the diocesan Episcopal missionary, Rev. John S. Beers, held a service in a private house in Saugus Centre. A goodly number of churchmen were present. Soon after this a modest beginning was made by the establishment of a Sunday-school, which, in a few months, numbered forty scholars, and later on increased to seventy. Mr. Thomas Ashworth was the first superintendent—an earnest Christian man—but in less than two years he died, after a short and painful illness. He was succeeded by Lyman F. Merrill, a member of St. Paul's Church, Malden, who continued to hold this office until a short time previous to his ordination as deacon in the Episcopal

Church. At present Mr. Frank Knight, of St. Stephen's Church of Lynn, is acting as superintendent.

During the first year occasional services were held in a hired hall, Rev. Mr. Beers and others officiating.

In the summer of 1884 Rev. Thomas L. Fisher, minister at St. Luke's Church, Linden, added to his heavy labor in his own parish a regular Sunday afternoon service for this mission, together with such pastoral care as his time would allow.

The hall on Central Street, near Mr. Flye's, was tastefully fitted up under his direction; several gifts of church furniture, books and other necessary things were made, and the work continued to prosper under the name of St. John's Mission.

Money is now being raised for the erection of a church edifice, assistance having been received from St. Stephen's Church, Lynn, so that the society hope, in less than a year's time, to have a place of worship of their own.

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY OF CLIFTONDALE.—This religious society was organized November, 1886. About a year previous to its formation services were held in Clifton Hall, preachers being obtained as they could be from different denominations.

A Sunday-school was gathered in connection with the society in April, 1886.

About the time of the organization of the society Rev. Theodore Haven was called as pastor, but he remained only about two months.

Very soon after Rev. Henry B. Miter was engaged as pastor, and has remained with the society up to the present time, September 1887.

The society continues to hold its services in Clifton Hall, owned by Mr. Charles H. Bond, who has been much interested in the formation of this society.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SAUGUS—(Continued).

MANUFACTURING INTERESTS, PAST AND PRESENT.

Iron Works—Mill Sites at East Saugus—Pranker's Mills—Scott's Mills—North Saugus—Tobacco Business at Cliftondale—Crochery—Shoe Business—Grain Mill on Ballard Street—Brick Making—Hair Business.

IRON WORKS.—Although iron ore was first discovered in other sections of the country, the first successful iron works were established in New England and in that portion of Massachusetts now embraced in the township of Saugus. In 1632 mention is made by Morton of the existence of "iron stone" in New England, and in November, 1637, the General Court of Massachusetts granted to Abraham Shaw one-half of the benefit of any "coles or yron stone wch shal be found in any comon ground wch is in the countreyes disposing."

Iron ore had been found in small ponds on the western bank of the Saugus River soon after its settlement in 1629, and in 1642 specimens of it were taken to London by Robert Bridges, in the hope that a company might be formed for the manufacture of iron.

This hope was realized in the formation of "The Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works," consisting of eleven English gentlemen, who advanced £1000 to establish the works. John Winthrop, Jr., had previously gone to England, and he appears to have assisted Mr. Bridges to secure the organization of the company. He became a member of the company, as did others among the colonists. Thomas Dexter and Robert Bridges, both of Lynn, were among the original promoters of the enterprise.

Workmen were brought from England in 1643, and the foundry was erected on the western bank of Saugus River, just at the head of tide water, in what is now called the Centre of Saugus, and still marked by the old banks of scoria, which have bravely withstood all changes. The village at the foundry was called "Hammersmith," from a place of that name in England, whence came many of the workmen.

In 1644 and subsequently the General Court granted many special privileges to the company. On March 7, 1644, it was granted three miles square of land in each of six places it might occupy in the prosecution of its business.

On November 13, 1644, it was allowed three years "for ye perfecting of their worke and furnishing of ye country with all sorts of barr iron." The citizens were granted liberty to take stock in the enterprise, "if they would complete the finery and forge, as well as the furnace, which is already set up."

On the 14th of May, 1645, the general court passed an order declaring that "ye iron works is very successful (both in ye richness of ye ore and ye goodness of ye iron)," and that between £1200 and £1500 had already been disbursed, "with which ye furnace is built, with that which belongeth to it; and some tuns of sowe iron cast in readiness for ye forge. There will be neede of some £1500 to finish ye forge."

On the 14th of October, of the same year, the company was granted still further privileges by the General Court, on the condition "that the inhabitants of this jurisdiction be furnished with barr iron of all sorts for their use, not exceeding twentye pounds per tun," and that the grants of land already made should be used "for the building and seting up of six forges or furnaces, and not bloomaries onely." The grant was confined to the company of the free use of all materials "for making or moulding any manner of gunnes, potts and other cast-iron ware."

On the 6th of May, 1646, Mr. Richard Lender, the general agent of the company, who is described as a man of superior ability, purchased "some of the country's gunnes to melt over at the foundry." On August 4, 1648, Governor Winthrop wrote from Bos-

ton to his son, who had removed to Pequod, Conn., that "the iron work goeth on with more hope. It yields now about seven tons per week." On September 30th he writes again: "The furnace runs eight tons per week, and their bar iron is as good as Spanish."

Among the many workmen who came over from England were Richard Leader, already mentioned, Henry and James Leonard, Henry Styche, Archibald Anderson and Joseph Jenks, who had come from Hammersmith in England. He was a machinist and a man of much skill and inventive genius. He prepared the moulds for the first castings. A small iron pot, holding about one quart, was the first article cast, according to Lewis' History, and is still in the possession of a lineal descendant of Thomas Hudson, who was the original owner of the lands on which the iron works were built, and who obtained possession of the pot immediately after it was cast.

Joseph Jenks, who became the founder of an eminent New England family, purchased from Richard Leader on the 20th of January, 1647, the privilege of building a forge at the iron works for the manufacture of scythes and other edge tools.

This enterprise was successful.

In 1652 he made at the iron works, for the mint which was that year established at Boston, the dies for the first silver pieces coined in New England. On one side of these coins was the impression of a pine tree. In 1654 he made for the city of Boston the first fire engine made in America. In 1655 the General Court granted him a patent for an improved scythe. This scythe we understand to be substantially the one in present use, a great improvement over the short wide-bladed scythe of English make. He died in 1683.

Henry and James Leonard were also skilled workmen at the iron works. They and their descendants were afterwards connected with other colonial iron enterprises.

They had a brother Philip, who does not appear to have lived at Saugus.

Rev. Dr. Fobes, in referring to the Leonard family in his book written in 1703, says that "the circumstance of a family attachment to the iron manufacture is so well known as to render it a common observation in this part of the country (town of Raynham), "where you can find iron works there you will find a Leonard!"

Henry and James Leonard are said to have learned their trade at Pontypool, in Monmouthshire. One or both of them superintended the erection of iron-works at Braintree, in 1648, and also at Taunton, in 1652, and at Rowley, in 1668.

Indeed, we read of many other iron enterprises by these Leonards in many parts of our State. For a hundred years after its settlement Massachusetts was the chief seat of the iron manufacture on this continent. Most of its iron enterprises, during this hun-

dred years, were bloomeries; but there were blast-furnaces also, although the latter, as a rule, produced only hollow ware and other castings, and not pig-iron. During the period mentioned the iron industry of Massachusetts was confined to the eastern counties of the colony, where bog or pond ores formed almost the only kinds of ores obtainable.

But let us return to our own iron-works in Saugus. The General Court granted many privileges to this iron enterprise.

In 1644 all engaged therein were exempted from taxes for ten years. The workmen also were not liable to military service. They gave any of the inhabitants liberty to share in the work, by "bringing in within one year no less than £100 a person, with allowance to the adventurers, &c., for £1000 already disbursed," if they would complete the finery and forge, as well as the furnace, which "is already set up." Liberty was given "to make use of all yron ston, or yron ore," to cut wood and to make ponds and highways.

In 1646 arrangements were made with Thomas Dexter for opening a new water-course and enlarging the pond. Land was purchased of Dexter and a new dam was erected higher up the river, and probably very near the present dam. The old canal, which conveyed the water to the mills, can be distinctly seen in places, even at the present time.

This new dam raised the flowings of the water and caused damage to land of Adam Hawkes, in the northerly part of the town.

In 1652 John Gifford was the new agent at the iron-works. He seems to have increased the height of the dam again, and also to have flowed more of Mr. Hawkes' land.

In 1653 Thomas Savage and Henry Webb, of Boston, obtained judgment against the Iron Company for £2245.

In 1660 Oliver Purchis succeeded Gifford as agent of Iron-Works.

From this time onward an increased amount of trouble and annoyance attended the Iron Company. They had made great inroads into the forests in consequence of the large quantities of charcoal needed, —so much so, that fears were everywhere prevalent that the wood would be exhausted and the country impoverished.

Debts and law-suits increased.

In 1671, during the night the dam was cut away and the great pond emptied of its water. This caused much damage.

In 1678 Samuel Appleton, Jr., took possession of the Iron Works, by a grant in the will of William Payne, of Boston. It was estimated there were three thousand acres of iron mill land. Mr. Appleton then owned three-fourths of the Iron Works, valued at £1500, but, in 1683, the heirs of Major Thomas Savage sold the remaining fourth to Mr. Appleton, who thus owned the whole property.

In 1688 Mr. Appleton sold the entire works to James Taylor, of Boston, and it was about this time that they probably ceased operations entirely. Vexatious law-suits had much to do with hastening its cessation, but it would rather seem probable that the supply of iron-ore had nearly become exhausted.

From the foregoing details it is plainly established that the enterprise at Saugus embraced a blast-furnace or "foundry," and a refining forge. The term "foundry" was long a synonyme for "furnace," castings being made directly from the furnace.

This practice continued in this country down to almost the middle of the present century, and is still followed in many European countries. That the furnace was in operation in May, 1645, is certain, and that the forge was in operation in September, 1648, is equally certain.

These dates may be accepted as definitely determining the first successful attempts in this country to make "sowe iron" and other castings in a blast-furnace, and to make "barr iron" in a refining forge from "sowe iron."

MILL-SITE IN EAST SAUGUS.—In October, 1721, certain citizens of Lynn, viz., Benjamin Potter, Jacob Newhall and William Curtis, were granted a right to build a tide-mill at East Saugus Bridge, but these men failing to build, the right was given, in 1722, to Thomas Cheever and Ebenezer Merriam, and they at once built a mill with two run of stones for grinding corn. This mill was a small one-story building built upon the west side of the river, and likely upon the very spot now occupied by the south end of the present mill.

Merriam sold to Cheever in 1729, and August 10, 1738 Cheever sold the property to Joseph Gould for six hundred and twenty pounds.

Gould was a Quaker, but not a native of Lynn. He was a prudent, energetic business man. Within a few years after the purchase he built for himself, adjoining the mill, a two-story dwelling-house, one room of which he occupied for a small grocery-store. This dwelling-house was taken down in 1844. Joseph Gould owned and occupied the mill till his death, in 1774. His widow continued in possession up to about 1785, when, through neglect to make necessary repairs, it became unserviceable. The flood-gates no longer kept the water in the mill-pond, but it was allowed to ebb and flow with the tide.

This state of things continued for seven years, until 1792, when the Widow Gould died.

It was then, in 1792, that George Makepeace, Esq., of Boston, bought the mill of the heirs for nine hundred dollars. This was an important time for this mill privilege. Mr. Makepeace had been a leading importing merchant at Boston. He at once tore down the old one-story mill, and in its place built a good two-story building. This was built in 1794, and comprises about two-thirds of the present building,

being the central part. In this mill he put two runs of stones for grinding corn and in the northerly end two mortars for grinding snuff. These snuff-mortars were rimmed out of large buttonwood-logs in their rude state with the bark on.

This was the beginning of the snuff business which has made Saugus renowned.

It was through the advice of Samuel Fales that Mr. Makepeace undertook the snuff business, which, in 1798, he transferred to his nephew, Jonathan Makepeace, who continued it for about fifty years, up to 1844, making his snuff, known as "Makepeace's snuff," which obtained a reputation in all parts of the country. He gave his constant personal attention to the making of this snuff from the very best of leaf-tobacco, cured in the most careful way; it was then ground and scented and put up in small wooden kegs, with his own autograph on each. He was a very methodical man, upright in all his dealings, and generous to all worthy objects, for many years a consistent member of the Methodist Church, and respected by the entire community. He was more familiarly known as Major Makepeace.

CHOCOLATE BUSINESS.—About 1796 the chocolate business had its beginning in this mill. Mr. Makepeace at this time put on an addition to the northerly end of the mill for a chocolate-factory. Another water-wheel was also put in.

The machinery for roasting, cracking and fanning the cocoa was run by chains from horizontal shafts. The noise and din of such machinery was indescribable. Benjamin Sweetser, Amos Rhodes and Deacon John Wait were the first chocolate manufacturers, and the business was continued for many years by Mr. Amariah Childs.

The following extract is from the pen of my father, Benjamin F. Newhall, Esq., as printed in the *Lynn Reporter* in his sketches of Saugus:

He says in regard to the chocolate business here,—

"In 1812 the last war with England commenced, which gave a new impetus to the chocolate business.

"The mill was overwhelmed with work, so that it was carried on in summer, and the cooling was done in cellars. Mr. Childs, with others, entered quite largely into the manufacture, which yielded, in the beginning of the war, a large profit.

"Very soon, with the large demand, cocoa began to advance in price, and continued to do so till it rose from eight cents per pound to thirty-three cents, a rise of over three hundred per cent.

"After this extreme, it soon receded, and finally settled into a healthy trade.

"One of the most amusing things connected with this old chocolate manufacture was the pretended art and skill indispensable to a successful issue. This art and skill was believed to be a secret possessed by only here and there an individual.

"Even the persons who carried on the manufacture did not pretend to any knowledge of the art.

"It seemed to be a general opinion by the public that the owners of the manufacture was unknown, except to a very few, who had obtained it, by great labor and expense, from Spain or South America.

"This acknowledgment gave the pretensions a superiority, and placed them in a position not only to be honored, but to be well paid.

"The man who had been enough to carry the pretence through successfully, managed everything about to his own mind.

"In my early boyhood I used to work in this chocolate mill, as I used

erable of the work could be done by boys better than by men. The grand magician of that early day was Josiah Rhodes, nicknamed 'Shin Casar.'

"He exercised the most unlimited control over the whole establishment. So arbitrary was he in the exercise of his pretended skill that scarcely anyone dared to look at the chocolate in process of manufacture. The roaster and stirring-kettle were objects forbidden by him to be examined by the ignorant world. I well remember with what veneration I used to look upon this aged, cadaverous veteran. The smoke of the roaster could be seen curling up over the fire, but none had the courage, in his presence, to smell of the forbidden odor.

"Occasionally a small, mysterious white powder, from a piece of clean white paper, would be cast into the roaster, or the kettle, in a mysterious and magical manner, completely blinding the eyes of the uninitiated. Such was the dignity and haughtiness attendant upon the exercise of his skill that he rarely ever smiled or spoke when engaged.

"Even his employers hardly ever dared to ask a question. Men who labored years under him never dared to raise a pretence of knowing anything. Such were the pretended mysteries of the trade in olden times."

About 1800 George Makepeace built himself a dwelling-house on the north side of the river, near the mill. He also built a small building for a nail factory, with machinery to cut nails by hand. This business was carried on for five or six years very vigorously.

A machine was also put in for picking oakum, but this proved a failure.

Another unprofitable expenditure of Mr. Makepeace was the erection of a saw-mill on the north side of the river. To do this he had to dig a channel across the highway. Long after the saw-mill had ceased to be used this channel was filled up by the town of Lynn in 1820.

About 1806 Mr. Makepeace leased the mill premises to Amariah Childs, and in 1812 he sold the mill property to said Childs.

In 1813 Mr. Makepeace removed to Charlestown, where he died in 1820, about eighty years of age.

Mr. Childs continued the business at the mill from 1806 to 1840, and very early in this period he added the business of grinding spices.

This spice-grinding was done for Boston merchants, the spice being teamed out from Boston, and after being ground and put into barrels, was teamed back again.

It was not then put into small packages with showy labels as we now see it on the grocers' shelves.

In 1844 Mr. Childs sold the whole mill property to Charles Sweetser, Esq., for eight thousand dollars.

During all these years, with uninterrupted fidelity, Mr. Jonathan Makepeace had continued the snuff business in the mill; but now he gave up the business to Mr. Sweetser, who took out the old snuff machinery and put in nine new snuff mortars and also new water-wheels. He also removed the chocolate machinery and instead put in machinery for roasting and grinding coffee.

Indeed, the whole mill was put into excellent order. Mr. Sweetser, who lived in Cliftondale, where was his business office, carried on the grinding of snuff in the mill, while he leased the rest of the mill to different parties. First to Childs & Raddin, then to Josiah

Starr for a short time, and finally, January 1, 1858, to Herbert B. Newhall, who has continued the spice and coffee business up to the present time.

Mr. Sweetser died in 1865, but some years before this he relinquished the snuff business to his two sons, Charles A. and George H. Sweetser, who did a very large business.

The mill now, in 1887, is owned by Charles A. Sweetser. About four years ago the snuff machinery was removed and the whole mill has since been occupied by Mr. H. B. Newhall, he adding to his business the grinding and preparation of herbs.

Almost while I am writing, a fire has occurred in the above mill, which has caused its nearly total destruction. Very early Friday morning, July 8, 1887, a fire was discovered in the southerly end of the mill and such was its rapid spread that the whole mill was instantly enveloped in flames.

The fire department from Lynn responded at once, and were successful in preventing the further spread of the fire.

But the mill was left a wreck; only its charred outer walls are standing. It was insured for six thousand dollars.

Nothing was saved of the stock of H. B. Newhall.

So closes the eventful history of this noted old mill.

FRANKER'S MILLS.—The present dam is about five rods above the locality of the old iron-works dam.

About 1770 Ebenezer Hawkes made a rude dam upon the site of the present one, and excavated, in part, the present canal. He built a grist-mill and saw-mill.

In 1794 Benjamin Sweetser bought the mills and property. He was a chocolate manufacturer, and had carried the business on to some extent with horse power, in a building near his residence, which stood in what is now known as Cliftondale, on the Old Boston Road, where now stands the public house known as "Sunny Side House." This factory building was removed, in 1797, into the Village of East Saugus, and was afterwards owned and occupied for many years by Jonathan Makepeace. It has subsequently been removed again into Lynn, and now stands on Hawkes Hill, located one-quarter of a mile east of the river. But to return again to the mill site. About two years after buying, Major Sweetser built a new building for a chocolate-mill about seventy feet northwest of the grist-mill. From this period, 1796, he enlarged and extended his business, and very soon became one of the most renowned chocolate makers in the country. The name of Benjamin Sweetser stamped on every cake of the glossy chocolate gave it a reputation that none other had. About 1800 Major Sweetser erected a dwelling-house north of the factory, which is now standing; here he lived until his death, in 1819. From 1816 to 1820 the chocolate

manufacture was in a very prosperous condition, and the mill was rented to William Smith, who manufactured chocolate for Messrs. Chase & Page, of Salem. During this time the chocolate was made in exact imitation of the Spanish, and found a ready sale in the New Orleans market and for export.

From 1815 to 1822 the grist and saw-mills were leased to Robert Eames, who ground dye-woods, principally cam-wood. A very large business was done. About 1822, William Gray, of Boston, otherwise familiarly known as "Billy Gray," removed his manufacture of duck-cloth from Stoneham to Saugus. He took the Stoneham factory building to pieces and removed it to this locality, placing it between the chocolate-mill and the grist-mill, and forming but one building about one hundred and fifty feet in length. The duck was made of flax and hemp. But this business lasted only about one and a half years.

In 1824 the premises were leased to Brown & Baldwin for the purpose of bleaching and printing calico. John Haskins, of Boston, was soon associated with them under the firm-name of Brown, Baldwin & Haskins. A large amount of money was expended in new building and further improvements, followed by business embarrassment and final suspension at the end of 1825.

In 1826 the property passed to True & Brodhead, who continued the business. They repaired and raised the dam, which led to tedious lawsuits for flamage damages. During the ownership of Messrs. True & Brodhead, in 1829, the flannel manufacture was begun by Messrs. Brierly & Whitehead, who leased a portion of the old mill. This was the beginning of a business which has since given to Saugus a reputation as well as permanent prosperity.

In 1830 Mr. Brodhead withdrew, and Mr. Street entered the firm as True & Street; they continued until 1832, when their failure suspended business. It was during this time that they built a large brick factory, eighty-five by forty feet, and three stories high, which is now standing, but in consequence of a fire, in 1866, the upper story and roof were removed; it is now two stories high, with flat roof. In 1834 Whitwell, Bond & Co. were the owners; they introduced the business of cleaning and assorting wool. In 1835 another change in ownership took place, and Messrs. Livermore & Kendall, of Boston, became possessors and managers—professedly by the New England Wool Company,—the establishment was known as Rockville. In 1836 they removed to Framingham, and all business at the mills ceased for about two years.

In 1838 Edward Pranker, Esq., bought the property and removed from Salem, N. H. The mill underwent a thorough renovation and new machinery was put in. Although a period of great financial depression, yet Mr. Pranker showed energy and zeal in his business, which prospered from the first.

In 1846, finding the old brick building too small for his increasing business, he built another brick

factory adjoining the old one on the west, seventy by fifty feet, three stories high. Both factories were complete, with six sets of cards, thirteen jacks and forty looms. Each jack carried one hundred and eighty spindles.

In 1857 Mr. Pranker associated with himself in the business his son, George Pranker and John Armitage, the new firm being Edward Pranker & Co. Frame buildings were built on the south side of the road for wool-pulling and tanning sheepskin pelts.

In 1860 Mr. Pranker built a new brick building, one hundred and twenty-five by sixty feet, and two stories high, putting in four sets of woolen machinery. This building was placed on the east side of the road, nearly opposite the old brick mill, and extending northerly almost to the river.

Mr. Edward Pranker died in 1865. He was born in Wilton, England, in 1792; by occupation he was a weaver of woolen goods; he came to America in 1820.

After Mr. Pranker's death his son George and Mr. John Parsons continued the business up to 1877, but the death of Mr. George Pranker brought a suspension of the business for about two years.

In April, 1879, six grandchildren of Edward Pranker associated themselves together under the name of the "Pranker Manufacturing Company," and have continued the woolen-cloth business up to the present time.

They have increased the business each year, and have constantly been adding new and improved machinery. They now employ about one hundred operatives. They manufactured the past year goods valued at three hundred thousand dollars, requiring about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of clean wool.

The principal goods are all-wool shirtings and ladies' dress-goods and sackings of all colors and shades. Also plain and twilled flannels.

The fire, in February 1866, damaged the two brick mills adjoining each other on the westerly side of the road, and caused a change in their restoration; the older mill being lowered to two stories, while the newer mill, built in 1846, was raised to a four-story building; flat roofs were placed on both. These two buildings, together with the brick building on the east side of the road, containing six sets of machinery, now make up the principal buildings in use by this company,—in all ten sets of machinery. On the east side of [the road, opposite the oldest mill, they have a large brick steam boiler building, furnishing steam for power and heat for all the mills, of about two hundred horse-power. In 1884 they built a round brick chimney, one hundred feet high and ten feet diameter at the base, adjoining the boiler building.

SCOTT'S MILLS.—About 1810 Joseph Emes, Esq.,

then a young man of twenty-three years of age, bought this property, and in 1811 finished the dam and erected a two-and-a-half-story brick building for a morocco manufactory and other business. In 1813 Mr. Emes put in a grist-mill with one run of stones. At this time Robert Emes, Esq., his brother, united with him in business. They did a prosperous business.

In 1812 a fulling-mill for softening skins and hides was added to the establishment.

In 1817 the grist-mill was changed into one for the grinding of dye-stuffs, principally camwood. This business continued for about four years.

After 1821 Joseph Emes continued the business himself, manufacturing kid and morocco, with the grist and fulling-mills running as business could be obtained.

In 1834 James Brierly leased a part of the brick factory for the manufacture of hair and woolen rags.

In 1844 Mr. Emes erected a saw-mill upon the eastern bank of the river, which was operated for about two years.

In the spring of 1847 the brick factory was burned, with all the stock and machinery therein. This led to the selling of the property by Mr. Emes to Francis Scott, Esq., a merchant of Salem, in 1848. He at once repaired the dam, and erected on the northwest side of the river a large brick factory building, eighty-five by fifty feet and four stories high, put in all necessary machinery, and commenced the manufacture of flannel. In 1857 his son, A. A. Scott, was taken into the business as a partner, under the firm-name of Francis Scott & Son. In 1862 Mr. Francis Scott was thrown from a cart, severely injured and died soon after his injury, since which time the business has been carried on by his son, under the same style of firm.

Mr. A. A. Scott now employs about fifty workmen and workwomen. He manufactures all-wool flannels and dress goods. He makes eight hundred thousand yards annually, both fine and coarse grades. Improved machinery has been put in; also a steam-engine of eighty horse-power, with which the factory can be run whenever the water power is insufficient.

NORTH SAUGUS.—In 1814 the manufacture of linen duck was started in North Saugus. A dam was built across the river at a short distance west of the Newburyport Turnpike, and about a hundred rods above the bridge through which the river flows under the Turnpike.

A company was formed under the name of the Lynn Linen-Spinning Factory Company. The active men in the enterprise were Joseph R. Newhall and Amos Binney, of Boston. A large three-story frame building, situated on the east side of the river, was built, but the peace of 1815, together with sundry lawsuits for flowage damage, soon caused a suspension of business.

In 1816 Joel Fox undertook to revive the droop-

ing energies of the concern by introducing machinery for making fine linen cloth, and also shoe-thread. After a trial of three years he sold out and removed. The building was divided and set off to different persons to satisfy their judgments for damages. Thus in five years arose, flourished and died the "Linen-Factory," so-called.

Let us leave this spot and go perhaps a half a mile to the north, into the present village of North Saugus. Directly opposite to the school-house, on the easterly side of the highway, where now are found the artificial works of the city of Lynn for diverting the water of Hawkes Brook for their own use; it was here, on the south slope of a bluff of land that in 1816 Nathaniel Perry built a large frame building and put in machinery for spinning and weaving linen, at the same time building a dam across the brook close by. In the same year (1816) John Clark and James Howlett purchased land about ten rods northwest of Perry's mill, on Hawkes Brook, and built a dam and a frame building, and began the manufacture of Rappee snuff.

The effort of Mr. Perry to establish a linen-factory, after about a year's labor, proved a failure. Mr. Perry sold out to John Clark and James Howlett, who at once introduced the snuff business into this building. A canal was dug across the bluff of land, about fifteen rods long, so that the water of both streams could be connected into one pond when necessary.

The snuff business continued some two years, when this ceased also.

In 1828 John Clark, Esq., put into the large building the necessary machinery for a grist and chocolate-mill. This business continued for about three years, when the whole was discontinued and the dams removed. Hardly a vestige now remains to mark either site.

There is left but one other point in North Saugus for us to notice where business was early started.

About a half a mile westerly from the school-house, on the Wakefield road, is situated an old mill-site, on Saugus River. It is now owned by Byron S. Hone, who has a saw-mill in operation.

In 1811 Dr. John Hart, David Pratt, E. Weston and others were incorporated under the name of the "Lynn Wire and Screw Manufacturing Company" at this point; land was purchased, the dam was built and a suitable building erected in 1812. Although the business was commenced with vigor, yet misfortune soon attended this company, and failure and suspension followed. From 1816 to 1819 very little use was made of the property, and in the latter year it passed into the possession of John Clark, Esq., of Boston, who at once changed its use into a snuff-mill. This purchase influenced, in part, the removal from the two other snuff-mills, before alluded to. Eight large mortars were at once introduced into this new mill, and arrangements made for a large business.

James Howlett had charge and superintendence, but

afterwards bought the mill, and at his death his son, John Howlett, bought out the other heirs, and continued the snuff business, and the cutting of tobacco into what was called "fine-cut." A few years before selling the mill to Mr. Hone, Mr. Howlett removed the snuff-mortars and tobacco-cutter and put in instead a saw and shingle-mill, which have continued in operation to the present time.

In 1871 Mr. John Howlett sold the mill property to Philip P. Hone. At his death it passed to his only son, Byron S. Hone, who is the present owner.

CLIFTONDALE TOBACCO BUSINESS.—That portion of the town now called Cliftondale was formerly for many years known as Sweetser's Corner. The growth and prosperity of this village is to be traced to its manufacture of tobacco in its various forms, viz., snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco, and cigars, which had its beginning at the very close of the last century.

The pioneer in this business was William Sweetser, known as William Sweetser, Jr. He manufactured snuff in a hand-mill previous to this century and sold his product principally in Salem and Marblehead.

Following close upon Mr. Sweetser was Samuel Copp. He was a native of Boston, and his mother was a sister of the wife of Landlord Newhall. Having the misfortune to lose his father at an early age, he was apprenticed to a tobacconist. During this time his mother removed to Saugus and resided in the family of Landlord Newhall, where she died before he reached his majority.

On completing his apprenticeship he at once repaired to Saugus and commenced a very small business, first in East Saugus, then in Lynn on Boston Street near Federal Street, but after a very few years he removed to Cliftondale built him a house and shop and married for his second wife another daughter of William Sweetser who lived close by. This was about 1807. Mr. Copp's house, with the shop a few feet west, stood on the spot now occupied by the palatial residence of Mr. Charles H. Bond.

His factory was a two-story frame building and the business then consisted mainly in the manufacture of "Fig and Pig-tail," as they were then called. The upper story was wholly devoted to hand labor and spinning "pig-tail;" in the lower story were stout wooden screws in strong oaken frames, where the manufactured tobacco was pressed into boxes or kegs.

Previous to the establishment of Samuel Copp only one house existed at the "Corner;" this was the house of William Sweetser, and it is now standing, having been owned and occupied for many years past by the late Charles M. Bond.

Mr. Copp continued the business till 1820, when he sold out to Charles Sweetser, son of William Sweetser, who added the manufacture of cigars known as "short sixes" and "long nines," and also began the manufacture of snuff, first grinding the snuff at Salem

until 1844, when, purchasing the mill-site at East Saugus, he removed his snuff-grinding thereto. It will be seen that Mr. Charles Sweetser greatly enlarged the business, and a market was found all over the United States and British provinces and to some extent in foreign countries.

In 1860 Mr. Charles Sweetser gave up the business to his two sons, Charles A. and George H. Sweetser, who carried it on under the firm-name of Sweetser Brothers.

During these years many others took up the same business, viz., Charles Raddin, who was an extensive manufacturer, also S. S. Dunn, Charles M. Bond, Silas S. Trull, Thomas F. Downing, Hiram A. Raddin and John M. Raddin.

At the beginning of the Rebellion, in 1861, the cigar manufacture practically ceased, on account of the Southern market being lost and the heavy internal revenue tax placed on these low-priced goods. Pipe-smoking was resorted to.

The manufacture of snuff continued throughout and since the war with little variation until the past five years, when it began to decrease.

Now, in 1887, Joseph A. Raddin, under the firm-name of F. L. & J. A. Raddin, conducts the business of his father Charles, having also bought out the Sweetser Brothers' business in November, 1885. Mr. Raddin's business is largely in cut smoking tobacco, some brands of which have become very popular.

The other manufacturers of to-day are S. S. Trull, Edward O. Copp, grandson of Samuel Copp, M. S. Fiske and Copp & Gibbons, all of whom, excepting Copp & Gibbons, confine their business to cigars.

CROCKERY-WARE.—The road which now leads from Cliftondale to Saugus Centre, called Central Street, soon after leaving the village of Cliftondale, descends a hill and crosses a swamp or peat meadow. This was known as "Jackson's Meadow." It contains an inexhaustible quantity of peat, which many years ago was utilized by the inhabitants to a small extent.

Underlying this peat deposit is a deposit of very fine blue clay.

In 1808, or thereabouts, William Jackson, an Englishman by birth and education, came to Saugus (then Lynn), and bought a small farm at what is now Cliftondale, together with a part of the meadow before mentioned.

He became aware of this deposit of fine clay and its adaptability for crockery-ware.

The embargo and War of 1810 and 1812 coming on rendered the importation of crockery very difficult. Mr. Jackson at once built a large building and two smaller ones. He procured the best machinery and most skillful workmen possible at that time, but he soon found out that the clay was not adapted for the finest kind of ware, and so his manufacture was confined to a superior kind of brown and red earthen-ware.

This factory was continued for about four years, when, becoming unprofitable, it was totally abandoned.

SHOE BUSINESS.—We will now rapidly sketch the rise and progress of the shoe business in Saugus. Let us go back to 1802, when our territory was included in the town of Lynn. It was in this year that Ebenezer Oakman, Esq., a young man of active business talents, began the manufacture of shoes on the northern side of our river, about ten rods from the bridge, in East Saugus. He built a small factory, which he enlarged in 1807, and also built a new factory in the same year, and again in 1810 he built a much larger factory, connecting it with a large barn fifty feet northerly by a lower building. At that time this was undoubtedly the largest shoe factory in Lynn. Mr. Oakman's market was found largely in Philadelphia, whither his shoes were shipped by sailing-vessels from Boston. His example and zeal were contagious in the community.

During the War of 1812, it being too dangerous to send his shoes to Philadelphia by packet, he established a line of large baggage-wagons, drawn by six horses, with two skillful drivers, making the transit to Philadelphia and back in about six weeks' time. This was continued during the war, although at great expense. Among his teamsters were Captain Jacob Newhall, Jesse Rice and Captain Jacob Baird.

During this time Mr. Oakman was indefatigable in his business, both at Lynn and Philadelphia, spending a part of his time at each place. He commenced, to some extent, also the manufacture of gentlemen's calf boots. After the peace of 1815 the business was not prosecuted with so much vigor, although Mr. Oakman continued it till about 1818. After that period he closed his business here and removed to Philadelphia for a permanent residence.

This was a great detriment to Saugus, for soon the factory buildings were cut up and removed to different parts of the town and made into dwellings. In those days shoes were manufactured very differently from what they are at this time. The leather and kid were brought to the factory and cut up in the rudest manner. The uppers, binding, soles, thread and everything necessary was counted out to the workman, who took them away in a bag or basket to his house or a small shop near the same, and while the women folks bound the uppers, he put on the soles and finished them entirely ready for market, after which he carried them to the boss, and returned home with a new week's work.

After Mr. Oakman's removal, the shoe business was carried on in a very small way for a number of years, until about 1825. It was at this period that a number of resolute and active young men, natives of our town, took up the business and carried it on with uniform success. These were Thomas Raddin, Jr., George W. Raddin, Sewall Raddin, Jacob Newhall, Jr., Abel

Newhall and Benjamin F. Newhall. It was from this time until 1838 that these manufacturers did a large and prosperous business.

John W. Newhall began business in 1841; James C. Lockwood, Levi D. Waldron and Pickmore Jackson in 1842; Charles W. Newhall in 1847; Harmon Hall and Charles E. Raddin in 1850. Mr. Hall was associated with John W. Newhall from 1852 to 1855, but after this he continued the business himself for many years. But from this time onward the shoe business of Saugus began to decline.

This was caused by the entire revolution of the manner of manufacturing shoes. Machinery was taking the place of hand labor. The workmen were congregated together in large factories instead of being scattered about the town and country in their little shops.

There was an advantage, as well as convenience, to the manufacturers themselves to be in a narrow locality. So our manufacturers, one by one, began to leave us, removing their business into the centre of the city of Lynn, or elsewhere, so that at this time (1887) there is only one shoe manufacturer, L. Waldo Collins, doing business in East Saugus. Our people, men and women, find their employment in Lynn, going down in the morning and returning in the evening, either by horse-cars or steam railroad.

But we must not forget to speak of the shoe business in the centre of the town.

Among the early shoe manufacturers in the centre of the town we will mention Moses Mansfield, who died in 1806; he lived in the Capen house. Also his brother, Thomas Mansfield, who lived in the Adam Ames house, now owned by Mr. Scott. Also Richard Mansfield, who died in 1824; he lived on Main Street, where Mr. Follett now lives. His shop was opposite.

In 1818 Benjamin Hitchings moved into town and commenced the shoe business, and continued in business until about 1850. Latterly he took his two sons, John B. and Otis M., into partnership.

Mr. Hitchings at first lived in the Davis house, on the Cinder Banks, and manufactured there until he removed to his house, and shop connected therewith, on Main Street, near the turnpike, where he died.

Of the early shoe manufacturers Mr. Hitchings was by far the largest, often employing from forty to fifty hands.

David Newhall and W. W. Boardman manufactured from 1830 to 1850.

Otis M. Hitchings manufactured from 1846 to 1872, employing some years one hundred hands.

In 1852 Walton & Wilson commenced the shoe business, and continued until 1879, when they sold out to Charles S. Hitchings, who removed his business, commenced in 1867, into the three-story factory on Central Street, corner of Pearson, said factory having been built by Walton & Wilson in 1872, and occupied

by them up to 1879. Messrs. Walton & Wilson did a large business, often employing as many as a hundred hands, and manufacturing shoes to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars yearly.

William T. Ash commenced in 1877. His business increasing, he soon removed to O. M. Hitchings' factory, near the depot, where he continued until 1883, when he removed his whole business to Lynn. Mr. Ash at this time was doing a good business, employing some eighty hands.

Charles S. Hitchings, William F. Hitchings and Otis M. Burrill are now the only shoe manufacturers remaining in the Centre. Mr. Charles S. Hitchings, the largest of the three, employs from forty to fifty hands.

GRAIN-MILL.—In 1850 Benjamin F. Newhall purchased the lands on both sides of Fox Hill Creek, so-called, extending to the Salem turnpike, for the purpose of constructing a grain-mill, and wharf adjoining it on the northerly side. The wharf was built in 1851, and the earth for filling was taken from the southwest side of Ballard Street, making now a part of the mill-pond. Ballard Street was built from the old Boston road in East Saugus to the Salem turnpike in 1850. The grain-mill was built in 1852. From the time of its erection to the present a very large grain business has been done here. And until very recently the grain has been landed in vessels directly to the mill, being raised from the vessel by a large elevator. From fifty to one hundred thousand bushels of corn have been ground annually. Since 1864 Herbert B. Newhall, son of Benjamin F. Newhall, has owned and run this mill. During a few years last past Mr. Newhall has landed his grain by railroad at Lynn Common Depot and carted it to the mill, for the reason that it could be done more cheaply than by vessel.

BRICK-MAKING.—It is now forty-six years since Mr. Frederick Stocker began brick-making in East Saugus, with his yard between Winter Street and the river. Mr. Stocker usually manufactured from one-half million to a million bricks annually. About nineteen years ago he gave up the business to his son Frederick, who continues up to the present time. He makes about one million bricks annually, and consumes thereby about four hundred cords of wood, and gives employment to a dozen men.

As long ago as 1812 Mr. Thomas Raddin made bricks in a yard on the northerly side of the river, where Mr. T. H. Rhodes' house now stands.

Mr. Hatch also made bricks in the same place in 1859 for about two years.

From 1850 to 1860 William M. Newhall also carried on the brick business on the northerly side of the river, not far above the bridge. He manufactured about a million bricks annually, until the clay was practically exhausted. From 1858 to 1860 Mr. H. Hurd had a yard adjoining Mr. Newhall's.

CURLED HAIR.—In 1848 Enoch T. Kent commenced the business of preparing hair for plastering. He then lived on the place now occupied by William A. Trefethen, in East Saugus.

In 1853 he removed to Cliftondale, and took as a business partner S. R. Marvin, when they enlarged their business, amounting to fifty thousand dollars yearly. They dissolved partnership in 1866, and in 1873 Mr. Kent built a large factory in the Centre, on what is known as Shute's Brook near the railroad depot. This factory was three stories, with basement, and was furnished with steam-power, the brook affording water for washing and scouring purposes. Here he has continued the business up to the present time, not only furnishing hair for plastering, but for spinning and saddlers' and upholsterers' use. He employs about twenty men, and does about fifty thousand dollars business annually. He ships his hair to all parts of the country.

CHAPTER XXIX.

SAUGUS—(Continued).

Anchor Tavern—Roads and Bridges—Boston Road—Great Bridge—Salem Turnpike—Newburyport Turnpike—Railroads—Horse Railroads.

ANCHOR TAVERN.—Very early in the settlement of the town, probably as early as 1643, a tavern was established in that part of the town now called East Saugus, on the road from Boston to Salem, and about half-way between these two places. It was built on the Ballard farm, under the brow of the hill, just where the highway turned sharply to the south.

For about one hundred and seventy years it afforded shelter for man and beast, and became, during its history, a famous hostelry, known far and wide.

Joseph Armitage was its first landlord, and from him it received the name of "The Anchor Tavern."

Governors Endicott and Bradstreet early found entertainment here, as the court records, in 1669, show Mr. Armitage's petitions for payment of their expenses for "bear and cacks" (beer and cakes), "vitalls, bear and logen, beare and wyne att severall times."

Mr. Armitage died in 1680. But probably many years before this he was succeeded by Captain Thomas Marshall, who was the second landlord and continued to keep the tavern until December 23, 1689, the time of his death. Captain Marshall was a soldier under Cromwell.

We are not informed of the landlords succeeding Captain Marshall until we come to Zaccheus Norwood, who bought the tavern-stand with the Ballard farm in 1760. The house now was very famous and its patronage very large.

Mr. Norwood died in 1768, leaving a widow, who continued to keep the public-house. She afterwards

married an eccentric Englishman, named Josiah Martin, who, by his hypocrisy, gained her affections and afterwards led her a terrible life as landlord.

On May 3d, 1773, Landlord Jacob Newhall became landlord at this tavern. The time of the Revolution was now approaching, and it was not long before Landlord Newhall took down the Anchor Tavern sign, with the lion and unicorn, and substituted in its place the "Rising Sun Tavern," with a painted representation of the morning sun just appearing above the horizon. Landlord Newhall was an ardent patriot, and his means were freely spent for the country. No one was allowed to go hungry past his house. He continued its landlord until about 1800, and when he left it, carried away scarcely anything but a good name to show for his many years' labor.

It was in 1800 that the tavern and the entire farm came back into the possession of the Ballard family, and in 1802 Mr. John Ballard built a new public-house, about nine rods south of the old tavern. This was the time that the Salem turnpike was building. Mr. Ballard had prevented the turnpike from being built over his farm.

Disappointment was in store for him in regard to his new public-house, for as soon as the turnpike was opened the travel was diverted and the stand was ruined.

Joseph Palmer was the landlord of the new hotel; but he continued only until the opening of the turnpike, when he went to Lynn to take charge of the Lynn Hotel.

From 1815 to 1822 Mr. Ballard made the hotel building his own homestead.

After this it continued a checkered career as a public-house until 1871, when it was purchased by Wilbur F. Newhall, and removed a few hundred feet east, so as to make room for a new dwelling.

The old Anchor Tavern building continued to stand during these years of the new hotel, serving as a farm-house, until 1836, when it was torn down to make room for a new street—now Lincoln Avenue—leading down to the bridge.

ROADS AND BRIDGES.—The old Boston road, formerly so called, running through East Saugus and Cliftondale, was one of our earliest roads. It crossed the river at East Saugus, where the upland on either bank approached so near to the river's edge as to leave but little salt marsh. Here was a natural fording-place at low tide; and it was here that the General Court, June 6, 1639, ordered, "That those of Lynn shall have £50 from the country towards the building of a cart-bridge over the river there; when the bridge is finished, to be allowed them."

On petition of the town, October 27, 1648, the court further ordered, "That there shall from henceforth be allowed thirty shillings per annum out of the treasury of the county towards the maintenance of the said bridge, for which the inhabitants of Lynn are forever to repair it."

This action was probably caused by a sad accident which occurred at the bridge, March, 1648, to Edmund Ingalls, one of the first settlers, then an old man.

It would seem that the bridge must have been decayed and out of repair, for Mr. Ingalls, while crossing on horseback, fell through and was drowned. His heirs recovered from the State one hundred pounds. The court appropriated at once twenty pounds more for immediate repairs.

May 23, 1655, the court again ordered that a committee should rebuild the bridge, and the County Court should apportion the expense among the towns of the county. It so remained a county charge until a joint committee of Lynn and Saugus, in 1815, agreed that the two towns "shall support said bridge equally, in conjunction with the county."

This bridge, sometimes called the "Great Bridge," with Boston Street, was an important avenue of communication for the whole county, and indeed we might say the only one until the building of the Salem turnpike, in 1803. Before the bridge was built it was necessary to make a long circuit to the Centre, where was found the only safe fording-place at the head of tide water. This circuit made at least two and one-half miles extra travel up one side of the river and down the other.

There has been some difference of opinion in regard to the location of an ancient ferry. In 1639 the General Court granted to Garrett Spencer "the ferry at Linn for 2 years." The law also regulated the tolls. It is generally thought that this ferry was from Needham's Landing in Lynn, to what is now called the Lower Landing, on Ballard Street, in East Saugus. In those days it undoubtedly was a great accommodation to travelers on foot or horseback, and especially before the building of the bridge at E. Saugus.

Another very early road was from Boston Street, leaving the same near where the Methodist Church now stands in East Saugus, and going up on the southerly side of the river, substantially where Winter Street is now located; but when reaching where now is the New Cemetery it bore to the left, where the old track is now seen and can be traveled, going on westerly near where Denver Street now is to Vine and Main Streets, and then on to the west part of the town and to Reading.

Another road branched off this, going northerly, near where Central Street now is, to the iron works, and to the fording-place across the river.

The road from Lynn, now called Walnut Street, passing Birch Brook, and on to North Saugus and Lynnfield, is also a very old road.

It was near this road, on Choose Hill, so-called, that it was proposed to build the Old Tunnel parish church, so as to accommodate the parishioners from

Lynn, Saugus and Lynnfield, this being near the geographical centre. But this project was soon abandoned, and three parishes was the result.

The road from Lincoln Avenue, in Cliftondale, to Saugus Centre, now called Central Street, was built by the town in 1837.

The road running from Lincoln Avenue, in East Saugus, to the Salem turnpike, now called Ballard St., was built in 1850. The expense of its construction was borne by the town of Saugus, Essex County, the turnpike corporation and the owners of the land. A bridge was built across Fox Hill Creek. It gave a very convenient and easy access to the public town landing.

SALEM AND BOSTON TURNPIKE.—The charter for the construction of the Salem turnpike was obtained in 1801. Very great opposition was made to this road by the towns of Danvers and Malden, and by the Malden Bridge corporation, who had, only nine years before, built their bridge over the Mystic River, a mile to the west of the proposed Chelsea Bridge.

This turnpike was doomed to divert the great current of travel from the old Boston road, in Saugus, to a passage over its lonely salt marshes.

But public utility triumphed over local interests, and the turnpike was built and opened for travel from Salem to Lynn, July 5, 1803, and on September 22, 1803, over the entire length to Chelsea.

On September 22, 1807, the turnpike and bridges were declared to be fully finished.

The traffic over the turnpike constantly increased up to 1838, when, in consequence of the opening of the Eastern Railroad, the stage travel ceased, other travel decreased, the tolls were reduced and the stock of the corporation fell to almost or quite forty dollars a share. This turnpike was made a public highway in 1868.

THE NEWBURYPORT TURNPIKE.—The charter for the construction of this turnpike was obtained in 1802. It was finished about 1805, and the cost was nearly \$480,000.

About four miles of this turnpike is in Saugus, passing through the town from north to south. At the time this road was built Salem and Newburyport were rival commercial towns. Salem was about building an air-line turnpike to Boston, and so Newburyport could do nothing less.

It was made straight, regardless alike of settlements on either side, or of hills and swamps on the direct line. And although the shrewdest men of Newburyport were its projectors, yet it proved from its completion not only to be a ruinous investment, but a stupendous folly. Grass soon overgrew its road-bed.

From 1840 to 1846 the tolls were discontinued, and the turnpike became a public highway in the several

towns through which it passed, making a heavy burden to many towns, especially Saugus.

RAILROADS.—The Eastern Railroad was chartered in 1836 and was opened to travel in 1838. Although its route passed through a portion of Saugus territory, over the salt marshes between Saugus and Chelsea Rivers, in the very southern extremity of the township, yet the town was not recognized in its location and charter.

But this railroad as located afforded small accommodations to our citizens, who were still obliged for many years to travel a distance of two and three miles to Breed's Wharf Depot, in West Lynn. A very small westerly portion of the town found the Boston and Maine Railroad at Melrose nearer.

Our present railroad accommodations with Boston and Lynn, in all thirty-one daily trains both ways, have not been obtained without long struggles and many changes extending through years.

The earliest efforts for a railroad through Saugus were made just previous to 1844.

Benjamin Goodrich and others petitioned for a charter from Salem to Boston, passing through South Danvers (now Peabody), West Lynn, East Saugus, East Malden (now Linden and Maplewood), Malden Centre and thence into Boston. This route was surveyed over the Ballard farm and south of Baker's hill.

After two or three years' fruitless trial for a charter before the Legislature this project was abandoned. The Eastern Railroad was the main opponent.

We wish to mention here the name of Joshua Webster, Esq., as the man, among many others, to whose untiring energy and zeal we finally obtained railroad accommodations. Formerly of Lynn, he at this early time bought a large farm in Maplewood, known as the "Wait Farm," and removed thither. He was determined to have a railroad through his farm. In 1846 he projected a railroad from East Saugus to Malden, connecting with the Boston and Maine Railroad. The route was through the centre of Saugus, thence down the valley of the Newburyport turnpike through Maplewood to Malden, a distance of over five miles. In 1847 a petition was presented to the Legislature for a charter. To oppose this project, the Eastern Railroad brought forward a scheme to build a branch railroad from Breed's Wharf Depot in Lynn through East Saugus to Saugus Centre. A survey was at once made and petitions presented to the General Court.

The war for these rival routes first began in Saugus, and then in all its warmth was carried to the Legislature. The Legislature gave a charter to the Malden route. Among the leading men who favored this route were Joshua Webster, Daniel P. Wise, G. G. Hubbard, G. W. Raddin, George Pearson and Edward Pranker. The company was soon organized, and Joshua Webster chosen president. This was in the spring of 1848. In 1849 the charter was amended,

so as to change the location from the turnpike valley and run through Cliftondale and Linden to Malden. Still another step remained. In 1850 a further amendment to the charter was obtained to extend the branch from East Saugus to Lynn Common; thus, by yearly advances, the Malden branch party obtained all they wished; Lynn could be reached in the interest of the Boston and Maine Railroad. This amendment was obtained in spite of the greatest opposition of the Eastern Railroad.

The difficult problem now was to get the stock taken and to build the road.

It was publicly stated that if the residents along the route would take half the stock, some one stood ready to take the remainder. Who could this be? Perhaps the Boston and Maine Railroad. It was now July, 1851. Something must be done at once or the charter would be forfeited. A meeting of the shareholders was called at the Saugus Town Hall. Mr. Edward Crane rose and said he would take the remainder of the stock. But another month brought new fears and complications. In August it became known that Mr. Crane had sold all his stock to the Eastern Railroad. Was this to be a defeat to the whole project? Not so; thanks to a few energetic men, led by Mr. Joshua Webster of Maplewood. Contracts for its construction were given out in November, 1851, and the ground was broken on Pearson's Neck, so-called, in Saugus, February 1852.

In October 1852, the following directors were chosen: G. G. Hubbard, Joshua Webster, Benjamin F. Newhall, Albert Thorndike, Isaiah Breed, B. T. Reed and Samuel Hooper. G. G. Hubbard was chosen president, and George Hood treasurer.

In February 1854, the branch was so far completed that an engine and two cars were provided for it, and by the latter part of the month four trains each way were run from Lynn Common Depot to Edgeworth, in Malden, there connecting with the Boston and Maine Railroad.

Then one small car more than accommodated all its patrons. The experiment of combining car and locomotive was tried. It caused a great deal of merriment and was nick-named the "tea-kettle;" this was soon set aside.

The railroad barely paid its running expenses. The Eastern Railroad now became its sole owner, and they at once built the two connecting links necessary to make the Branch a part of their railroad system, viz., a link from Lynn Common Depot to Breed's Wharf Depot, and the other link from Malden Centre to South Malden (now Everett). Thus was established, in 1854, our railroad facilities substantially as they exist to-day, only instead of four trains we now have sixteen trains each way daily.

Since the building of our railroad Malden has become a city; its territory is rapidly filling up with residences, so that the overflow is now reaching our town and everything bids fair for a rapid growth of Saugus.

Horse Railroads.—Our horse railroads began by the granting of two charters to two rival companies in the spring of 1859, requiring cars to be run on each by November 20, 1860, on penalty of loss of charter.

One was the Lynn and Boston Railroad, which built its track over the Salem turnpike, thus running across the extreme southerly part of the town over the salt marshes. So far as the accommodation to the people of Saugus, this road was of very little moment; still, after great difficulty, it was built so that regular trips were commenced over the turnpike June 1, 1861, and have continued up to the present time.

The other was the Cliftondale Horse Railroad. James S. Stone, Esq., of Charlestown, was the principal manager. Ground was broken in October, 1860, and the work was put forward with great rapidity, so that by November 20th the cars commenced running.

It was the intention to have this horse railroad run through to Lynn, but Lynn refused the location, so that its starting-point was at the bridge in East Saugus, and running to the Cliftondale Depot, thence through the woods to the Newburyport turnpike, and so on to Boston via Malden Bridge and Charlestown. Had this road been permitted to extend its track down to the city of Lynn, it might have had a longer life.

The principal motive for its construction was the development and sale of house-lots in Cliftondale, called the "Homes."

This land speculation not proving a success, and the passenger traffic being very light, it was only a question of time when it would be obliged to stop its running.

As it proved, it was only about three years when it was abandoned and the rails taken up. It is now very difficult to find any trace of its location.

But the time finally came when our town obtained excellent horse railroad accommodations, which it now enjoys, very much to its benefit as well as to the advantage of the road.

The Lynn and Boston Railroad extended its tracks from Lynn to East Saugus, Cliftondale and Saugus Centre, and are now running half-hourly trips throughout the day and evening.

The cars from Lynn to East Saugus commenced running June 24, 1882; they then stopped at Ballard Street, but the road was soon extended to Cliftondale, and the cars commenced running June 17, 1885.

The next year a branch was built up Chestnut Street and Winter Street to Saugus Centre, and the cars commenced running July 31, 1886.

We are thus provided with a horse railroad system which will without doubt long continue.

Such is the union of the industrial pursuits and business of Lynn and Saugus, that it is a necessity, and will add greatly to the development of the town.

The Lynn and Boston Railroad is now building another link from Cliftondale via Lincoln Avenue to Linden to connect with the horse railroad from Malden to Revere Beach. This will give us another

connection with Boston, and also with Malden, Medford, Melrose, Stoneham and Woburn.

This route is now, September 15, 1887, just opened for travel.

CHAPTER XXX.

SAUGUS—(Continued).

Schools—West Parish School—Ladies' Seminary—Public Schools—High School—Principals—Cliffondale Library—Free Public Library—William Sutton Lodge—Abouett Mission, S. of T.—Sunshine Lodge of Good Templars—Saugus Mutual Insurance Co.—Farms and Farmers.

SCHOOLS.—*West Parish School.*—The West Parish very early felt their need of school privileges for their children, and the people were not slow in providing them.

At first a school was opened in some private dwelling, as accommodations could be obtained, but not always in the same dwelling, and it was frequently changed to different parts of the parish. This arrangement obtained until 1775, when a small one-story building was built in the Centre, on the south-east end of the burying-ground. This building served for school uses until July 29, 1801, when it was sold for sixty-three dollars to Richard Shute, who removed it and added it to his house for a grocery-store, till its destruction by fire, in 1820.

In the year 1800 a great school-house fever prevailed in the West Parish. No less than five school-houses were petitioned for in 1801,—two of these to be at the "Centre," one at the "North End," one at "Boardman's End" and the other in the "South part," now East Saugus.

The parish voted but one, and that to be in the "Centre," southwest of the meeting-house.

It was soon built, and stood near to William W. Boardman's house, on what is now Main Street.

This school-house was standing until very recently, in the yard of William W. Boardman, and was used by him for many years as a shoe manufactory. Within a few years it has been torn down.

In 1787 the parish voted that thirteen families at the "North End" might withdraw and make a new school district.

This was the first separation in school matters.

In 1806 a school-house (old Rock School-house) was built in the "South part," now called East Saugus.

It may be of interest to speak of a private academy which was started in our town.

Ladies' Seminary.—In January, 1821, the Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Beverly, projected the establishment of a Female Seminary in Saugus.

The parish encouraged the project, and voted the use of the parsonage, with land near by, for a school building, which was built in the spring of 1822.

For two years its popularity was very great.

Such numbers of young ladies flocked to the institution that board accommodations could scarcely be found.

While the seminary was in a successful tide of prosperity, the old parish affairs, now rapidly on the wane, considerably revived.

Rev. Joseph Emerson was a very popular divine, and supplied the pulpit for the greater part of the time.

It unfortunately happened that the autumn of the second year was a very sickly season.

The typhoid fever prevailed in many towns, and among these was Saugus.

Several young ladies of the seminary died, causing many of the pupils to be withdrawn and deterring others from coming, so that the school never recovered from the effects of this unfortunate sickness.

Mr. Emerson's poor health obliged him to leave, and in the autumn of 1824 he was succeeded by Rev. Hervey Wilbur, who also supplied the parish pulpit.

But in spite of Mr. Wilbur's efforts to revive the seminary he was obliged to give it up in the autumn of 1826.

Public Schools.—Our town has always maintained good public schools. If they have not been fully up to the high standard of our neighboring cities, we have spent for them a much larger proportion of our valuation. I notice in the last State report that of the thirty-five towns and cities in Essex County, Saugus is the eighth in the percentage of valuation expended for schools.

The whole number of children in our town between five and fifteen years of age is five hundred and twenty-four, divided as follows:

Ward 1, North Saugus.	26
" 2, Centre Saugus.	175
" 3, Cliffondale.	167
" 4, East Saugus.	128
" 5, Oaklandvale.	28
Total.	524

There are thirteen schools; the two at North Saugus and Oaklandvale are mixed schools, but those in the other wards are arranged into three and four grades.

In these schools there are five hundred and twenty pupils.

Our High School had its beginning in April, 1872. Since 1875 it has gathered in rooms fitted up for its use in the new Town Hall. It has a three years' course of study, including Latin and French.

Diplomas are given to graduates.

There are now about forty-five pupils in this school.

It has had six principals since its commencement. Mrs. Frances H. Newhall served from 1872 to 1875; Mr. James B. Atwood a few months in 1875; Mr. F. W. Eveleth from October, 1875 to 1879. He was followed by Mr. Charles E. Lord for one year, then by Mr. C. H. Smart for two years, up to 1881.

The present principal, Mr. Wilbur F. Gillette, took charge in April, 1881.

CLIFTONDALE LIBRARY.—About two years ago a library association was formed in Cliftondale, and is now in a prosperous condition. It has about seven hundred volumes.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—This last spring (1887) a free public library was started by private subscriptions from all parts of the town.

The town has furnished and fitted up a room in the Town Hall for its use.

About thirteen hundred volumes have already been purchased and carefully catalogued.

It will be opened this autumn, and it is hoped that it will form a worthy nucleus of a large and permanent public library.

THE WILLIAM SUTTON LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS was instituted in 1866. Its lodge-room is now in East Saugus, in Mr. Sisson's building, on Franklin Square. It now has seventy-five members.

THE ABOUSETT DIVISION, No. 10, SONS OF TEMPERANCE, was organized in 1850. It now has forty members, and holds its meetings at the Town Hall every fortnight.

THE SUNSHINE LODGE, No. 111, OF GOOD TEMPLARS was organized in 1879. It has about sixty members, and meets at the Town Hall every week.

THE SAUGUS MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY was incorporated February, 1852, and commenced business the following April.

Benjamin F. Newhall, Esq., was the originator of this company, and it was through his energy and regard for the public welfare that the company has had so prosperous a career. The community at that time was poorly provided with insurance, its cost being so great from the heavy assessments of companies located in other States particularly.

In forming this company Mr. Newhall determined to provide purely mutual insurance, receiving no cash premium in advance, but only notes to be assessed sufficiently to pay the losses and expenses as they occur.

He was chosen its secretary and treasurer, and Edward Pranker its president.

Its office was, and continues to be, in East Saugus.

On the resignation of Edward Pranker, in 1858, Hon. Harmon Hall was elected its second president and has continued to fill that office up to the present time.

Mr. Newhall being severely afflicted with rheumatism, was obliged to resign in the summer of 1861,

when his son, Wilbur F. Newhall, Esq., was chosen secretary and treasurer, which offices he now fills.

On April 1, 1853, the company had \$812,500 of property insured. In 1863 it had \$2,208,665. On April 1, 1887, it had \$2,889,300.

It has paid out for losses during these thirty-five years \$36,328.

By its prudent and conservative management it has not only provided insurance at a very small cost to its members, but at the same time has given them a strong and reliable company, which has earned for itself the confidence of the public.

AGRICULTURAL.—As our farming interests are considerable, I will give a list of our farms, with a few additional items.

North Saugus.—Louis P. Hawkes, 33 acres of tillage, 47 acres pasture, 21 cows and 4 horses. He also has a large silo.

Samuel Hawkes, 13 acres of tillage and 10 acres of cranberry meadow.

Heirs of Richard Hawkes, 26 acres tillage and 9 cows.

These three farms form a portion of the original farm of Adam Hawkes, settled in 1634, and have continued down in an unbroken line from their ancestors.

Byron S. Hone, 50 acres tillage, 114 acres pasture, 42 cows and 4 horses.

Henry E. Hone, 4 acres tillage, 32 acres pasture, 7 cows and two horses.

Joshua H. Coburn, 20 acres tillage, 15 cows and 2 horses.

Heirs of George W. Butterfield, 10 acres tillage, 20 cows and 4 horses.

Elijah G. Wilson, 6 acres tillage and 23 pasture.

Francis M. Avery, 15 acres tillage and 9 cows.

These farms furnish chiefly milk and hay.

Oaklandale.—Artemas Edmunds, 9 acres tillage and 5 cows.

Samuel Simmons, 60 acres and 13 horses; this is the Lott Edmonds farm, and is now used as a veterinary farm.

Heirs of Nathan Hawkes, 4 acres tillage and 3 cows.

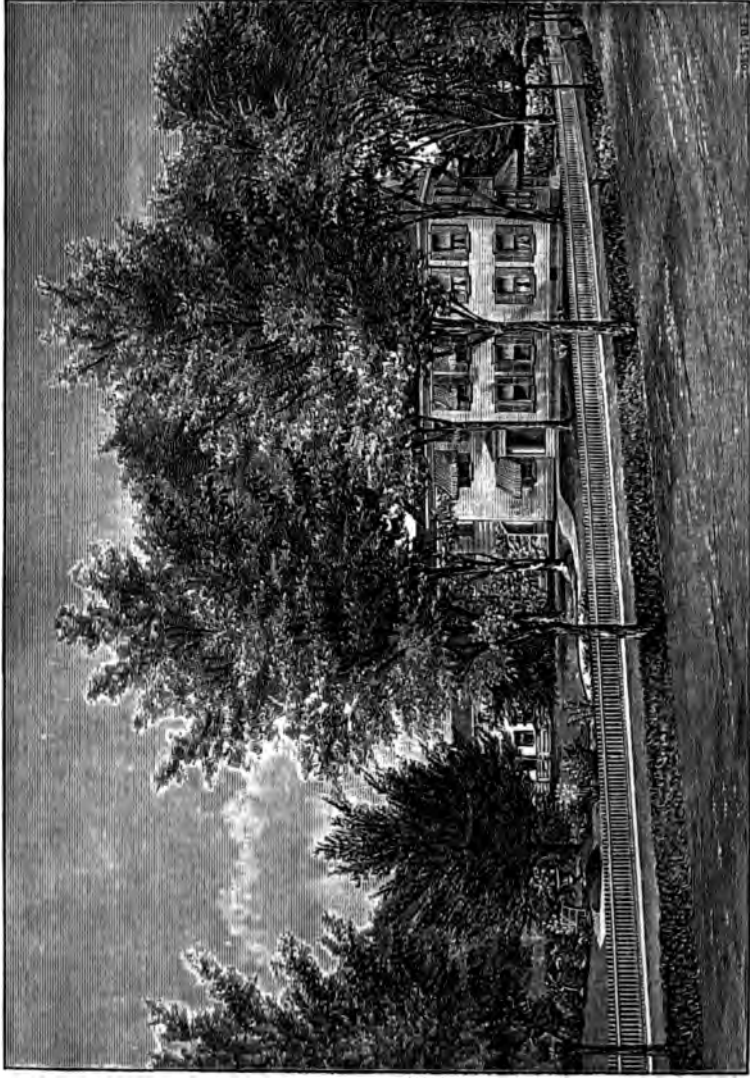
E. W. Bostwick, 28 acres tillage.

J. M. Hall, farm owned by J. J. Zeigler, 16 acres; this is a veterinary farm.

E. W. Saunders, 38 acres tillage, 17 acres pasture. Mr. Saunders came here in 1850, cleared his land, built him an elegant residence and has laid out his grounds into lawns, tillage, shrubbery and forest, so as to resemble an English park, presenting to us an elegance of landscape rarely found.

The long avenue, shut in on either side by tall evergreen trees, is of wonderful beauty. Mr. Saunders has expended more than fifty thousand dollars on this place.

A ride through these grounds will well repay one.



RESIDENCE OF A. A. SCOTT,
SAUGUS, MASS.

Lowell Howard, 5 acres tillage and 2 cows.
Elbridge S. Upham, 8 acres tillage, 8 cows and 2 horses.

Isiah Longfellow, 10 acres tillage and 4 cows.
These last three farmers give attention to strawberry culture, and furnish great quantities for the market.

John Gillon, 13 acres tillage.

Arthur Watson, 10 acres tillage, 20 acres pasture and 9 cows.

J. Henry Howard, 8 acres tillage and 8 cows.

Saugus Centre.—The Town Farm, 40 acres tillage and 18 cows.

William H. Penny, 20 acres tillage, 39 acres pasture, 30 cows and 2 horses.

John M. Berritt, 10 acres tillage, 15 acres pasture and 4 cows.

Lewis J. Austin, 7 acres tillage, 14 cows and 2 horses.

Charles M. Ames, 11 acres tillage and 5 cows.

Heirs of Samuel A. Parker, 12 acres tillage.

Harrison Wilson, 10 acres tillage, 7 cows and 2 horses.

William Fairchild, 9 acres tillage and 2 cows.

Cliftondale.—Walter V. Hawkes, 10 acres tillage and 2 green-houses.

George N. Miller, 24 acres tillage, 10 cows and 5 horses. He bought this farm in 1870.

A. & J. R. Hatch, 20 acres tillage, 10 cows and 5 horses.

George W. Winslow, 19 acres tillage, 7 cows and 2 horses.

These last four farms are largely for market-gardening for Boston and Lynn.

East Saugus.—William A. Trefethen, 9 acres tillage, 16 acres pasture, 2 cows and 2 horses.

John W. Blodgett, 31 acres tillage, 15 acres pasture, 22 cows and 6 horses.

Mr. Blodgett runs his farm for market-gardening almost entirely. He has owned it since 1854.

Charles H. Libbey, 7 acres tillage, 3 cows and 2 horses.

Frederick Stocker, 30 acres tillage, 3 cows and 12 horses.

Henry W. & A. Dudley Johnson, 48 acres tillage, 34 acres pasture, 15 cows and 3 horses.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SAUGUS—(Continued).

MILITARY RECORD.

In the late War of the Rebellion our town nobly showed its patriotism by an early and prompt response to the country's call for volunteers. One hundred

and sixty-three men enlisted, and of these, eight served in the navy.

The larger number of these were in the Seventeenth and Fortieth Massachusetts Regiments.

The following are the names of the soldiers:

Bimley P. Guilford.	Noah G. Harriman.
Abel Wilson.	Charles A. Kidder.
Jesse Hitchings.	Charles W. Sweetser.
Willard Edmunds.	William T. Ash.
David H. Cheever.	Bimley P. Guilford, Jr.
John H. H. Wilson.	James Root, Jr.
George H. Penney.	George McAllister.
Joseph W. Flye.	Daniel Flye.
William Chambers.	William L. Stocker.
William Noble.	Reuben K. Coates.
Edwin A. Reed.	John H. Copp.
John F. Carlton.	Samuel T. Langley.
Nathan J. Thoms.	Watson J. Thoms.
Charles A. Newhall.	John W. Seward.
Thomas McDowell.	John H. Twiden.
Edward Hitchings.	M. Porter Newhall.
William M. Stocker.	John H. Hone.
George H. McClary.	John Powers.
Warren P. Copp.	Edward Charlton.
Hiram H. Newhall.	George Childs.
Charles F. Pearson.	James Herk.
Joseph Newhall.	Charles H. Williams.
Europe R. Newhall.	John A. Whittemore.
Joseph Wiggin.	Kenedy McElroy.
Henry Baker.	Augustus W. Bruce.
Thomas Twiden.	Benjamin E. Morgan.
Imac Perkins.	John K. Stocker.
Daniel Kidder.	A. James Parker.
John W. Howlett.	Otis A. Foster.
James Charlton.	Edwin Mansfield.
Oliver F. Childs.	James A. Parker.
Thomas Gibbons.	Stephen Stackpole.
Philip F. Floyd.	Charles Walwick.
William H. Fuller.	Charles A. Hobbs.
William S. Copp.	George H. Newhall.
Marcus M. Sullivan.	Elbridge S. Upham.
George A. Mansfield.	Thomas Twiden, Jr.
Abijah S. Boardman.	James Eaton.
Elisha Bragg.	Henry Kidder.
Charles Cogood.	John Timony.
Lorenzo Mansfield.	William Cheney.
William H. Rich.	Benjamin P. Coates.
E. Herbert Downing.	William H. Amerigo.
Francis H. Dizer.	George S. Williams.
Edward A. Jeffers.	Frederick A. Trefethen.
Isaac B. Schofield.	Tristram Goodale.
Robert Harrison.	H. Clay Cross.
John L. Andrews.	James R. Goodwin.
Henry P. Nichols.	James Hughes.
Thomas Florence.	William J. Love.
Theodore Houghton.	Porter Newhall.
Elliott W. Oliver.	Walter K. Rhodes.
Reuben B. Prince.	Alfred B. Root.
Jacob E. Newhall.	William Flak.
Benj. N. Trefethen.	Frederick Lewis.
Wesley Stocker.	Marcus M. Sullivan.
David Brierley.	Moses Spofford.
William Murray.	Willard W. Burbank.
George W. Fairbanks.	William Blanchard.
William S. Copp.	Charles S. Hicks.
William K. Gabriel.	Moses K. McAlpine.
Charles H. Mansfield.	James L. Pike.
Frederick Dearborn.	George Campbell.
Benjamin Homan.	Harrison K. Stocker.
Willard Edmunds.	William C. Richards.
George V. Carleton.	William W. Brown.
William Halliday.	Luther Harriman.
Stiles F. Sherman.	Charles Maloney.
Samuel A. Guilford.	John A. Whittemore.

James H. Kent.
William E. Oliver.
Samuel S. Wornstead.
George H. Oliver.
Willard L. Fleke.

Henry A. Oliver.
George Kidder.
Frank Peterson.
Albert Eaton.
George H. Brown.

Those whose names do not appear on the above list were credited to some other town or State.

Among these soldiers, serving as they did in a great many different regiments and in almost every arm of the service, strange as it may seem, yet we cannot certainly name any who were killed in battle, although many were seriously wounded, some to die from these wounds, and some from exposure and disease in the service.

Some few were unaccounted for.

Their brave deeds and patriotic service are recorded on a more enduring tablet than any earthly scroll, and our town feels proud of the men who bore her escutcheon through the War of the Southern Rebellion.

The veterans of Saugus, in June, 1869, organized as the *General E. W. Hinks Post 95, Grand Army of the Republic*, with Charles A. Newhall as their first Commander.

The post held their meetings at first in the old Town Hall, afterwards in Flye's Hall, and later in the new Town Hall, until they moved into their own new hall in 1886.

Their new building is situated near the railroad depot, and was purchased of William T. Ash in the early part of 1886. The building was remodeled and an assembly room for the Post provided in the second story of ample dimensions, and elegantly furnished throughout.

The Post is now in a very prosperous condition, having a membership of some sixty, owning their building and having nearly a thousand dollars in their relief fund.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN NEWHALL.¹

Benjamin Franklin Newhall was born April 29, 1802. His father was Jacob, son of Landlord Jacob Newhall. His mother was Abigail, daughter of William and Ruth Makepeace, of Norton, Mass.

She was a woman of noble presence, of exemplary Christian character, pious without ostentation, and devoted to her family, which consisted of three sons and five daughters, for whom she labored day and night and lived to see her prayers answered in their behalf.

Benjamin Franklin was her first-born child, and so very naturally upon him fell early the burdens of the family. Passionately devoted to his mother, he gave

his whole energies to her assistance in the support of the family, the father being of little help the greater part of the time.

Brought up in a tavern in his earliest years, he was exposed to great temptation. In his autobiography he thus speaks of these days and experiences: "What saved me God only knows. But I was saved. I remember I always resisted, and often heard the exclamation, 'What ails the child that he will not drink!' Some spiritual guardian was about me to watch my infantile footsteps and keep me in the path of rectitude." After writing of the many beauties of his birth-place, he speaks of his mother thus: "And better still, the glowing vision of that angel form, who every day supplied my infant wants, and whose voice was sweeter to me than the sweetest music."

He writes again, "How well do I remember, in the late hours of the night, when her husband was away and her dear ones were sleeping, that she would come to my bedside and, kneeling with overflowing heart, pour out her soul in prayer that God would preserve her darling boy from the snares so thick around him. She thought I was asleep, but I was awake and still, and the silent tear moistened my young cheek, and I vowed before God that a mother's prayers should not be in vain. How often she kneeled at my bedside when I was asleep I know not, no doubt often." Again he writes, "My mother, in her extreme anxiety for my welfare, never tired in giving me good advice. She felt that there was great danger of my giving way to the use of the dreadful cup, and so there was."

Again he writes, "When about four years of age my mother had bought me some picture books, and she commenced learning me to read. About the same time the school-house, afterwards called the 'Rock,' was in process of building. My mother took me into it one pleasant summer's eve, and, pointing out to me the smallest and lowest seat, saying at the same time, 'there, my son, is your seat.' This in a few days I found to be literally true, for on my first entrance into the school I was appointed to the little seat."

It was here that he attended school during its uncertain sessions, until about fourteen years of age.

It was at this early age, in the autumn before he was fourteen, that he commenced work for Mr. Childs in the chocolate mill, often working day and night.

He writes again in his autobiography, "I could scarcely endure it. I sometimes declared, 'this shall be my last night;' but when the beautiful sun shone in the morning I felt better and was encouraged to go on. I hated shoemaking and was yet determined to earn something for my mother. If I could earn eighty-three cents a day for work night and day it was to me a great sum. But with all the hard work and suffering I got through my first winter in the mill. How I bore the fatigue God only knows. Some unseen hand supported me, and when I was just on the

¹ Written by his son, Wilbur F. Newhall, Esq.



Wm. D. Newhall

point of giving up several times some impulse of mine forbade it. God helped me."

Such were his early labors that it might almost be said he had no boyhood, so early was the yoke fitted to his youthful shoulders. But he bore it with courage. He writes, "When I had nothing to do I could read, and used always to keep a book in the mill always ready." He soon also engaged in teaming for Mr. Childs. He writes of himself when eighteen years old, "I had so much per day for driving the team and twenty-five cents to buy me a dinner. I always managed to carry my dinner, and thus save and lay up twenty-five cents. This I continued for two years or more. I generally took my book with me and studied while I was driving; so I turned my labor into amusement." Of this same period he writes, "This season I found religious impressions growing more and more in my mind. I felt more and more the need of Divine strength to enable me to resist successfully the evil temptations of the world. I read the Bible, prayed often and frequently went to meeting. I began to hear with new ears, because I felt an interest in the subject preached. Night and day religious matters were in my thoughts, and I was looking forward to a period of church membership as a kind of bulwark of defense."

He identified himself at once with the Methodists and labored zealously with them. When twenty years of age he was baptized by immersion in the pond at Melrose.

He was now making his plans for more schooling, just as soon as he was twenty-one years of age, and for this object he laid some money aside until he had one hundred and seventy dollars. He reached his freedom year, and away he went to New Market Academy, in New Hampshire. We wish we had space to give his account of his start in the stage. He says of his studies: "I pored into the grammar with all my energy, but it was all darkness to me; I knew nothing about it. My boyhood's studies of grammar were but a parrot performance, as I now found by experience. What would I not have given for some one to explain to me the first principles, and know the meaning of the Parts of Speech. But I had no one and so I delved alone. I read and then thought, meditated and then studied. One night, while I was trying to penetrate its mysteries, I instantly saw it all clearly. As the sun suddenly bursts through the obscuring clouds and shines upon the earth, so a knowledge of English grammar burst suddenly on my mind. I saw it all in a glance, simple as my A, B, C. I could pass the most difficult passages instantly." He writes again: "I soon procured some French books, and commenced that language. I learned five thousand words in about a week, and in two weeks could translate the New Testament pretty well."

He remained at the Academy about six months. He then returned home and immediately procured a school in Stoneham and began teaching. As an in-

stance of his remarkable memory, he states that while teaching this school he committed to memory the whole New Testament in thirty-seven days. This was in 1824. He taught this school six months. April 25, 1825, he married Dorothy Jewett, daughter of David and Sarah Jewett, of Standstead, Lower Canada. This explains why, soon after this, he, in company with his brother-in-law, opened a store in Canada. But this business proved disastrous and left him in heavy debt. He then returned to Saugus for good, wiser from experience, if poorer in purse.

We have thus dwelt upon his early life experiences to show the difficulties, the privations, and the hardships he met and subdued. He was stronger than all of these, even making them his servants for discipline and preparations for his remaining life's work. On his return from Canada, already in debt, he borrowed money and commenced the shoe business in earnest. His untiring zeal, his strict business rules, his steadfast integrity, his keen foresight, and his rigid economy, brought him rapid success. He never swerved from these paths, so early chosen. They brought him competence, if not wealth; respect and honor from those who knew him best.

The very poor privileges of the village school in his early youth, ending at thirteen years of age, adding a six months' term at New Market Academy when twenty-one years of age, constitute his scholastic equipment; but these were a small part of his endowments. His mind was always inquiring, extremely receptive, and, what was far more important, it grasped with a tenacity never to be loosed and never to be forgotten, everything that could be of value, benefit, use, or help to him. He might be called a self-educated man, in the best sense of that term. His heart and nature were sympathetic. Having had so many difficulties in his youth, he knew how to sympathize with young men, and many there are of these, to-day, who will testify to his personal assistance in their time of need. What he espoused was with his whole heart. Interested from his youth in the temperance cause, having witnessed the direful effects of intemperance, he never relinquished his warfare against the demon, but, with sledge-hammer blows, on the platform, in the pulpit, as well as in business and social walks of life, he lifted up his voice for total abstinence, and labored in every way to save the youth from this destroying vice, and to make of the inebriate a sober and useful man.

He showed the same characteristics in politics. Always an anti-slavery man, his home and heart were ever open to the fugitive slave, who found a shelter at his fireside, and a God-speed in his journey or mission. He saw in the old Liberty and Free-Soil party the cloud no bigger than a man's hand; he entered its ranks, fought beside its standard, and lived long enough to see the hydra-headed monster slain and buried.

He very early united with the Methodist church in

East Saugus, to which his ardent, sincere nature rendered no half-hearted service.

He had no place for hypocrisy in his heart, and he could brook nothing of the kind in others. He became an exhorter, and then a local preacher, in the Methodist Church. We may well imagine that no grass was allowed to grow under his feet. As well bid the torrent cease its flow as to curb his powers of mind and heart from progress and growth. His warmth in moral reforms often led to some friction with the stereotyped ideas of the Methodist clergy, some of whom could not allow interference with their denominational tenets and labors. The church did not, at that time, stand where it does to-day in relation to these movements. If it had, he probably would never have severed his union with the people of his early choice.

He entered the Universalist Church because he found there a more congenial atmosphere, where he could exercise more freedom of thought and action. He became a very regular preacher for this denomination, and even amid his multiplied business labors he found leisure nearly every Sabbath, for many years, to supply gratuitously some pulpit either near or far away.

He also served his native town of Saugus in nearly every official capacity. As town clerk, selectman, overseer of the poor, school committee and representative to the General Court. In the Legislature he strongly opposed capital punishment. He was chosen one of the commissioners of the county of Essex for two terms, from 1844 to 1850, when the labors of that office were as abundant and onerous as to-day, and, perhaps, far more so.

He organized the Saugus Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1852, and was its secretary and treasurer until incapacitated by disease, in 1861.

These were but a few of his labors. From his awaking in the morning until his sleeping at night, his fertile brain was always active. He gave himself little rest or recreation. Like a locomotive, steam was always on. His style was simple, chaste and clear. He wrote much for the newspapers, among which contributions were his interesting "Historical Sketches of Saugus," which have furnished me much material for my "History of Saugus" in this work. He also wrote a great deal of poetry, indeed his writings in both prose and verse would, if printed, fill volumes.

The last ten years or more of his life were full of pain and suffering. He was afflicted with chronic rheumatism, which never loosed its grip upon him; his limbs became swollen, his joints distorted and dislocated. When walking was difficult, he rode; then was wheeled about in his invalid chair; then was confined to his house, then to his room, then to his bed for two years, until his naturally iron constitution gave way. During all these years he was busy reading and writing, and his fortitude and cheerful-

ness never failed him. He died October 13, 1863, aged sixty-one years.

His widow survived him twenty-three years, dying October 7, 1886. They had seven children, two of whom died in infancy; Benjamin, their eldest, a graduate of Harvard and a lawyer, died in Milwaukee, Wis., at the aged of twenty-nine years; two sons and two daughters still survive, and are residents of East Saugus.

The following verses were written by him just before his death, September 17, 1863:

For many years my prayer hath been,
That I might end this mortal race
Without severe and torturing pain,
And, calm and easy, die in peace.

And now the Lord hath heard my prayer,
Assuaged my pains, so oft severe,
And given my frail body rest
The little time that I am here.

I'll give Him praise while life and strength
Shall let me speak my gratitude,
And with my last expiring breath
I'll calmly breathe, The Lord is good.

CHAPTER XXXII.

DANVERS.

BY ALDEN P. WHITE.

OLD SETTLERS OF SALEM VILLAGE—INCORPORATION OF DANVERS.

IN that part of the town which, a few years ago, belonged to Beverly, the most conspicuous feature of the landscape is a long, high hill, known as Folly Hill. On its summit once stood the lordly mansion of a colonial grandee. The cellar is still distinctly marked, and portions of the building are still in use as residences a mile or two removed from the original exalted situation. This building experiment, never since repeated, was known as "Browne's Folly;" hence the name of the hill. From its top the view includes very much of the original limits of Old Salem. Far beyond the islands of the harbor the ocean fills a wide space of the eastern horizon, while close in the western foreground lie the farms and villages of Danvers.

Many years ago three boys were together on Folly Hill. One of them is living still; his name must be often mentioned in any history of his native town, and his portrait is presented by the engraver at the close of this sketch. The second was one who reached such an eminence in the science of botany that his name will be found conspicuous in that chapter of this book which treats of the natural history of the county. The third, not a Danvers but a Salem boy, became known wherever English is read,

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